

M E M M O I R S

Of the C O U R T of

A U G U S T U S.

Continued, and completed, from the original Papers of the late

T H O M A S B L A C K W E L L, J. U. D.

PRINCIPAL of MARISHAL COLLEGE, in the University of ABERDEEN,

By J O H N M I L L S, Esq.

VOL. III.

L O N D O N:

Printed for A. M I L L A R, in the *Strand*.

MDCCLXIII.

T O
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
The Earl of BUTE,

Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter,
First Lord Commissioner of his Majesty's Treasury, &c. &c.

IN WHOSE CHARACTER

All the GREAT and GOOD QUALITIES which distinguished AGRIPPA,

As a MINISTER, a FRIEND, and a PATRIOT,

Are happily united with

That liberal Patronage of GENIUS which has immortalized MÆCENAS ;

This THIRD and LAST VOLUME

of the late Dr. BLACKWELL'S

MEMOIRS of the Court of AUGUSTUS,

Containing the AMIABLE PART of that Emperor's Life,

Is, with the utmost Respect, inscribed, by

His LORDSHIP'S most obedient,

and most humble Servant,

March 16, 1763:

John Mills.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS Volume was printed off to p. 144. when Dr. BLACKWELL died. The Proprietor, unwilling to let the Sets of those Gentlemen who had purchased the former Volumes remain incomplete, put all the Papers left by the Author, relative to this Work, into the Hands of the present Editor, who begs leave to observe, that those Papers being, in general, little more than loose Leaves, detached Notes, Memorandums, and, very often, only bare Hints of Things intended to be said, without any Connection, Reference to each other, or even paging, he hopes he may justly claim some Indulgence from the Public, wherever he has erred in his Endeavours to give them the Order and Method which he imagines might have been Dr. BLACKWELL's, if that Gentleman had lived to finish his Work. — He has tried to connect those loose Papers, and to arrange them in a regular Series; and where they have been deficient, he has had Recourse to the Ancients. The Editor humbly thinks himself the more intitled to some degree of Indulgence, as no sort of Plan, that he could ever find or hear of, was left by the Author, for the Continuation of these Memoirs.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

COURT of *AUGUSTUS*.

BOOK X.

IT is universally acknowledged, that the Happiness of Nations depends, in a great measure, upon their Governours, whose *Manners* the People are rather more ready to imitate than to obey their Commands. This should render Men in power equally circumspect in private Life, as attentive to the Duties of their public Stations. We are willing, it is true, partly thro' custom, or good-nature, to *make allowances* to our Rulers; and with pleasure see them, after undergoing Toils and Dangers for the Public, indulge in ease and magnificence: but we expect *moderation* in the Use of them, and fail not to despise, perhaps to curse the Leader, whose loose example infects the Morals, or whose excesses entail Misery upon an over-burthened People.

AFTER a Series of dreadful Calamities, *ROME* was now beginning to take breath; and thro' the Influence of the wise and learned Men that composed *Cesar's* Council, unhappy *ITALY*:

MEMOIRS of the

reassuming a face of Joy, while the Affairs of the EAST were running into Confusion. M. ANTONY, from the Time he had traiterously enslaved his Country, having given himself up to Drinking and Debauch, had minded no public Business but thro' necessity :— every thing was managed with the utmost Licentiousness by his Creatures, and of consequence all was in disorder. Yet was he not so thoroughly lost to a sense of Shame, as not to feel the dishonour reflected upon his Government by the *Parthian* Incurfions ; or not to be stung by the Victories, gained by *Ventidius* and his other Lieutenants in his Department of the Empire. For another Soldier of fortune, *P. Canidius Crassus*, (who had a chief hand in seducing *Lepidus's* Army, and gaining admiffion to routed *Antony*), being sent to govern *Bithynia* and *Pontus*, had picked a quarrel with *Pharnabazæ*, the neighbouring King of *Iberia* ; and marching thro' *Armenia* by the same Route that *Cn. Pompey* had held before, first forced him to an Alliance, and then joining Armies, had made a farther attempt upon his Neighbour, *Z O B E R* King of *Albany*. They were no petty Princes ; nor was it a small Conquest. *IBERIA*, called now by the *Persians* *Gourgiffan**, and by the *Europeans* *Georgia*, is a fertile Country, watered by the *Kür* and many a navigable Stream. It was then finely cultivated, full of Brick-built Towns, and public Edifices ; so that the Prince could raise many thousand Men in case of an Invasion. The *Albanian* was still more powerful ; having faced *Pompey the great* with an Army of sixty thousand Foot and fourteen thousand Horse. These Conquests are but just named among *POMPEY's* Victories, thro' the irreparable Loss of the *MEMOIRS* of his Expedition, writ by *THEOPHANES* his Companion and Secretary already

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of the *Samaritan* Territory, he joined *Sossius* and the Legions with thirty thousand Men, and vigorously pressed the Siege of *Jerusalem*.

THE JEWS within made a desperate defence. They persuaded themselves, that GOD would miraculously appear for their relief from an Army composed of *Idumeans*, *Samaritans*, *Syrians* and *Romans*—Nations, whom they thought odious to Heaven; and, in virtue of this persuasion, they underwent the greatest hardships, and did the boldest things Men are capable of performing. But the *Roman* Discipline; and Skill in all the Branches of the military Art, found nothing unfurmountable; and, being at the same time favoured by the Season, the Works advanced apace, in spite of the fierce resistance of Men who little valued their own life or limbs, so they might do mischief to the Enemy.

YET, for all the *Roman* Address and *Idumean* Bravery, the Siege lasted five months, when at length a part of *Herod's* own Life-guard were first seen to mount the Wall; and after them *Sossius's* Troop broke in, and made way for the whole Army. The City was taken that same day six and twenty years it had been taken by CN. POMPEY*. In the first fury of the Troops, the miserable *Jews* felt all the Ills which a Town carried by Storm suffers from a foreign Army, or the more merciless hands of their inveterate Country-men: But at last HEROD interposed; and, by Promises to the General, and Threats to the Soldiery, not only saved the Remains of his Capital, but preserved the Sanctity of the Temple from profanation. The *Romans* and *Syrians* were rushing into it, partly for plunder, and partly from a curiosity to view the *Arcana* that were kept so religiously from vulgar Eyes. They did not mind the King's Entreaties, nor regard his Threats; until

* JOSEPH, the *Jewish* Historian, says it was seven and twenty Years between the two Sackings of *Jerusalem*: but he has probably counted by the *Hebrew* Kalendar, and included the *Sabbatic Year*, which began at the autumnal Equinox, in the Month of *Tisri*, or *September*, A. U. C. DCCXVI.

until he charged them sword in hand at the head of his own Guards, and reduced them to a Sense of their Duty.

AMONG the miserable Spectacles of the Day was *Antigonus*, lately the Idol of the Nation: who forgetting the Dignity of his Birth and Station, threw himself down at *Sossius's* feet, meanly begging for Life: nor did the *Roman* General keep to the generosity of a Victor or the humanity of his Nation; but received the unhappy Prince with an insulting sneer—called him *Miss Antigone*, and ordered him immediately to be put in irons. He afterwards led him to ANTONY who was lying with the Army at *Antioch*, and who, in consideration of a vast sum sent by *Herod*, gave orders that *Antigonus* should lose his head. It was the first one struck off by the *Romans* that had wore a Crown: for his elder Brother *Alexander*, who was beheaded by *Scipio's* command, had not put on the Diadem. DION says, that his Head was put into the *Furca*, a sort of Pillory, and his Body scourged, before he was brought to the Block; and the accurate *Strabo*, in his much-regretted History, assigns the Reason of this ignominious Execution, ‘that it was the only Way could be ‘thought of, to loosen the affections of the *Jews* from the *Assyrian* Race, and make them receive *Herod* as their King: for so ‘rooted was their hatred to him, that, even when put upon the ‘Rack, they would not acknowledge him for their Sovereign.’ Yet he had a strong Party zealous for his interest, and that among the strictest Sect, the *Pharisees*; one of whom, by name POLLIO, prophesied, says *Josephus*, his Establishment on the Throne; and was highly honoured by HEROD; who did not fail to reward his military Men, especially the *Romans*, with great magnificence; and made Presents to the General that were truly royal. Accordingly, before his departure, *Sossius* consecrated a Crown of Gold in the Temple of the LORD at *Jerusalem*, in token of his having settled a KING.

THESE Atchievements of *Ventidius*, of *Canidius Crassus*, and *Sossius*, against powerful or desperate Nations, seemed to confirm the

the young *Cesar's* Observation, that he and his Collegue were more fortunate by their Lieutenants, than when they commanded in person. They spread the Terror of *Antony's* Arms over all *Asia*, from the *Euxine* to the Red-Sea, at the same time that they reflected not a little dishonour on his personal Indolence. Along with this, his vast luxurious Army, while idle, lay a heavy Burden upon the exhausted Provinces, and called for new Supplies of Plunder; so that Honour combined with Interest to rouse, and make him finally resolve upon an Expedition to *PARTHIA*, and, as he fondly hoped, the Conquest of that mighty Empire.

WE observed, that this Expedition was in view at his last Parting with *CESAR*, when *Octavia* accompanied him in his Voyage towards *Greece*. They touched at the Island *Corfu* in their way; and from thence, either out of real regard for her Ease, or beginning to weary of too uniform a Wife, he sent back that excellent Woman with her own two Infants and *Fulvia's* Children, under pretence that, at a distance from the dangers of War, she would live more agreeably among her Friends at *ROME*. He then proceeded thro' *Greece* to *Syria*, and began to call together the whole Power of the East; some Incidents having fallen out that seemed to render the Conjunction extremely favourable for an Invasion of *Parthia*.

No Prince could be more amazed, than *ORODES** (the Conqueror of *Crassus*). was with the News of the Death of his Favourite *Pacorus*, the royal Youth who fell at the Attack of *Ventidius's* Camp, and who was the Pride and Pleasure of the old King's heart. He had lately heard that his Armies had subdued all *Syria*, and over-run a great Part of the Province of *Asia*, and now made no doubt of his Son's beating the *Romans*, and returning home in triumph: but instead of this, he was informed of

* It is the same Name, a little varied, with *Herodes*, signifying mighty Prince, formidable Spoiler, from *הֵרֹדֶס* *Hérodes*,—or, if the Aspiration (which the *Greeks* could not pronounce) be changed, it signifies, brave, active, clever, from *הֵרֹדֶס*.

of the total Defeat of his Army, and of the Death of the *PRINCE*, he was seized with Astonishment! For some days he refused to eat, or utter a word. Absorbed in the Idea of his beloved Son, he neither heard, nor saw, nor minded any thing besides; but, when he began to recover his Speech, it was only to call upon *Pacorus*—to converse with *Pacorus**, to ask him Questions as if present, and listen to his Answers——till recollecting he was no more, he would burst into tears, and fall into agonies and distraction. At length, Grief and Neglect of himself brought on a Dropsy, and along with it a new Care—the Choice of a Successor from among thirty remaining Sons. This Choice, either thro' Priority of Birth, or the usual Intrigues of the Seraglio, fell upon the worst and wickedest of Men, *Phraates*†; born of an obscure Woman, tho' he had Children by a Princess of *Commagene*. To him *ORODES*, weary of Business, of the World, and of Life, resigned his Crown, and in return, as the Dropsy seemed to proceed but slowly in removing him, received a Draught of Poison from his Successor. But it produced a very unexpected effect, purging off the dropsical humour, and restoring the old King to health, only that he might witness the slaughter of his *nine and twenty* sons by their elder Brother. He expressed a proper Indignation, which drew an Order from the Parricide to stifle his Father with his Pillow. Many of the prime Nobility met with the same Fate; as did the Monster's own Child, who was grown up too nigh the Throne. In consequence of these horrid Doings, *PARTHIA* was in the utmost confusion; the surviving great Lords fled from Court, to take shelter under the neighbouring Princes; and the greatest of them,

Monges,

* It signifies *glorious*, or *triumphant*; from ^{مَجْد} *مَجْد*, *Glory*, a *Triumph*; a Name not unlike the Title of the Kings of *Egypt*, by the Transposition of a single Letter, ^{فِرْعَوْن} *Pharcho* (*Pharaoh*) signifying, the *Chief*, the *Prince*, the *Head* of a Nation or Family.

† It is derived from the *Syriac* פִּרְאָא, *Phraat*, *Eminent Horseman*.

Monefes, took the route of *Syria*, and put himself under the Protection of *Antony*. He met with a distinguished Welcome, and had three Cities assigned to him for his Entertainment; in imitation of the Appointments given to *Themistocles*, when that famed *Athenian* took refuge at the *Persian* Court. The Accounts which *Monefes* gave of the disordered state of *Parthia*, thro' the cruelty of their savage King, made it appear an easy Conquest; and the Promises he made to guide the Army, and bring over whole Provinces from *Phraates*, determined *Antony* to make the Attempt next Spring.

BUT while he was employed in preparing for so great an Enterprize, and the tributary Princes were beginning to put their forces in motion, there were not wanting some obliging Persons in his own retinue, who, to make themselves gracious, or prompted perhaps from *Egypt*, put him now and then in mind of its neglected Queen—*‘the charming unhappy Woman, who loved him more than Life or Reputation—who submitted, tho’ a crowned Head, to be called his Mistress, while a haughty Roman Dame enjoyed the Honours of his conjugal State.’* Among these complacent People I suspect the ingenious and dissolute *DELLIUS* to have held the chief place. He had for some time been inseparable from *ANTONY*, and was at the same time extremely acceptable to *Cleopatra*;—so acceptable, that there were Suspicions of more than common Intimacy between them: It is not, therefore, improbable, that he would employ his insinuating Arts on this occasion; as he might hope, were his Master again obnoxious to the Queen, to obtain greater Favours by *her* means than he could expect in the ordinary way. Be that as it will, *MARK ANTONY*, giddy and inconstant—in a long habit of indulging his Passions, was by his evil Genius persuaded to lay hold of the thin pretence of summoning the dependent Princes, and dispatch the courtly *FONTEIUS CAPITO* * into *Egypt*, to command the Queen's Attendance upon the *Triumvir* in *Syria*.

WE

CAPITOQUE simul FONTEIUS, ad iugum
Fœdus hinc, ANTONI, ut non magis alter, amicus. HORAT. Sat. V.

WE would be greatly mistaken if we imagined, that the least grain of honour or mutual fidelity had ever entered into the commerce of these Lovers; or that the Lady had kept within the bounds of Decency in the Interval of their Amour: no;—she was, as the grave PLINY calls her, *Regina Meretrix*, a royal Whore; of such Intemperance, as to prostitute herself for pleasure; and of such irresistible Beauty, that many Gentlemen, struck with her bewitching Face and Figure, were contented to purchase a Night in her arms with the Loss of their Heads next morning. This is strange; but not incredible. Passion wound up to its height, and especially the Passion of Love, is capable of *any* Sacrifice. There are instances of *Inamoratos* who have voluntarily killed themselves in the height of Rapture; and *Cleopatra*, drunk with power and pleasure, was very capable of exacting performance, and glorying in such a Victim offered to her Charms. It was therefore no delicate Passion, but mere Lewdness, that tied *Antony* to her; and both *that* and Interest that made her *feign love* for him. We need not doubt of her graciously receiving the polite *Capito*, and readily obeying the welcome Call; nor of her coming brighten'd up with all *the art and luxury of Love*. Her first Progress to *Cilicia*, and Interview with the Triumvir at *Tarsus*, made the greatest noise, as it was new; but this *second* Congress in *Syria* was more enchanting, tho' less splendid. *Antony* and *She* were perfectly acquainted; the Queen especially, well knew her Man, and came prepared to indulge him in every wish of his heart: for their Inclinations were quite of a piece; equally wild, equally profuse and profligate, with only more Invention on her part, to fall upon new and surprising methods of gratification. ANTONY therefore forgetting the lovely *Octavia*, and disregarding the resentment of her Brother, threw himself so entirely into the arms of this Enchantress, that from the hour of this Meeting he was no more his own Master, scarce took a right Step, or saw a happy day in his after Life.

To understand the manner of his final Ruin, we must be duly apprised of the Peculiarities of the Person's Character who commanded him like a Child. For, besides the Beauties and Blemishes already mentioned, *GLEOPATEA* was a Woman of infinite Cunning, insatiate Avarice, and relentless Cruelty. She found the LORD of the eastern Empire her Slave, and thought she should of course be Mistress of all his Dependants. She therefore saw nothing that was rare or excellent—no rich Revenue, or precious Produce of any neighbouring Kingdom, but what she coveted; and by ways and means obtained it, in whole or in part, from her obsequious Lover. The fine Pasture-Lands in upper *Cilicia*, the noble Cedar-Woods above *Sydra*, the Iron Mines of *Armenia*, and adjacent Harbours for a Fleet (lying almost opposite to the Mouth of the Nile); in short, all the mountainous *Cilicia* she obtained in a present from *Antony*, save the free City, famed for its admirable Policy, *SELEUCIA* on the *Calicadno*. But this was a Trifle;—for as her Influence increased, she begged nothing less than one Gift of the two Kingdoms that border with *Egypt*, *ARABIA* and *JUDEA*. This Demand did startle *Antony*; who asked, somewhat amazed, how that could be done, while these Kingdoms were possessed by two brave Princes, his particular Friends?—Why, Sir, said the Queen with a derisory Smile, *Is it not in your power to cut off their Heads, and dispose of their Dominions to whom you please?* *ANTONY* was not as yet quite so far gone as to commit the suggested Barbarity; but such was the Ascendant she had over him, that she forced him to tear from both the Flower of their Revenues: the Balsam-bearing Groves about *Jericho**, from *HEROD*, and the Frankincense-Fields of *Saba*, from *MALCHUS*. Then she must have the Vale of Palms about *Damascus*; and, to reward her moderation in not insisting for the two Kingdoms, she actually got possession of all

* The King, to prevent her Officers from getting footing in his Country, thought fit to farm them himself, and paid the Queen a Rent of near L. 40,000 a-year.

all *Phœnicia* and the *Hollow-Syria*, excepting the independent Cities of *TYRE* and *SIDON*, which she struggled hard to obtain.

IN such a state of Mind, and under such Influence, did *Antony* undertake the dangerous *Parthian War*. *PIRAATES*, no less sagacious than cruel, knew the consequence of *Monefcs*, and sent to offer him not only Security of Life and Fortune, if he would return to his Duty, but the highest Honours and Trust. The Grandee inclined to accept, and it was not proper to hinder him by force: *Antony* rather chose to use him as a Tool, to lure the *Parthian* by the shew of a Treaty, which he proposed to conclude, on condition the *EAGLES* of the Legions, and especially the surviving *Prisoners*, taken at the defeat of *Crassus*, were restored to the *Romans*. With these Proposals, and very magnificent Presents, he dismissed *Monefcs*, and in the mean time did not intermit his vast Preparations for the War. They were such as put *all Asia* in motion, and terrified the Nations beyond *Bactra* and the *Indus*. He assembled just double the number of Men, with which *Alexander the Macedonian* had passed the *Hellespont*, and put an end to the *Persian Empire*. Sixty thousand *Romans*, heavy armed, attended with their Complement of *ten thousand* Horse, seemed alone a Force capable of subduing all the East: but when joined by so many auxiliary Princes, with their whole collected Strength, it was scarce expected that an Enemy would dare to look it in the face. *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, *Amyntas* and *Castor* Kings of *Galatia* and *Paphlagonia*, *Polemo* King of *Pontus*, and *Malchus* the *Arab*, all of *Antony's* own creating, brought each his Quota of Men, out of which he picked seventeen thousand light armed, to scour the Country and procure intelligence; while his chief confidence was in the King of the greater *Armenia*, *ARTUASDES* (or *Artabazus* *), the Son of

B 2

that

* It is one and the same Name; the letter B put for the W of the Eastern Tongues, which the Greeks supplied with B, or diphthong OY; writing indiscriminately Βίργιλιος or Ουίργιλιος, Βάρρων or Ουάρρων: So Ἀρταβάδης or Ἀγ-
ταβαζης. It signifies *strong Lion* or *mighty Lord*; from two *Persian* Words, both preserved in the *Arabic*, عراض *potens*, and سائید *dominus, princeps*.

that *Tigranes* on whose head *POMPEY* had replaced the easy-ravished Crown. This Prince furnished *seven thousand* Foot, and *sixteen thousand* chosen Horsemen, acquainted with the *Parthian* manner of fighting, and thought no way inferior to them at their own Weapons, the Bow and the Sabre.

THE Troops of the several Nations were now filing off towards their Rendezvous in *Irák* or upper *Arabia*, in order to pass the *Phrath* at the nearest, when *ANTONY* sent back the Queen with a royal Retinue to *Egypt*, and took the leading of that formidable Army that made the *Parthian* Tyrant tremble on his Throne. His Empire, reaching across the Continent of *Asia*, from the *Caspian* to the *Red-Sea*, consisted of *eighteen* Kingdoms*: so they affected to call their Governments or *Satrapies*, eleven of the upper, and seven of the lower *Domaine*; in virtue whereof the royal Title of *Parthia* was KING of KINGS†. These Provinces were inhabited by a fighting warlike People, especially the northern, and could pour myriads of Cavalry upon an invading Foe: but the Fate of *Pacorus* and *Barzapharnes*, and still more his own Crimes, made *PHRAATES* almost despair at the approach of the most tremendous military Body then in the World. His Fears were vain—for the *first Mover* was vitiated;

—the

WHEN the younger *Cyrus* was animating his Grecian Troops with the Prospect of vast Rewards, he told them, Ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ παλαιὰ πρὸς μὲν τὴν μεσημβρίαν μέχρις οὗ διὰ καυμά εἰ δυνατόν οἰκεῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι· πρὸς δὲ ἄρκιον μέχρις ὅπου διὰ χειμῶνα· τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ τέτων ἀπάντα σατραπείεσσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς φίλοι.

GENTLEMEN! The Empire of my Forefathers, Kings of *Persia*, extends towards the South, to where Mankind cannot dwell for Heat—Northward it runs to where it is uninhabitable for Cold; and all that lies between these two is divided into Provinces, and governed by the Friends of the King.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ. Αναβ. Κυρ. α.

* PERSAE, says Ammianus, *Saporem*, SAAN-SAAN appellabant, et *Pyrosem*, quod est Rex Regibus imperans, et bellorum Victor. He says true; شاهان SHAHIN-SHAH is just King of Kings, and فیروز FIROUZ a Conqueror.

—the General's *Head*, that was to direct its Operations, was actually *turned*: *Cleopatra* ran constantly in it—*her* Image, like a magic Spell, danced before his eyes, and he thought of nothing but Frolic and Luxury. Instead therefore of employing his great Capacity, and the military Skill acquired in a Life led in arms, to conduct the grand Enterprize, he regarded it only as a *transient* affair; while the main Point he kept in view, was to get home to spend the Winter with *CLEOPATRA*. To accomplish this, ever thing was *hurried*, and of course every thing was *mismanaged*. Disorder and Confusion prevailed; and a still more fatal Error effectually blasted the Expedition. For the same Absence of Mind and Inattention to Business made him mistake an Enemy for a Friend, and commit the Route of the Army, and in a manner the Direction of the Campaign, to a *Traitor*. *ARTUASDES*, King of *Armenia*, in his heart hated the *Romans*, as the Controulers of his royal Sway, and Obstacles to his extending his Dominion, like *Mithridates* his Grandfather, from *Pontus* to the *Archipelago*. He sighed in secret for the arbitrary Rule of his Neighbours, the *Median* and *Parthian* Kings, Lords of the lives and estates of their Subjects, and wished above all things to throw off the restraint of the *Roman* Yoke. But not daring to avow his Sentiments, nor openly to join their Enemies, he acted the Courtier to *M. Antony* in appearance, while he meant to sacrifice him and his Army to the *Parthian*.

WHETHER by intelligence from *him* or *Meneses*, it appeared that *Antony's* Dissimulation was no Secret at the *Parthian* Court: for, when he came to the *Phrath*, he found the passages so strongly guarded, that it was impossible to force them, and penetrate that way into the Enemy's Country. Being therefore at a stand, *Artuafdes* came, and offered to take the guidance of the Army, and lead them thro' his own Territories, *where*, he said, *they might refresh, and then proceed to the MEDIAN Border*. He was trusted as a Counsellor and Guide; and, instead of a *thousand English* miles, which is the distance between the *ZEUGMA* Pass, seventy-

seventy two below *Samofata*, and the Limits of *Atropatene*, he led the Roman Legions over horrid Mountains and thro' Desarts by so many Circuits and Windings, that it proved just double the way *.

AFTER that terrible March, the chief Officers, *Domitius Enobarbus*, *Munatius Plancus*, *Canidius Gallus*, *Titius* the Paymaster, and *Q. Dellius*, advised the General to winter in *Armenia*, and refresh his harassed Troops; 'to erect Magazines for the support of so vast an Army,—prepare new Carriages for the heavy Siege-Machines, and take the field early in the Spring, before the *Parthian* Horse could look out of their Winter-Quarters.' But no—that did not tally with his Schemes; and tho' the Summer was far spent, he divided his Army; left his Master of Artillery, *Oppius Statianus*, with the Machines, and ten thousand Men to guard them; while he himself, with his whole Cavalry, and the Flower of the Legions, advanced by forced Marches thro' the Plains of *Atropatene*, as if, by main force, he had been to trample down every thing before him.

WHEN the Empire of *Persia* was dismembered after *Alexander's* death, the bloody Wars into which Ambition involved his Captains, left them little leisure to look after the remote Provinces; neither indeed had they sufficient numbers, tho' daily recruited from *Greece*, to grasp the immense Territories of the Eastern Monarchy. It was then that the despised *Parthian* grew into a powerful State, and it was then that *Atropates*, a *Persian* Satrape, Governor of *Media*, kept the Militia of his Province in arms, and drove out the thin *Macedonian* Garrisons. The mountainous Parts to the north, among the Skirts of Mount TAURUS, affording them many Places of Strength, he was able to erect that District into a Kingdom under the renowned name of MEDIA; and mixing in alliance, sometimes with

* Τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ζεύγματος ὁδὸν—μέχρι τῆς Ἀψαδαὶ καὶ Ἀλεοπατῶνης, ὁκτακισχιλίων σταδίων, ἐποίησεν πλέον ἢ διπλάσιαν τῇ εὐθείᾳ, διὰ ὄρων, καὶ ἀνορέων, καὶ κυκλοπορείας.

with the *Parthian*, sometimes with the *Armenian* and *Syrian* Kings, he grew to such power, as to levy forty thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse in his own Dominions. But as his Neighbours on either hand were still more powerful, the *Median* Politic was to be strictly connected with one, while at war with the other. The reigning Prince (of the same name with the *Armenian* King) was at high variance with him; which made him throw himself into the *Parthian's* arms; while his Enemy persuaded *Antony* to make a circuit, and attack *Parthia* thro' *Atropatene*, where he put every thing to fire and sword.

THE allied Kings did not immediately advance and give him battle: they let him first tire his Troops with sultry Marches and bad Quarters, and then sit down, unprepared as he was, before the strong Town of *Praaspa* *, whither the *Median* Prince had convey'd his Seraglio and Treasure at the first news of the *Roman* Invasion. Here he was fatiguing and losing his best Men, in rolling, for want of machines, such a vast Bank of Earth to surmount the Wall, as that by which General *Patrick Gordon* enabled the late *CZAR* to take *Asoph*, when the two Kings, informed of *Oppius'* being left behind, detached a Body of Cavalry to attack him. *Artuafdes*, tho' in the neighbourhood, did not stir for his relief, nor send him the least Intelligence: so that towards evening, he was suddenly surrounded, overpowered, and slain; and with him ten thousand *Romans*, pierced with Arrows, lay dead upon the Field. For they gave no quarter; and a foot-Soldier could but ill escape from the *Parthian* Horse. The only Prisoner they made was *Polemo* King of *Pontus*, whom the *Median* released for a vast Ransom. The Siege-Engines that loaded three hundred Carriages, and among the rest the famous Battering Ram, of fourscore foot long, they broke in pieces and burnt, and after this Exploit marched back to join their Masters.

WE

* It is pure *Persian*, from *قرباس* a Rider, and *لش* a Horse.

WE have a brief relation of the Events of this War in *Plutarch's Life of Antony*; but our Entertainment had been higher, if either the *original History* of it, writ by the noted *DELLIUS*, who made the Campaign in person, or if *STRABO's Partbian Memoirs* had reached our times. For *Plutarch*, who extracted that part of his Story from *these* Authors, tells it but cursorily, and *Appian* has lamely transcribed him. *STRABO*, for instance, lets us know, 'that *Gaza* the Capital of *Atropatene* stood in a 'Plain, near to which was *WERA* a Citadel built on a high 'Rock, where the King of *Media* kept his Family and Treasure: 'that *Antony* laid siege to this Fort, and, after he raised it, had, 'according to *Dellius* an Eye-witness, *three hundred Miles* to 'march to the River *Araxes*, which divides *Armenia* from *Atro-* 'patene *'. But *Plutarch* and his Transcriber make no mention of *Wera*: they say, 'that *Antony* besieged a great City *Praaspa* ' (or *Pbraata*) whither the Royal Family and Jewels had been 'convey'd.' Wherefore waving the Detail of the military Operations, which belong not properly to my Subject, I will only endeavour to give a *general Idea* of the Expedition, and observe; that the same Causes contributed to defend the *Parthians* from the *Roman* Legions, that have rendered the Conquest of that same Country (*modern Persia*) impracticable to the *Ottoman* Armies for these four or five hundred Years. The *Turkish* Troops, tho' a bordering People, are fatigued and starved before they pass the large waste Tracts that ly between them and the rich inland Provinces of *Persia*. Sicknes too seldom fails to seize them in consequence of fatigue and bad feeding, when the fresh *Persian* Army, far superior to them in Cavalry, begins to hem them in, to cut off their Provisions, and keep them in play, till Winter's Approach make the commanding *Bashaw* think how he can secure his Retreat.

THIS

* ΣΤΡΑΒΩΝ. ΒΙΒ. ΙΑ. WERA, from the Arabic ⁵وعر, a steep high Rock; if from ⁶وهر, a Place heated by reflected rays. Perhaps it has appeared like a Rider upon *Gaza*, and both have conjunctly been called PRAASPA the HORSEMAN.

THIS was the case of the *Roman Army* before *Praaspa* about the middle of *September*; when *PHRAATES*, on the other hand, afraid of his Cavalry's dispersing at the first fall of Snow, slyly ordered them 'to permit the Romans to forage more freely—to extol their Bravery, and wonder they should chuse to make war upon a Prince who held them and their General in such admiration.' This Fetch had the wished effect: *ANTONY*, threatened with famine, and making slow progress in the Siege, sent some of his chief Officers to treat with the *Parthian King*, who received them in high state, sitting on a Throne of gold, and twanging the string of his Bow, while they were offering peace, on condition the Ensigns and Prisoners taken at *Carrac* from *Craffus* were restored. *PHRAATES*, not without reason, reproached the *Romans* with treachery and avarice, and, in few words, bade them forbear talking at present of the Eagles and Prisoners—but that if *Antony* pleased to depart, he should be furnished with provisions, and might march home without molestation. Necessity left him no choice; he decamped in such haste as to leave his Works thrown up before *Praaspa* to be burnt by the *Median Garrison*. For two days he marched unmolested; but the third he was surrounded by the perfidious *Parthian*, and attacked on all sides at once.—He was in the midst of the Solitudes of *Atropatene*, deserted by his false Friend *Artuafdes* (who had returned to *Armenia*), and exposed to the united efforts of the *Parthian* and *Median Power*. In the course of this miserable March, they made eighteen different attacks upon the *Roman Army*, and almost always by surprize. At evening, morning, noon;—at the Fords of Rivers and Passes of Mountains they harassed the starving Legions, and left them not an hour of secure repose. *Antony's Scouts* came in out of breath, and had scarce made their report, that the Enemy was at hand, when a shower of Arrows confirmed the truth of it. In this terrible condition they marched three hundred miles in one and twenty days, so destitute of Provisions, that the eighth part of a Peck of Wheat was sold for thirty shillings, and Barley-bread was

bought with its weight of Silver. In fine, ANTONY and his whole Army had certainly perished, but for two of the Barbarians themselves; the one was a *Mardian* * acquainted with *Parthia*, but now in the *Roman* service, and who had behaved well in the unhappyy Engagement at the Machines. He came to ANTONY, and told him, *not to return by the way he had come thro' the naked Plain, where he would infallibly perish with hunger and thirst—but to take his way thro' the Mountains on his right hand, where he would find Streams and Villages, and be less exposed to the Parthian Squadrons;—*and for security of his good Intentions, he allowed himself to be bound, and in that condition led the way towards *Armenia*.

BESIDES Famine, Foes and Thirst, they met with other unexpected Disasters by the way:—for being forced to feed upon all sorts of Roots and Greens, they happened upon a poisonous Herb of an extraordinary nature: those that eat of it were seized with madness, and then expired vomiting Bile. When it began to operate, they lost memory of every thing, and knowledge of every body—One sole business they minded,—to dig up and turn over every Stone they could perceive on the ground. The Fields were full of People stooping down, and removing Stones, who in a little time fell a vomiting and dropt down dead †. ANTONY was struck with the unheard-of Calamity, and the *Parthians* at the same time pressing on him harder than ever, he was heard repeating to himself in anguish, *O the ten thousand!—the ten thousand!* He had reason: the March of that handful of *Greeks* from the heart of the *Persian* Empire, in spite of surrounding Armies of *three hundred thousand* Men, is among the shining Proofs of the Superiority to which glorious LIBERTY raises a Nation:

* An Usbeck Tartar.

† The ingenious Dr. TOURNEFORT has not described this Plant in the Excursion he made into *Media* to visit Mount *Ararat*, where *Noah's* ARK is said to have rested after the Deluge; but he paints a part of the Country between it and the *Araxes* thus—*des campagnes sèches, pierreuses, incultes, et fort desagréables.*

Nation: It is the triumph of Freedom over Slavery, of Wisdom over Folly, and, in one word, of VIRTUE over VICE. Rivers, Rocks, and Mountains, guarded by hostile Nations, in vain opposed their Passage to their loved Native-Land: Under the conduct of an *Athenian* Philosopher (a *real* Philosopher, joining Action to Thought) they broke thro' every Bar, surmounted every Obstacle, until they got a sight of the SEA, that filled them with inexpressible ecstasy. Nor did ever glorious Deed find a better *Historian*, than this has done in the person of its Hero, the *all-accomplished* XENOPHON, the preservation of whose Works (a most precious Monument of Antiquity) is an equal Happiness to Life and Learning.

THE other salutary Service came originally from *Moneses*, and was performed by *Mithridates* his Nephew. The *Parthians* had feigned to leave off farther pursuit, and return home before Winter: they had covered their dissimulation with so many civil Expressions and Professions of *admiring the Roman Discipline and Valour*, that ANTONY was again deceived; and was about to leave the Route thro' the Mountains where he heard there was no Water, and take that thro' the Plain. But the night before he was to descend, a Gentleman came to the Camp, and called for an Interpreter that could speak *Syriac* or *Parthian*. ALEXANDER, a Native of *Antioch*, *Antony's* great Acquaintance, was sent out, to whom he first told *who* he was, and at *whose* desire he came; and then pointing north-west, asked if he saw *that Ridge of high Hills* at a distance? He said he did——'Well, replied *Mithridates*, at the foot of these the whole *Parthian* Army lies in wait for you. The Road by the Plain leads thro' them; and they hope that, having deceived you with professions of Peace, you will leave the dreary March thro' the Mountains, and fall into the snare——It is true you must lay your account with Toil and Thirst to which you have been no strangers; but tell ANTONY from me, that, if he quit the Hills, the fate of CRASSUS will inevitably attend him.'

BUT the most dreadful Calamity that befel *Antony* during the whole Expedition, was owing to the avarice and brutality of his own Troops. He had long accustomed them to Robbery and Plunder; and being now restrained by the *Parthian* Bow-Men from ravaging abroad, they thought fit to exercise their Talents upon one another.

IN the dead of the night a Cry reached the General's Tent, as if an Attack had been made by the Enemy upon the Camp; and sending out to know what was the matter, he was told, that all was in confusion, and no resistance making by the Legions surprised without their Arms. The Cry approached nearer and nearer, and at last coming from his own Baggage, he gave all for lost, and calling *Rhamnus*, a sturdy fellow he had lately manumitted, he made him swear to run him thro' with his Sword, when he gave the command, and then to cut off his Head—I suppose, that he might neither be taken alive, nor known and insulted, like *Craesus*, after his death. The Officers were standing about him in tears, and the faithful *Tartar* their Guide was assuring them they were not far from a fresh River, when some of the Tribunes entered, and told him the Attack was from *no Enemy*—but that a number of their *own* Ruffians had first murdered their Comrades for their Money,—then had rifled the Bast-Horses and Carriages, and last of all had fallen upon his own Baggage, and cut his maffy Tables, and Plate in pieces, and shared it among themselves. This was done in the midst of their fiercest Enemies, and in the utmost Incertainty whether they should ever get home, to enjoy the fruits of their Villainy.

SUCH a thing was never heard of under the Commonwealth. It would have been thought the most incredible and monstrous Impiety; when it was not known, that a common Soldier, standing Centry over the Spoil of the richest Town, had ever pilfered the smallest Trifle; but delivered the whole faithfully over to the public Division. It was one of the grievous Effects of the

contempt

contempt of the Laws, and bribing Armies, introduced by *JULIUS CESAR*: for the unloosing the Pins of the august Frame of the ROMAN REPUBLIC, the chief of which was their *Military Discipline*, must needs be attended with dismal Convulsions, and involve its Destroyers in the public Ruin.

FROM this hurried hapless Expedition ANTONY scarce brought back *two thirds* of his Men; for having got safe over the *Arares*, he mustered his Army, and found *twenty thousand* Foot, and *four thousand* Horsemen amissing; one half of whom had perished by Sickness and Want, and the other fallen by the *Parthian* Arrows. His weak State made him dissemble the Treachery of *Artuafdes*, and his wild Passion lost him other *eight thousand* of his Soldiers, frozen to death on the Mountains by the intense Cold, while, hurrying home to *Cleopatra* thro' the deep Snows of *Armenia*, he arrived himself, with a very thin Retinue, at a Port in *Phœnicia* called the *white Village*, between *Berytus* and *Sidon*, where the QUEEN had appointed to meet him. While he waited her arrival, it appeared how little he was in his *own*, and how much in *her* power. He could take no rest, nor possess himself for an hour: sometimes, to drive away care, he sat down to drink; but was scarcely set, till starting up, he ran to the House-top, whence he had a view of the Sea, to look for the Queen's Fleet. She arrived at last, bringing Cloaths and Money for the Troops, or at least what he distributed in her name; and then, as if he had been himself in her pay, SHE led him back to EGYPT, to pass the remainder of the Winter at *Alexandria*.

THIS Expedition, undertaken in contempt of Treaties, thro' mere thirst of Gold, met with the Success it deserved: and that Success gives rise to a curious Question, 'Why *Crassus* and *Antony* ' should fail in an Enterprize, where first *Agésilas* and *Xenophon*, ' and then *Alexander* and *Ventidius*, with much smaller Armies ' had been victorious?' It is elegantly touched in a *Review of the Lives and Characters of the CÉSARS*, written by the Emperor *JULIAN*; a Piece of great Genius and Judgment! He introduces
the

the grand Usurper JULIUS CESAR claiming the only over all his Countrymen, but venturing to deride *Alexander's* Conquest of the *Persian Empire*, as of a weak unwarlike People. The *Macedonian* first answers, 'that his (*Cesar's*) boasted Wars in *Gaul* were nothing but Preparations to oppress his Country; than which nothing could be more villainous and detestable,' and then tartly asks, 'If the conquest of *Persia* were so contemptible an Achievement, inform me, pray SIR! how is it, that you Romans have not been able to master one small Province above the *Tigris*, in a War of three hundred years? Shall I tell you the real Cause—it is the *Persian Arms* that keep you at a bay; of which you may be pleased to ask news at your Favourite and Pupil in the military, *Marc Antony*.' Here JULIAN leaves it; who, while he was writing, had his *Persian Expedition* in view, where he lost his Life, after obtaining a glorious Victory. The reason of the different Fate of the Generals I conceive to have been this: that in the three Battles of *Granicus*, *Gangamela*, and *Issus*, with *Alexander*, and the two at the *Cilician Pass* and *Aleppo*, with *Ventidius*, the *Persians* stood firm, fought hand to hand, and endeavoured to bear down their Enemy by dint of Sword. In this way of fighting their Armour and Exercise were both inferior, and they were beaten of course. But had they brought at no foot Soldier into the Field, and poured their multitudes of northern Horse round the small *Grecian* and *Roman* Armies of twenty or thirty thousand Men, with orders to fly when attacked, and turn upon the Retreat—to straiten, harass, and starve the enemy in their barren Plains; it is more than probable, that *Alexander* and *Ventidius* would have fared no better than *Crassus* and *Antony*. It was the face the *Spartan* *Persian Pride* and *Inexperience* that made them *Issus* and of *Saxa* and *Macedonian Phalanx*; as the Defeat of *Crassus* and of *Saxa* betray'd *Pacorus* into a standing Combat with the *Legions*. none of *Antony's* matters were a secret at *ROME*. His Relapse into *Cleopatra's* chains,

chains, and the bad effects of it upon his Affairs, particularly upon the *Parthian Campaign*, were perfectly known to *Cesar* and his Friends: and those who are acquainted with Life and with the Passions of *Men in power*, will easily imagine what effect the News had upon them. Piqued at the Affront offered to his Sister, *CESAR* saw there was no confidence to be put in his Collegue's Friendship: but as things were not ripe for an open Breach, he dissembled his Resentment, and joined in decreeing Thanksgivings to the Gods for *Antony's* Victory over the *Parthians*,—as the late *LEWIS XIV.* used to order *TE DEUM* to be sung in the Church of *Notre-Dame*, upon a Defeat.

THESE Festivals were otherways not unwelcome: for, after the Death of *Sextus Pompey* at *ROME*, the prospects of Peace and good Order, from the reiterated Professions of the young *CESAR*, so transported the remaining *Romans*, that, in his return thro' the Cities of *Italy*, they received him with extraordinary—almost *divine* Honours; they consecrated him in every Town at least among their *tutelar Genii*, and if Praise and Gratitude could operate upon his Nature, gave him the greatest Incitements to become truly good. He had never tasted such joy as upon the final Reduction of *Sicily*. The War had hung long; and been full of so many distressful circumstances on his side, that he seems at last to have *lost all patience*; and in one of the Storms that swallowed up his Ships, he broke out into Blasphemies (would a *Roman Priest* say), 'That, in spite of the GOD of the SEA, he would make good his Victory!' One would even suspect, that he had *half-believed Pompey's* pretensions to be the Son of *Neptune*, when, at the next great Games, he forbid the Statue of that God to be carried in procession thro' the *Circus* along with the other Deities; as if he meant to *deprive him of his Divinity*. But from this state of Anguish and Despair, what *Raptures* must a compleat Victory afford? He did not however formally triumph over his hereditary Foe, as he was a *Roman Citizen*; but elate with the pleasing Conquest, he ordered *MEDALS* of gold and silver to be struck, having on one side:

side the Bust of DIANA, the tutelar Goddess of the Port of *Syracuse*, and the *Front* of the Temple on the other. Within it stood a Trophy bearing an Anchor and Helm of a Ship; on the Cornish, IMP. CESAR, and in the Pediment, the *Tria Crura* (three Legs), the known Emblem of the triangular Isle. Others of these Medals, particularly one which I saw of silver, have the same *Portico* and its Attributes on one side; but the reverse, instead of the Bust of *Diana*, bears the *Tria Crura* at large, with *Eares of Wheat* between them, expressing the Fertility of the great Granary of *Rome*. Join to these another Evidence of the deep Impressions which the varied Scenes of Danger, Distress and Victory must have made upon the Mind of CESAR. In *SICILY* he had beheld the Forces of the four great Leaders in the Empire, assembled by sea and land: *there* he had seen *S. Pompey* at the summit of naval Power, and *Lepidus* at the head of *an hundred thousand Men*. This was the Theater of the grand Drama of Fortune, where he had been a Spectator of her sovereign Sway, and seen her Favourites precipitated into perdition by very different, or rather contrary ways: for within a few days of one another, he saw both *Pompey* and *Lepidus* tumbled from the height of Grandeur*: but the first flying from an Enemy's Army, and the insignificant *Lepidus* from his *own*. These Scenes, I say, but especially the dreadful Night of Rain, Thunder, Earthquake, and Eruptions of Fire from Mount *ETNA* (when without Tent or Equipage, he was forced to stand till day-break under the hollow of a *Gallic Targe*) left such traces in his fancy, that no sooner was he at leisure to indulge it, and, according to the prevailing mode, try his *Vein in Poetry*, than he produced a Work in heroic Verse, whose Title and Subject was *SICILY*. Pity it should have perished! We would both have had a curious specimen of *Cesar's* Genius, and striking Pictures of the Whirl-pools *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, of the Cliffs, Caverns, Volcanos, and other natural Wonders of the most diversified Island in the World.

IN

* SENECA, N. Q. IV.

IN consequence, therefore, of the *Sicilian* Victory, which seemed to promise lasting Tranquillity, CESAR was in high spirits, and his COURT was full of Mirth and Entertainments. At the same time, as there was no appearance of any Disturbance in the Spring, the Ministers found leisure to attend to the *Embellishments* of Life,—to study the *finer Arts*, the Offspring of Learning, and to pay some court to the *Mother*. In effect, the PRINCE himself, the prime Minister, the leading Men in the Senate, and all shining Characters then in *Rome*, were remarkable for *Scholarship*. But, to be able to judge of the general Taste of that Age, and to distinguish the particular *Manner* of the several Authors that adorned it, it will be necessary to take a comprehensive view of the *Roman* Literature, and for that purpose, to trace it, in the next Book, to its genuine Source.

B O O K XI.

FOR the first five hundred Years from the Foundation of ROME, Arms and Agriculture had been the chief Employments of the Citizens*: nor can any *two* in the whole Circle of human Affairs, be more properly joined together. A sturdy labouring Youth, bred in rural sobriety and toils, makes the hardiest *Soldier*, whom the distresses and hardships of a Campaign send chearful home to the culture of his Farm. The *Plowman* feeds the Army; and in return, the Army protects him in the exercise of his healthful Trade, and in the enjoyment of the fruits of his Labour. The *old Romans* were a *rough hardy* People; † men of Action and great bodily Strength, who knew nothing but the few plain Precepts of *Husbandry*, and the Points of their *military* Discipline. Nor were they so much occupied in studying the Theory even of *these*, as in putting them *tightly in practice*. Perils from abroad, and Want at home left little room for curious Speculations. We accordingly find the Names of the most illustrious Families to have sprung originally from *Agriculture*: the FABII from *Beans*, the LENTULI from *Lentiles*, the CICERO's from *Vetches*; as each excelled in cultivating that particular Legume. In the noble *Junian* Family, the best Manager of Oxen got the Name of *Bubulcus*:

* Vol. I. page 137.

† *Intonsus* Cato, *Curius incompitis capillis*, *Intonsi* avi, are the common Epithets. There was no *Barber* in Rome for the first four hundred and fifty Years; when *P. Ticinius Mena* brought them first from SICILY. The elegant *Scipio* first shaved every day: *Julius Cesar* and *Augustus* gave a sanction to the Mode, which has continued ever since.

cus: Even in their holiest Rites, nothing was so sacred as eating together of the same *consecrated Corn* *. *Pulse* and *Salt* was their purest Sacrifice; and, in their Marriage-Ceremonies, a *Cake* was carried in solemn Procession before the Bride, a custom which prevails, in one shape or other, in most countries in *Europe* to this day. Among the first *Romans*, an ill-plow'd Field was obnoxious to a *conscrial* Punishment; and when they called any Person a *good Husbandman*, it included every good quality, and was thought *the very highest* Commendation. Nor did the Distinctions of *Rank*, and the *Honours* of the State, take their rise from any other Fountain. The *ROMAN* People was originally divided into *TOWN-TRIBES* and *COUNTRY-TRIBES*: of the former there were only *four*, denominated from the *Parts* of the City which they inhabited, the *Suburran*, *Palatine*, *Colline* and *Esquilian* Tribes; into any one of which *it was a disgrace* to be transferred from a *RUSTIC* Tribe, because of their Infamy thro' Laziness. It was *Husbandry* that supplied all their Wants: they took their repose and sleep upon wholesom Mattresses of *Straw*, and named Honour itself *Adorea*, as a measure of *Corn* was the Reward of Bravery †. In *this* way of Life, and with *these* Manners, the ancient *Romans* had not only abundance of Bread-corn without importing a Bushel from abroad; but Wheat was incredibly cheap in *ROME*, 'tho' their Farms were surprisngly small. The famed *Manius Curius*, after adding a great Tract to the *Roman* Territory, said in a public Speech, 'that he was a pernicious Member of the State, who could not be contented with *seven Acres* of Land;' which was the Measure assigned to the Commons, after the expulsion of the *Tarquin-Family*.

D 2

WHAT

* Confarreatio: ΦΑΡΡΑΙΚΑ apud Dionys. Halicarn.

† Quid debeas, O ROMA, Neronibus,
Testis Metaurum flumen, et ASDRUBAL
Devictus, et pulcher fugatis

Ille dies Latio tenebris,
Qui primus alma risit ADOREA.
HORAT.

WHAT then, says the intelligent PLINY, whom I am partly transcribing, *what* could be the Cause of such vast Fertility? — Why the arable Grounds were then manured by the hands of Magistrates and Generals; and the Soil, it should seem, delighted in a *laurelled Share* and a *triumphal Plowman*. But the real reason was, that these great men managed their Husbandry with the *same Spirit* they conducted their Armies, and laid out their Fields with the *same judgment* they pitched their Camps— as indeed every thing prospers best that is done by the Master, or at least under his eye. The first News of his voted Honours found the famed ATTILIUS SERRANUS busy sowing his Field with his *own Hand*; whence he had his celebrated Name *. QUINTIUS CINCINNATUS was plowing his four paternal Acres in the *Vatican Hill* (now alas! in different hands), when the public Serjeant came to notify to him that he was elected Dictator. They say he found him next to naked, and his Face quite besmeared with dust; when, after a Pause, ‘*Cover your Body,*’ said the Serjeant, *that I may deliver the Decree of the Senate and People of ROME.*’ And can we wonder, that Mother Earth does not now teem with the same Crops, when she is tilled by the hands of *Slaves*, dug by *shackled feet*, and overlooked by *stigmatized Faces*? Will the reluctant Labours of Jail-Birds, working under the Scourge, produce the same effects as the personal Pains of the Master, and the watchful Care of the Father of the Family? Let us listen to some of their common *Maxims*, that will paint their Manners better than any Description. ‘*He is a thriftless Farmer,*’ said they, *that buys any thing which his Farm can produce.* He is no good Husbandman, *who does any Work in the day-time that can be done in the night, except in stormy*

Parvoque potentem
Fabricium; vel te fulco, SERRANE, ferentem.

VIRGIL.

stormy Weather. He is a worse one *who does on* work-days, *what he* may do *on* holy-days; and the worst of all, who in a clear sky, works *within doors*, rather than *in the field*.—The finest Manure for a Farm is *the Eye of its Master*; whose Villa, they said, should *invite* him to the Country, as his *Face* does more good to his Fields, than his *Back-parts*. The Women too had their share of the Labour; for, *where the Kitchen-Garden is in disorder, there must, they said, be a worthless House-wife*; as it belonged to the Mistress to provide for the Family, who must be supported from the Shambles, if Vegetables failed.

A LIFE led in the intense Labour which such Precepts necessarily imply, and interspersed with frequent military Toils when the exigencies of the State called to arms, is as incompatible with Study and Literature on one hand, as with Luxury and Laziness on the other. But, even when this their Virtue had produced plenty at home, and respite from Wars abroad, they employed their Leisure in no *curious Pursuits*; but in acquiring the useful knowledge of their *own* LAWS, and communicating it to their Dependents. A noble Roman's Gate was thrown open by *six* in the morning; he himself was ready to receive his consulting Clients, and direct them in the Forms of the Courts, and management of their Affairs till *nine*, when he put on his Senatorial Robe, and walked down to the *Forum*, to attend their, and his own Business*. In this way of living, the Romans were a frugal, conquering, high-disciplin'd People;—but quite *illiterate*, and ignorant, to a proverb, of what did not concern their own immediate affairs. *Action* and *Execution* employ'd both Heads and Hands, and made a *learned Roman* a sort of Miracle.

AMONG such Men, if there were any sparks of Knowledge, they lay lurking in the Books of the *Pontifical Law*, wrapped up in:

ROMAE dulce diu fuit et solenne, reclusa
Mane domo, vigilare; clienti promere jura
Majores audire, minori dicere—

HORAT.

an Under-servant of the Priests having made a fire in the *Fœ-*
rum, the Books were burnt, the first grand Assembly, in sight of
 the whole People of Rome!

TWENTY years thereafter, the same dread of Learning and
 aversion to Philosophy, still prevailed among the *Romans*. Up-
 on a Motion made by *M. Pomponius*, Town-Pretor too, the Se-
 nate passed a Vote, 'That whereas mention had been made of
 ' certain Persons, called *Philosophers* and *Orators*, the Fathers
 ' gave it as their Opinion, that the Inspection of that Affair
 ' should be committed to *M. Pomponius*, who should take care,
 ' as it appeared to him for the Good of the Common-wealth,
 ' and consistent with his Duty, *that such Persons should not be*
 ' *suffered to stay in Rome.*'

BUT an Edict of the CENSORS, about that time, *Cn. Domitius*
Enobarbus, the Administrator's Grandfather, and *L. Licinius Crassus*,
 gives the most lively picture of *Roman* Roughness. It ran thus:
 'Whereas it hath been reported to Us, that there are Men now
 ' in *Rome* who have set up a new sort of Education, and have
 ' assumed to themselves the Name of *Latin Rhetoricians*, to
 ' whose Schools the Youth resorts, and sits idly spending the
 ' whole Day: We therefore announce and declare, that our
 ' Forefathers have already appointed what they would have
 ' their Children to learn, and what Schools they would have
 ' them to frequent. As for these *Novelties*, which are introdu-
 ' ced, contrary to the Practice and Customs of our Ancestors,
 ' they neither appear right in themselves, nor do We approve:
 ' Wherefore we think it our Duty to acquaint both those who
 ' keep the said Schools, and those who frequent them, with our
 ' censorial Opinion, *that they abstain from such Practices for the*
 ' *future.*'

UNDER these strong Prejudices, LEARNING stole upon the
Romans, if I may so say, *against their will*. It first crept in by
 the door of *Superstition*, which introduced the rude Beginnings
 of the STAGE. In modern Times it would scarce be thought
 credible,

credible, that *Religion* should be the Parent of *Plays*; but it held true, both at the *birth* of the old *Roman Theater*, and likewise of the modern *Italian*, when *Europe* was regenerated from *Barbarity*. It was on such high Festivals as *Easter* and *Christmas*, that the strolling *Italian Actors* represented *Adam* and *Eve*, *Abraham* and *Isaac*, *Moses* and *Pharaoh*; and that the *French Comedians* issued their Play Bills, for the whole *Acts of the Apostles* to be play'd in a *Carneval*. These, it is true, were afterwards suppressed by the wisdom of that august Body the *Parliament of Paris*.—But *Plays* continued a part of the *Roman Religion* while their State lasted, and took their rise in this manner.

ABOUT the CCCXC Year of the City, a Pestilence raged long at *Rome*, of which the famed *Furius Camillus* died, five and twenty years after he had rescued it from the *Gauls*. They tried every method of Cure that could be devised; but finding the fury of the Disease nothing diminished either by human nor divine Prescriptions, they abandoned themselves to *Superstition*; and, among other Propitiations of the Wrath of Heaven, *Stage-Plays* were said to be introduced. It was a new Sight to a warlike People who had only seen the Games in the *Circus*; and the *Beginnings* of this foreign Entertainment were like those of most other things, very inconsiderable. A few Players, or rather *Dancers*, were procured from *Tuscany*, who without any words or poetical Composition, without any *Action* adapted to a Character, only danced to the Flute after the graceful *Tuscan* manner. These the *Roman Youth* began afterwards to imitate on their Festivals; and amid their dancing to jeer one another in a rude extemporary Strain, to which they adapted the Gambols of their Dance*. This manner of diverting the Multitude being favourably recei-

VOL. III.

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ved,

Agricolae prisci, fortes, parvoque beati,
 Condita post frumenta, levantes tempore festo
 Corpus, et ipsum animum, spe finis dura ferentem,
 Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant.
 Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
 Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit.

HORAT.

ved, and polished by frequent Practice, the Performers began to abandon their former rude Raillery in alternate Lines, and to act premeditated Satyrs; that is, *miscellaneous Pieces*, writ in verse, and set to the Flute, which they pronounced with gestures befitting the Character and Subject. A few years thereafter, *LIVIVS ANDRONICUS*, a freed-man of the celebrated *Salinator**, was the first who from mere satyrical Dialogue, set to music, ventured to introduce a *Fable* or *Plot* into his poetical Performance. The Poet and Player were then one and the same Person (as was in our own Country the admired Mr. *William Shakespear*); and had the double task of *singing* or *saying* the Verses, and of *dancing* or *acting* the Character which they described. *Andronicus*, *Livy's* Slave, was a native of GREECE†, whose Genius and Learning not only procured him his Liberty, and made him *Tutor* to his Master's Children, but raised him afterwards to be the *Favourite* of the *Roman* People: for so delighted were they with his Performance on the Stage, and so charmed with a solemn Hymn of his Composition, which the sudden turn of the *second Punic* War made them firmly believe *the Gops had heard*‡, that they assigned to him a Porch of the Temple of *Pallas* on the *Aventine* hill, where he might represent his own Plays; and where his Scholars and Admirers might erect Statues in honour of the POET. Yet his Pieces must either have been wond'rous *simple*; or he must have assumed many different Characters in their recital; since he himself was for some time the sole Actor, assisted only by the music of a Flute. The

* See VOL. I. Page 68.

† He seems to have made the FIRST Translation of *Homer's* Works into Latin; unless his *ODYSSEY* be the Name of a PLAY. See A. GELL. Lib. VII. § 2.

‡ CARMINE Di superi placantur, CARMINE Manes. HORAT.

I take this to be the Hymn which his Namesake, *Titus Livius* the Historian, says seven and twenty young Ladies were getting by heart, to sing it in honour of *JUNO*, when the Lightning glanced upon her Temple: they afterwards sung it walking in procession; and dancing to their own music: the Historian with his usual Candor adds, *that perhaps, in that rude age, Livy's Verse might sound sweet to the ear; but would now appear harsh and uncouth, were it repeated.*

The Progress from this extreme Simplicity to the vast Pomp of both the ancient and modern Theater deserves our Attention.

THE ROMANS having got this first Taste of the Stage, grew so fond of *Andronicus* and of his Plays, that they persecuted him with perpetual acting; and recalled him so often to sing his own Compositions, that at length *his Voice broke*; and he was forced to beg leave to introduce a Youth, who should stand before the Musician, and sing the *recitative* Part for his relief. When this was granted, it was observed, that the *Poet* (that is, the *Player*) performed the Piece with more Spirit, and represented the Passions with a more lively Gesture than formerly, as he was not now obliged *constantly* to strain his Voice;—and from thence the Custom of having *one to bear a Part*, and sing to the Players, was first introduced, and nothing but the *DIALOGUE* was left to be spoke by the chief Actor*.

Few things have been more misunderstood than the *Rise* of ancient Plays, and few Passages have more tortured the Critics than this Account of them from the Historian *Livy*, which I have endeavoured to make intelligible. It will be still clearer, if we reflect, that *M. Dacier's* curious Remark of the *similar Origin* of the *Greek* and *Roman* Drama is certainly true; that *both* arose from the rude Mirth of Clowns dancing on holy Days; from *their* extemporary Scoffs in alternate Verse, (an Image of which we have in *VIRGIL's* III. and VII. Pastoral), came first to be formed a *VARIED TALE*, or *Satyr*, in which these Scoffs were included, and which the Droll or Player *sung* to the rustic Meeting, while at the same time he *acted* the Parts as they occurred in the Tale or Song. Would any of our modern Ballad-Singers take an old historical *Dittay* (so our Forefathers called a Song set to music), where the introduced Persons upbraided, threatened, or fought with one another, and *sing* it to their motely Audience, *acting* the Parts as they went along, it would be precisely the pri-

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motive

* Inde ad manum cantari histronibus coeptum, DIVERBIAQUE tantum ipsorum voci relicta. T. LIVII Lib. VII.

mitive *Greek* and *Roman Comedy*. This manner of *acting* continued long in *Greece*, even in the politest Times; and when their Theater was resounding with those masterly Draughts of Nature made by *Eschylus* and *Sophocles*, it still admitted the *Epic* or narrative Rhapsodists, who *sung* a Tale from *PANYASIS* or *HOMER*, and *acted* the characters as they went along. The deep and surprising effect which this seeming-simple manner of performing had upon the Audience, is exquisitely painted in *Plato's ION*, a Dialogue so inscribed from the Name of the Rhapsodist, who there talks in the true spirit of his Profession.

THE YEAR after *Livius Andronicus* had presented his first Play, that is in *CCCCX*, was *Q. ENNIUS* born in a little *Greek* Town, called *Rudis*, near *Tarento*. For the first *Roman* Poets were either *genuine Grecians*, or Natives of the *Greek* Cities founded on the east and south of *Italy*. Such was the famous satirical Comedian, *NEVIUS*, born in *Campania*, and *Ennius'* Nephew, *Pacuvius*, born at *Brindisi*; the punning *PLAUTUS* was of *Sarsina*; and the smiling *TERENCE*, though a *Carthaginian*, seems to have early imbibed the *Grecian* Literature. *C. Cecilius*, the grave Comedian and Critic, was formed by *Ennius*, in the same manner as *Mr. Racine* was modelled by the great *Corneille*, and *Congreve* by *Mr. Dryden*; while the sublime *Accius* had *Pacuvius* first for his Master, and then for his Companion; writing together like *Fletcher* and *Beaumont*. Hence it is easy to conclude, that these Writers would take the first Plans of their Plays from *Grecian* Originals, and principally from the buffoonish satirical Authors of the *old Comedy*. This appears, both from the Names of their Plays still upon record, which are generally *greek*, especially their Tragedies, and from the stories of their Lives and Adventures. *ENNIUS* said he had *three* hearts or souls, because he could speak three Languages, *latin*, *escan*, and *greek*: and that, according to the *Pythagorean* Doctrine of Transmigration, he was the fifth from *Euphorbus*. His first Plays were upon *Livy's* Plan, answering exactly to the Inscription put with great propriety by the learned *BEN. JOHNSON* upon his *Pentastern* and
some

some other Pieces, A COMICAL SATYR. He likewise wrote Hymns, and Tragedies borrowed from the *Greek*, many of whose Titles are upon record. But his chief Work was an Heroic Poem of the WARS of the ROMANS, particularly the Conquest of *Etolia* and the *second Punic War*. He divided it into Campaigns, and therefore called it ANNALS; the twelfth and last of which he wrote in the sixty seventh Year of his Age. It was a Poem of high Spirit, full of daring Metaphors, and expressed in truly *martial* Language: for ENNIUS was not only an ingenious, but a *brave* and *worthy* Man. He was first brought to ROME by the severe CATO when Questor in *Sardinia* under *Scipio*, and whom he had the honour afterwards to teach *Greek*, when that rigid Senator opened his eyes at sixty, and saw the necessity of the Learning he had despised. But before that Conversion, ENNIUS had followed the great Consul FULVIUS NOBILIOR into *Etolia*, was Tutor to his son,—and at last became almost Companion of the best and greatest Personage Rome ever produced, I mean PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO, surnamed the *African* *. The Conqueror of *Hannibal* was the HERO of *Ennius*' Poem; and is painted by him in two strong Lines, that leave an Idea of exalted Merit:

———*cui nemo civis neque hostis*
Quirit pro factis reddere op'rae pretium.

———whose Deeds defy his Friends—defy his Foes,
In Good or Ill to make him a Return.

EMINENCE of Character, like a Loadstone, attracts Envy; and in free States seldom escapes poetical Petulance. *Cn. Nevius*, in the

* Apud Senec. Ep. CVIII.

* *Tullius Cicero* has done more honour to HOMER and SCIPIO by two short disinterested Questions, than his longest Panegyrics have done to *Pompey* and *Cesar*: *Numquid igitur* (says he of *Scipio Africanus*) *talis fuit?* Was there ever such another Man? And of the Poet, *At certe nullus similis Homeri.* Surely no body was ever equal to HOMER. De DIVINAT. Lib. II.

intelligible in his time; and we *may* believe him——But it might be still intelligible in the days of ENNIUS, whose Patron, the *Etolian* Conqueror, dedicated in his Temple of the Muses, A BOOK OF FASTI*, which I suppose has been of *Ennius'* Composition. That the Temples were the ancient Repositories of Learning, and especially of *public Records*, is generally known. Those kept in the Shrines of the EAST are celebrated by all Historians; and we have valuable Abstracts of them preserved in the Collection of our *sacred Scriptures*. When CESAR was beginning to repair the decay'd Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, he found an old Inscription upon a *Linnen-Thorax* or Breast-plate, importing 'that *Cornelius Cossus* was Consul, when with his own 'hand he killed the faithless *Fidenian* King, *Tolumnius*, and hung 'up his *opima Spolia* (prime Spoils) the second after *Romulus*, 'to this Deity †:' and *Licinius Macer* frequently quoted a Manuscript writ upon *Linnen-Cloth*, containing a *Record of the Roman Magistrates*, laid up in the old Temple of the Goddess JUNO MONETA‡, or the *Monitress*, in which was likewise the *Roman Mint*, that gave rise to the Name of *Money*. In the same manner ENNIUS' historical and theological Work was laid up in the Temple of the *President* of the Muses. He had the honour, as I said, to be brought first to *Rome* by the keen and inflexible CATO; which *Cornelius Nepos* affirms to have been an Acquisition equal to a Triumph. Yet that same *Cato* could afterwards in open Senate reproach *Fulvius Nobilior* with having (among other things tending to relax their military Discipline) carried such loose people as *Poets* and *Players* in his retinue to a Province full of War and Bloodshed. How shall we reconcile these?

* Nam *Fulvius Nobilior* in FASTIS, quos in aede *Herculis Musarum* posuit.

MACROB. Saturn. Lib. I. § 12.

† AUGUSTUM CESAREM ingressum aedem *Feretrii Jovis*, quam vetustate dilapsam refecit, in *Thorace linceo* scriptum legisse, &c. T. LIV. Hist. Lib. IV.

‡ Tum veteres Annales—MAGISTRATUUM LIBRI, quos *lincei* in aede repositos MONETAE *Macer Licinius* idemtidem citat. IBID.

these? By supposing that CATO imagined the *Mobile of Rome* might be lawfully entertained at their public Shews by a Person, whom it did not become a *Roman* Consul (supreme in matters civil and military) to make his Companion, or carry along to a dangerous Campaign. No doubt this would be an Article of Accusation against the mild SCIPIO: for he too had ENNIUS constantly in his Train in his last Expeditions; nay so much did he love and admire the Man, that in his latter Will he commanded the Poet's Statue to be placed upon his Tomb. The great *Genius*, and the agreeable Friend deserved it; if Love and Admiration have any Merit: for besides his chief Work, of the *Punic War*, where this Hero appeared in every Page, ENNIUS seems to have writ a Panegyric on his *private* Virtues, which he inscribed SCIPIO, and to which *Horace* refers in his Discourse upon Satyr addressed to *Trebatius*. We may therefore conclude, that what the *Roman* Bard felt, and saw, and acted, that he painted in his martial Poems. Had they reached our Times, and his BATTLES especially been compared with those described by other peaceful Poets, I cannot doubt but they would have appeared like *living* Originals beside a *laboured* Picture.

IN the under-Parts of his Poetry, such as the Artifice of Composition and polishing his Verse *, I am willing to believe that he may have failed; and that, after some daring Strokes of Genius, he may have left his *artless* Work pretty much unfinished. This gave occasion to *Virgil's* celebrated but not very polite Saying, if it be indeed *his*, that he was gathering Gold from Ennius' *Dunghill*; and to *Horace's* Observation, that he set out with great Magnificence, but seemed little solicitous to perform his Promises in the sequel, or to approve his Soul's pretended transmigration from *Homer*. But taken all together, he was a truly sublime Poet, and the Man, according to a great Judge,

———qui primus amœno

Detulit ex Helicône, perenni fronde coronam.

VOL. III.

F

Who

* Caeterum nitor, et summa in excolendis operibus manus, magis videri potest temporibus, quam ipsis praevis Poetis defuisse, says the candid QUINTILIAN.

*Who first from blooming Helicon brought down
Of never-fading Leaves a Laurel-Crown.*

The Spirit of his Epitaph, of his *own* composition, is truly manly; and with his Talents and Learning, his Probity and Fortitude, and especially his Acquaintance with all Parts of civil and military Life, I do not wonder, that for all the Roughness of his Stile, he should have been reckoned the HOMER of Rome, and the genuine Painter of the Spirit and Manners of a conquering People. The Romans were so formed upon his Stile, that Seneca, who affected to laugh at what he could not attain, calls them *Populus Ennianus*, an *Ennian* Nation; and says, that both Cicero and Virgil were obliged, contrary to their own Judgment, to employ antiquated Terms, in complaisance to the reigning *Ennian* Taste*: and yet, so late as Trajan, we find the People flocking to the Theater in *Pozzuolo* to hear *Ennius'* Works publicly read by a Person of a clear Voice and distinct Pronunciation, who called himself an *Ennianist*†. This perfectly agrees with the Character which HORACE says he bore among his Countrymen, of being *wise*, and *brave*, and *another HOMER*; ‡ a Character to which we do not sufficiently attend, because of the subjoined *Sneer* which I have just mentioned: but I will give a grand Presumption that it was *real*, from his Description of a Man of worth, where it was generally believed he sat to his own Picture. He introduces a great Roman just taking leave of the Council, and retiring from the Business of the Day, to disburden and refresh himself at home——He recites a part of his Speech in public, and then adds, in strong natural Language,

*Thus having said, he call'd the man he lov'd,
His Guest, Companion, Friend;—to whom he went
T'unbosom freely every Care and Thought;
And at the close of each revolving Day
With HIM to canvass every point that pass'd*

In

* Apud A. GELL. Lib. XII. § 2.

† Ibid. Lib. XVIII. § 5.

‡ ENNIUS et sapiens, et fortis, et alter HOMERUS.

Ad AUGUST.

In Field or Forum, or in solemn Senate.
To him quite open, weighty Things and slight——
Both Jest and Earnest, good and bad be trusted——
Or soothing Sentiments, or Passions fell,
Delights, Disgusts———th' Effusions of his heart.
This Partner of his Pleasures and his Cares
Bore in his Breast a Soul no Gold could bribe
To do a wicked Deed: mild—unsuspicious——
Yet quick, sagacious, sweetly entertaining:
Of flowing wit and Language, on occasion;
But wisely-learned,—not of many Words:
And tho' deep skill'd in STORY, and a Master
Of Manners, new and old—tho' vers'd in LAWS
Both human and divine, who well could keep
His Talents in subjection; and as Time——
As Place and Persons call'd, could either shine
In Strains of varied Science,—or sit pleas'd
In unaffected Silence———

HERE, said the elegant Critic *Elius Stilo*, ENNIUS described his own Character, and painted the high place he held in the Esteem and Familiarity of the incomparable *SCIPIO**—a Place that in my opinion does almost equal honour to them both; as it is at once a Proof of the Merit of the Man of Letters, and of the superior *sterling* Worth, if I may use the Term, of his illustrious Patron.—Many a *Dignitary* looks big without doors, whose private Life will not endure a Scrutiny; and many a State-Pageant, by means of certain connexions, is decorated with Power and Places, who cannot bear the piercing eye of a Man of Parts and Learning. The Tinsel falls off at the first Search, and shews the secret Baldness and Deformity——But *SCIPIO* and *ENNIUS* are mutual Vouchers for one another's Parts, Probity, and superior Manners.

I HAVE given a more particular account of *this* Poet and of *Livius Andronicus*, because I look upon them as the *first* Parents

* Apud A. GELLIIUM, Lib. XII. § 4.

of Learning among the *Romans*. For the public Entertainment received from their Plays (which were generally *strong rough Sketches* from *Grecian* Originals) became of course the subject of People's Conversation at home, and thereby diffused the *Grecian* Learning;—raising a Curiosity to hear still more of the Characters and Adventures of the *Heroes* whom they saw represented.—thence the common Phrase, that appears so strange to us, *DOCERE FABULAM*, to *teach* the *Roman* People a Play; that is, to inform them of the History upon which the Tragedy turned, of the Characters of the chief Persons concerned, and of the Moral or Lesson that was to be drawn from the mighty Event. For their Plays were not calculated merely to *divert* and *amuse*; or they stood exposed to censure if their aim was no higher*: they were originally *severe*, and *instructed* to their very Prologues. What honour does it to the lively laughing *Plautus*, or rather to the Taste of his heroic Audience, that at the end of the first Act of his *Cistellaria*, or Comedy of the CASKET, he could (contrary to dramatic Rules) introduce a second sort of Prologue, who in going off the Stage, durst venture to turn, and thus accost the Spectators—?

ROMANS! *adieu!*

Health, Happiness, and VICTORY attend you.

Gain'd by true Virtue—Go—war as you are wont—

Protect your old Allies—acquire new Friends—

Increase your Aids—bring home Applause and Laurels—

*Tread down Rome's Foes; and with your well train'd Legions,
Take vengeance on the false oft-vanquish'd Carthaginian.*

How nicely does this Deduction of FACTS agree with *Horace's* Account of the Rise of Learning in *Italy*? *GREECE* when subdued, says he, made a conquest, in her turn, of the savage Conqueror, and introduced *Arts* and *Sciences* into rustic *ROME*. By this

Ergo non satis est risu deducere ritum

Auditoris———— [like *Laberius*]

Gessit enim nummum in loculos demittere; post hoc

Securus, cadat an recto stet fabula talo—says *Horace* of

some loose Plays of *Dossennus*, calculated merely to raise Laughter.

this means the rugged Stile of the primitive Ages gave way, and clownish Satyr was banished by Politeness: but yet for many a day there did, and do still remain, *deep Prints* of our first Rusticity: for it was late ere the *Romans* began to apply to the *Grecian Literature*; and found leisure, after the Wars with *Carthage*, to consider what good use could be made of *Thespis*, *Eschylus*, and *Sophocles*, the *Grecian Tragedians*. Then they proceeded to attempt Translations of them into *latin*, and were hugely pleased with their own success: 'For our Genius, says that able Judge, is keen and noble, breathes abundance of the tragic Spirit, and takes no unhappy flights of its own: but we cannot endure the Labour of correcting, and are shy to blot a fair written Page.'

IT is no great Compliment to my Country, to say, that one would almost think that *Horace* had been painting the *British* Genius, while he described the *Roman*; and had their old Tragedies been preserved, their *Achilles* or *Alcmaeon*, their *Iphigenia* or *Andromache*, and compared with our own, we would have found our sublime ENNIUS in *Shakespeare*, and our learned PACUVIUS in *Ben. Johnson*.

BUT hear now another ingenious, tho' perhaps not impartial Apology for the long illiterate *Romans*. The Bias that appears in it reflects no dishonour on the great Author; for if there is such a thing in the world as a *venial Sin*, it must surely be Partiality to our native Country.

'IT WAS always my Opinion, says he, that we *Romans* either invented more happily than the *Grecians*, or that we much improved whatever we thought worth borrowing from them. For as to our *Manners* and the Conduct of Life—the management of our Families and private Concerns, we undoubtedly govern them better than they. With respect to the *Commonwealth*, every body knows that our great Ancestors tempered it with Laws and Customs superior to those of *their States*. Our *Military* I need not mention—in which the *Romans* outstrip them both in personal Bravery, and infinitely more in the

' the general Discipline. In other things, which are rather at-
 ' tained by the Strength of Nature and Genius than by Learning,
 ' there I am Notion, *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, that can compare
 ' with us. For among what People was there ever found such
 ' Gentleness, such Gravity and Greatness of Soul,—such Probity
 ' and Truth, as to come in competition with the *Romans*?
 ' *Greece* surpassed us indeed in *Knowledge*, and in all Sorts
 ' of Learning, in which it was easy to obtain a Superiority
 ' which nobody disputed. For without doubt the first Sort of
 ' learned Men in the World were the *Poets*; and *Homer* and
 ' *Hesiod* flourished before the building of *Rome*, as *Archilochus*
 ' was contemporary with its *Founder*. But among Us, that Art
 ' made its appearance much later; for *Livius* (*Andronicus*) pre-
 ' sented his first Play the CCCCX Year of the City, and one
 ' before *Romulus* was born, who was elder than *Nevius* * and
 ' *Plautus*—And even when it did appear, the Character of
 ' a *Poet* was but in low esteem: as is evident from that Speech
 ' of *Cato*, where he reprehends *M. Acilius* with having car-
 ' ried *Poets* with him into his Province. (every body knows
 ' that *Romulus* had attended him into *Etolia*.) Now the less
 ' *Respect* that was paid to *Poets*, the less cultivated was their
 ' Art; tho' at the same time the Men of Genius in that way
 ' amongst us have come nothing short of the *Grecian* Glory.
 ' But had it it turned to the honour of *FABIUS*, for example,
 ' that tho' a *Patrician* he was an able Painter, can we imagine
 ' there would not have been many *Parthenius* and *Polyclitus* at
 ' *Rome*? It is *Honour* that cherishes the Arts, and the Hopes
 ' of Glory that inflame the noble Ambition to excel; so that in
 ' every Nation that Profession is always at the lowest ebb,
 ' which is the least esteemed. To understand *Musick*, both vocal
 ' and instrumental, the *Greeks* thought a high Accomplish-
 ' ment: wherefore *Epaminondas*, in my judgment their greatest
 ' Patriot, is said to have sung admirably to the Lute—as *The-*
 ' *mistocles*

* NEVIUS exhibited his first Play in the DXIX Year of *ROME*, having served
 some Campaigns in the first Punic War, which began Anno CCCCXC, and
 lasted full four and twenty Years.

' *mistocles*, some years before, was reputed *ill-bred* for having refused to play at an Entertainment. *Greece* of consequence swarmed with great Musicians——every body learned to sing or play; and he who did not, was thought to have had a *lame* Education. Among them *Geometry* too was in high repute, and accordingly their *Mathematicians* are the noblest in the world; whereas we *circumscribe* that Science, and confine it to the Practice of mensuration, or to improve a Method of reasoning.

' ON the other hand, the *Romans*, who despised the *Painter*, the *Musician*, the *Mathematician*, quickly welcomed the *Orator*;—of little or no Learning indeed at the beginning, tho' agreeable by a *native Fluency*;—but in process of time *they* likewise became learned: for *Galba*, *Africanus*, and *Lælius*, are handed down to us as Men of Learning; and *Cato*, who preceded them, was a Person of great Study and Knowledge. After these came *Læpidus*, *Carbo*, and the *Gracchi*;—and then a succession of so many great and learned Men (*Cicero*, *Antony*, *Philip*, *Curio*, *Hortensius*, &c.) that we yield little or nothing to the *Grecians*. PHILOSOPHY, I must acknowledge, has been neglected till now *.

I SHOULD be unwilling to sift this Comparison too narrowly; or canvass the Colours by whose Glare the great Orator has brought the best and bravest indeed, but surely the most *uninventive* of all Nations, to figure with the Inventors of the finer Arts, and the Authors of the chief Sciences that yet exercise the Genius of Men. I will not therefore ask what ART it was that ever the *Romans* invented——nor WHY Poets appeared so early and originally in *Greece*, and only late and lame Copies of them in *Rome*,—nor WHY *Phidias* or *Apelles* were almost adored in *Athens*, while *Fabius* † and *Pacuvius* were contemned by their Co-temporaries? Waving these Questions, (to which every one acquainted with the History of the two Nations,

* TUSCULAN. Lib. I.

† *Sordido studio deditum ingenium, says the mean Flatterer* Valerius Maximus.

LIB. VIII. § 14.

Nations, will form his own Answer), I would observe, that an Attempt to put the Romans upon a level with the Grecians in point of Learning and Science, is rather more preposterous, than comparing the Greeks to them, in point of civil or military Glory. For Agesilaus approaches nearer to Pompey, and Dion to Brutus (tho', God knows, both widely distant) than the Roman Imitators do to their Masters in all sorts of Literature.

LET us therefore return to the true Tract of the Roman Improvement pointed out by HORACE, and imagine what effect the Example of the eminent Men above mentioned, as Patrons of Learning, must have upon the public Taste, when joined to the Charms of a lately opened Theater? Its Progress was so quick, that in the compass of half a Century from their first rude Essays, the Comedies acted upon their Stage were translated from the most perfect Grecian Models, MENANDER and APOLLONORUS. From that Period, ROME was no more an illiterate Town. Their Language, the Latin, tho' a very corrupt Dialect of the Greek, yet retained so much of the original Cast of the Mother-tongue, as made them learn it with facility, and readily adopt these greek Terms which the Poverty * of their native Speech could not supply.

IT WAS then there arose a Race of Poets, generally of the dramatic sort: for says the knowing Servius Sulpitius †,

*The second War with Carthage marks the Time,
When the celestial MUSE first wing'd her way
To humanize the rugged savage Breast
Of martial Romans——*

Then Cecilius, Terentius, Plautus, and Dossennus were writing Comedies; while Nevius, Accius, and Pacuvius--were Tragic Authors.
—the

* Patrii Sermonis EGESTAS.

LUCRET.

Quanta verborum nobis (Romanis) paupertas, into egestas fit, nunquam magis quam hodierno die intellexi——nullo modo id latinè exprimere possum——damnabis angustias Romanas, si scieris unam syllabam esse quam mutare non possum.

[TO ON]

SENECA, Ep. 58.

† *Punico bello secundo, Musa pennato gradu
Intulit sese bellicosam in Romuli gentem feram.*

—the former borrowed from *Menander*, *Diphilus*, *Apollodorus*, *Pofidius*, and *Alexis*—the latter from *Thespis*, *Eſchylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*.—When I ſay *borrowed*, I uſe the word in its ſtrict ſenſe: for the *Roman* Plays were for moſt part *loofe bold Tranſlations* of the *Grecian*; which ſounded well enough by themſelves, but could not bear the Trial of being compared with their Originals*. Perhaps from this general Rule we may except the ſmooth and delicate *TERENCE*, whom I take to have been the beſt Tranſlator, after *Virgil*, that ever copied an elegant Pattern; and yet a great Judge, and Maſter of both Languages, calls him but *half* a *MENANDER*; and allowing him ſupreme Purity of Stile, Sweetneſs of Dialogue, and Pleaſantry of Humour, complains of his want of Spirit and Fire†.

WITH the Works of theſe ingenious Men were the *Romans* entertained and inſtructed, when a Writer of a new Species ſtarted up, to correct their Taſte, and refine their Morals. This was the lively *LUCILIUS* the Satyriſt, who entertained his Readers at the expence not only of all his Predeceſſors in Poetry‡, but of his Cotemporaries who had any thing remarkably abſurd in their Manners. It was he that gave a *turn* to the general Taſte, who introduced a *new* kind of Wit, and ſet the *Pattern* which the moſt elegant Writer of the Age began now to *copy*. This makes it neceſſary that we ſhould be acquainted with the *Character* of the Man, and the *Nature* of his Compoſitions.

CAIUS LUCILIUS was of a very noble Family, and tho' a younger Brother, inherited a fair Fortune. His Niece, *Lucilia*,
VOL. III. G married

* See a Compariſon of a Play of *Cecilius* inſcribed *PLOTIUS*, with the Original of *Menander* in *A. Gellius*, Book II. § 23.

AFRANIUS, *Togatarum* Scriptor, in eâ *Togatâ* quæ *Compitalia* inſcribitur, non inverecunde reſpondens argumentibus, quòd plura ſumpſiſſet a *MENANDRO*, 'Fateor, inquit, ſumpſi, non ab illo ſolummodo, ſed ut quiſque habuit quod conveniret mihi.'

MACRÒB. Saturn. VI. § 1.

† JUL. CAESAR apud Sueton. in *Terentii* vita.

‡ Neque magno intervallo poſtea Q. Ennius, et juxta *Caecilius* et *Terentius*, ac ſubinde *Pacuvius*, et, *Pacuvio jam ſene*, *Accius*; clariorque tunc in poematis eorum obtrectandis *LUCILIUS* fuit.

A. GELL. Lib. XVII. § 22.

married to *Pompeius Strabo*, became the Mother of POMPEY the GREAT*. He had himself the *martial* Education of the old Romans, having served from his youth in the Cavalry under the younger SCIPIO † to whose Esteem and Friendship he was not so much recommended by his noble Birth, as by his Genius and admirable Humour. In effect, LUCILIUS was an *Original*; a Writer of such strength and rectitude of Mind,—of such keenness of Temper and flowing Wit, as fitted him to strike out a *new Road* never trode by Poet before ‡. He was happy in falling into those *Times* when this *Genius* was peculiarly *cherished* by the boundless Liberty of the Roman State, which never ran higher either in Speech or Action. The *Grecian Literature* too had been lately received to give him range—lame Copies had been made of their *Standard-Authors*,—LUXURY, after the ruin of *Carthage* and plunder of *Corinth*, was beginning to creep in, and afford him ample materials of Censure; while his knowledge of the world, and living in high familiarity with the *first* and *best* men in *Rome*, kept his Pen steady, and his Judgment sound. He attacked Vice wherever he found it: no outward Shew or Substitution, and much less could Eminence of Birth or Station secure the *base Priest*, th' *immoral Peer*, or purse-proud Plebeian from appearing in their proper colours.

IT is allowed that *Ennius*, *Pacuvius*, *Accius*, and other Poets had composed *dramatic Pieces* before, under the name of SATURAE, or *Miscellanies*; but they were jumbles of Prose and Verse, being for the most part, 'DIALOGUES in doggrel, fitted to the *rude Mirth* formerly described, that gave rise to the ROMAN *DRAMA*.' LUCILIUS improved upon this Model;—he banished

* Fuit hic CN. POMPEIUS, genitus matre LUCILIA, stirpis Senatoriae.

VELL. PATERC.

Infra LUCILI Censum.

HORAT.

† Celebre et LUCILII nomen fuit, qui sub P. Africano, Numantino bello eques militaverat.

IDEM.

‡ —cum est LUCILIUS ausus

Primus, in hunc operis componere carmina morem.

HORAT. Serm. II. Sat. I.

nished the Prose, polished the Verse, introduced himself, his Friends, his Foes, as *Speakers*, and applied the whole to the reformation of Manners*. This he chiefly did by painting the best Characters, a *Cato*, a *Scipio*, a *Laelius*, as Patterns of Virtue, and by lashing *Rutilius Lupus*, *Mutius Scaevola*, *Caecilius Metellus* †, *Publius Gallonius* (the Sturgeon-Eater) for their notorious Vices,—their Irreligion, Fraud, and Sensuality. Nor among these did he spare *himself*, but frankly *confessed* his Foibles, and painted his *own* Life and Adventures with the same impartial Pen.

It would be superfluous after this to say, that he was the Terror of Fops of every Species: but such was the *Dignity* with which his Virtue and superior Understanding invested him, that in a free State, where the *popular Party* was daily gaining ground, *he dared to be the Champion of TRUTH*, and in his Writings not only arraigned *the Body of the People* as degenerate, but attacked them *Tribe by Tribe*, for becoming dissolute, false, venal, and fawning ‡. It was by this Integrity that he indeed *merited* a Character, which has been *affected* by some modern Poets, of being,

To VIRTUE only, and its Friends, a Friend ||.

LET us hear how *feelingly* he talks upon the exalted Subject.

Metbinks I bear you ask me, WHAT IS VIRTUE?

Virtue's the Standard, and the gen'ral Test

G 2

Which

* Haec quae *Satyra* dicitur ejusmodi fuit, ut in eâ, quamvis duro et veluti agresti modo, de vitiis civium, tamen sine ullo proprii nominis titulo carmen esset. Quod *primò* LUCILIUS *novo conscripsit modo*, ut PŒSIN inde faceret, id est, unius carminis plures libros. ÆL. DONAT. de Tragoed. et Comoed.

† Quî magis hoc LUCILIO licuerit, assumere libertatis quam nobis? cum etiam si odio par fuerit in eos quos laesit, tamen certè non magis dignos habuerit, in quos tantâ libertate verborum incurreret. C. TREBON. Ep. ad CICER.

‡ PRIMORES populi arripuit, POPULUMQUE tributim.

HORAT.

|| SCILICET UNI AEQUUS VIRTUTI, ATQUE EJUS AMICIS.

Which tries and scans the real Worth of Things.
To ev'ry Object it assigns its due;
Teaches what's noble, useful, honest, streight——
Our real Goods and Ills.——on t'other side
It marks what's base, and brings sure loss of Fame.
VIRTUE alone sets bounds to our Pursuits:
It weighs th' intrinsic worth and use of Wealth,——
Fixes the measure of accumulating;
Points out the Ends of Power; shews the false Glare
Of Honours, dazzling to a vulgar Eye.
The virtuous Man, an open Foe to Fraud.
Declares against the greatest tow'ring Villain——
Befriends unask'd the Good, the Wise, the Worthy:
Them he admires, assists, and cherishes;
In every Struggle stands their firmest Friend.
In short, true Virtue deems our Country's Cause
The first best Object of our Care; and next
Our Parent's Int'rest——and our own the last.*

THIS then is the noble light in which the Roman Satyrist appeared; the same, that in a higher sphere brightned the Character of the *Censorial* CATO. Both declared war against bad men of whatever rank or quality. CATO by Impeachments of powerful Criminals inexorably pursued,—whether fraudulent Treasurers, rapacious Governors, or corrupt Judges, was the Guardian of the PUBLIC GOOD: LUCILIUS, by giving no quarter to Vice, to Fraud, or to any thing immoral, was the great Check on their private Manners. The Confidence of both was founded on no thin pretensions, or starched hypocrisy; but on conscious Worth, Innocence of Life, and Integrity of Heart †. How else could they possibly have bore up against the

* Apud LACTANT. de C. D.

† Quid refert dictis ignoscat MUTIUS,—an non?——
 Sic vetus ille CATO dignum quemcunque laceffim
 Appellare; quòd ipse sibi non conscius esset. PRISCIAN. Lib. X.

the torrent of Envy which this Conduct brought pouring down upon them? *Cato* was paid home in his own way, having been no less than *fifty* times accused before different Tribunals; tho' as often honourably acquitted. Had he heard the Maxim, that has passed into a Proverb among his dissolute Countrymen, *Vivete e lasciate vivere*, LIVE and LET LIVE, he would have cried out, that it was a *flagitious Stipulation for mutual Indulgence in Villainy*: for he continued to bring overgrown Transgressors to justice, and impeached *Servilius Galba* when full ninety years of age. Nor did *Lucilius* quite escape: for tho' he lashed *Lupus*, *Metellus*, and other notorious Rogues, with impunity *, yet having criticised all the preceeding *Poets*, and ventured to censure the *Players*, one of the latter resolved to take his revenge on the Stage, and, in a ridiculous Character he was playing, publicly named *Lucilius* the Satyrist. The Poet was piqued, and prosecuted the *Actor* for Defamation. The Affair made a noise, and the Cause was carried on with much warmth on both sides, before C. COELIUS the Lord high Chancellor; who, after a full hearing, acquitted the Player, and dismissed the Parties without Costs of Suit †.

THE Loss of *Lucilius'* Works is extremely to be regreted, as it has for ever deprived us of the most compleat Draught of the ancient Roman Manners, and at the same time, of the Model of those inimitable Pieces written by the Minister's new Favourite, HORATIUS FLACCUS, under the title of *Sermones* or *Conversations*. *Plautus* and *Terence* translate *grecian* Plays, or plainly copy *grecian* Characters. But LUCILIUS drew from the Life, and painted genuine Roman Originals; and with such just and masterly Strokes, that both his Co-temporaries and many of the succeeding Generations thought him the PRINCE of all Poets that
ever

* Num——laeso doluere METELLO
Famolisque LUPO cooperto versibus——?

HORAT.

† CICERO (vel Auctor) Rhetor ad Herenn. Lib. II.

ever had writ*. Such a Prejudice in favours of an Author who hits our Humour by giving us back our own Ideas, is not uncommon. I have met with some ingenious Frenchmen, so charmed with *La Fontaine's* Sallies, that they preferred him to the Writers of their own and of every other Nation. LUCILIUS had great Vivacity, infinite Humour, Language at command, and great acquaintance with the Grecian Masters: but his Fort lay in a superior Knowledge of Life and Manners. In these he shone—these he described, were they high or low, vicious or virtuous, in their proper stile—in the stile employ'd by the Persons who practised them. VIRTUE appeared with her native Dignity in his Draught, and shew'd his great Friends, *Laelius* and *Scipio*, in the most amiable point of Light†. At the same time, it is scarce possible to draw any thing stronger than the Sketches of his vicious Characters: his Rogue, his Glutton, his Courtezan, his *Procureuse*, appear rather gross, even in those scattered Fragments of his Works that have been preserved by Quotations, and which the sagacious *Janus Doussa* has happily enough patched together‡. But this high Spirit and

* SATYRA quidem tota nostra est, in qua primus insignem laudem adeptus est LUCILIUS; qui quosdam ita deditos sibi adhuc habet amatores, ut eum non modo ejusdem operis auctoribus, sed omnibus Poëtis, præferre non dubitant. Ego quantum ab illis, tantum ab HORATIO dissentio, qui Lucilium *suave lutulentum*, et esse aliquid quod tollere possis putat; nam et eruditio in eo mira, et libertas, atque inde acerbitas, et abundè salis. QUINTIL. Lib. X. § 1.

† Quin ubi se a vulgo et scena in secreta remòrant
Virtus SCIPIADAE, et mitis sapientia LAELI,
Nugari cum illo, et discintili ludere (a), donec
Decoqueretur olus, soliti.—

HORAT.

(a) The Servants happening to enter the Dining-Room after the Table was covered, but before Dinner was quite ready, found *C. Laelius* (the second Man then in the Empire) running from Couch to Couch, and *Lucilius* pursuing with his Napkin twisted in his hand, to buffet him for some Trick he had put upon the Poet.

‡ Under the title of CÉNTONES LUCILIANI, published with the Fragments of Lucilius, by Francis Doussa, his Son, Anno MDIIC.

and these glowing Pictures were not set off with great *Delicacy*, or a very *smooth* Stile: it was more correct and polished than his Predecessors; but these inferior Ornaments were incompatible with the *Characters* he drew, and the Language of his Times*. The want of them was overpaid by the Learning of a Gentleman, much Pleasantry, and, above all, by a *deep Dash* of the old Roman *Humour*, which he possessed in so eminent a degree, that PLINY says it began with Lucilius in writing†, and CICERO affirms it almost expired with him‡. It must needs do so, as the perfect Liberty of Speech and Sentiment, which produced and fed it, must have been first quashed by the Change of Manners || that quickly ensued, and afterwards totally buried under the ruins of the Commonwealth. After all, ** the chief Charm in *Lucilius'* Writings, to the bulk of Readers, was the genuine picture he drew of *himself*, the frank Confession of his Inclinations, the Acknowledgment of his Faults, the Accounts of his *Adventures* good or bad, and in short, a true and spirited Representation of his whole Life: fresh from Business he ran to his Pen, while his Fancy was yet warm, his Passions still awake, as elated with success or depressed by miscarriage. These he faithfully related, and made his Remarks on them with the same freedom as if he had not been the Actor, or had the least interest in the matter; and by the delight he gave the Public, made it appear that there is nothing so pleasing to the human mind, as Nature and Truth. Why do we read the ingenious *Montaigne* with such high relish, and eagerly follow him thro' the mazes in which his

* Cum fluere*t* lutulentus, erat quod tollere velles.

HORAT.

† LUCILIUS—qui primus condidit *filii* NASUM.

PRAEF. Hist. Nat.

‡ Mori*ar*, si praeter TE (Papirium Paetum) queng*uam* reliquum habeo in quo possum im*aginem* antiquae et vernaculae festivitatis agnoscere. CICER. Ep. Fam.

|| See VOL. II. Note †.

** Sunt LUCILI scripta leviora, ut urbanitas summa appareat, doctrina medicris.

CICER. de Fin. Lib. I.

his Fancy roves? because *he paints himself*, and gives us back our own Feelings more happily expressed, than we ever saw them elsewhere. *Je dois mon Pourtrait au Publique*, 'I have promised my *Picture* to the Public', says that amiable Writer, and faithfully has he kept his word. *This* indeed was the chief Merit of the first *Memoir-Writers*, who related their own Adventures, and by painting Passions and Persons, *interested* the Reader in their Fate and Fortunes. The Applause with which their Works had been received, produced a Swarm of loose Novels, Lives, &c. that have been justly rejected as spurious Productions: but let any Man of Genius, treading in *Montaign's* or *Lucilius's* Steps, *paint himself* TRULY, and I will engage he shall meet with a favourable Reception. Some beautiful Touches of this sort appear thro' Sir *William Temple*, and Sir *Thomas Brown's* Works, and make the chief Beauties in the little elegant Essays published under the title of the SPECTATOR. If they are not read with the same Relish, nor raise the same Admiration as the former, it is that they are *timorously* drawn, and faintly coloured under the influence of *modern Politeness*—a Cause agreeable enough in common Life, but *enervating* in characteristic Composures.

THE high Reputation acquired by *Lucilius* procured him many Imitators, among whom *Albutius*, a Man of prime Learning, held the first rank*. 'Tis true the *Marian* Calamities, the *Italic* and *Servile* Wars, left no leisure in the Age which immediately succeeded, to court the Muses, or listen to their Song: but in the interval between these and the *Cesarean* Rebellion, the *Atacian Varro*, *Ampius Balbus*, and latterly the brave *Trebonius*, had all tried their Talents in Satyr, and left Pictures of Men and Manners that would have thrown great light on the History of that distinguished Period, had they escaped the Stroke of TIME. For they were Men of Genius, and Spirit, who wrote with the
manly

* L. ALBUTIUS, homo apprime doctus, cujus *Luciliano* charactere sunt Libelli.
M. TER. VARR. de R. R. Lib. III.

manly freedom becoming the Cause of LIBERTY in which they were embarked. It was now taken up by the acute HORACE, a nice Judge of Characters, who exercised it under the protection of a powerful Minister.

LUCILIUS his Pattern, among other Incidents of his Life, had described a Journey he made from *Rome* along the rich Coast of *Campania*, by *Capua* and *Naples* all the way to *Reggio* on the *Sicilian-Stright*. HORACE was soon found out to be the worthy Man and agreeable Companion his Friends *Virgil* and *Varius* had described him, and was now honoured with *Mecenas*' Commands to attend him in a Progress quite across *Italy* to *Brindisi*, and to meet him upon the road at *Terracina*. HE and *Cocceius* were going Plenipotentiaries on the momentous affair of adjusting Differences, and healing the Suspicions arisen between *M. Antony* and the young *Cesar*, which they happily terminated by the Peace of *Brindisi* above related. Nothing can be neater than *Horace's* Account of this long Journey. It is told in very familiar, and yet elegant Terms; and being among the *first* Pieces of this kind which he published, when he was scarce six and twenty, it both shews upon what foot he lived with the Minister, and what kind of Men made up this select Retinue.

HORACE set out from *Rome* attended by *Heliodore*, a Professor of Eloquence, whom he calls by far the learnedest of all the *Grecians*. I suppose he has held the same rank in the Minister's Family, as *Apollodore* the *Pergamenian* did in the Prince's*; being scarce probable that *Horace* could yet afford to keep in his house a learned *Grecian* for his Companion. They undertook this Journey before the Peace of *Brindisi* was concluded; that is, about two years after *Philippi*, when the Tribune commanding under *Brutus* had been stript of his small paternal Estate, and for his Subsistence had been reduced to purchase an Under-clerkship in the Treasury: for so I understand *Suetonius* † in the Sketch

VOL. III.

H.

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* *Homme de Lettres.*† *Veniâ impetratâ, SCRIPTUM QUÆSTORIUM comparavit.*

he has given of the Poet's Life. This Gentleman, *Heliodorus*, is no where else mentioned, that I know of : perhaps he may have died young, before he produced any Work to preserve his memory ; since, but for this little Touch of *Horace's* Pen, his own Learning, however extensive, would not have saved him from oblivion.

MECENAS and COCCERIUS were going, as I said, upon so weighty an Affair, that the Fortunes of their respective Masters, and the Fate of the Empire depended upon their Negotiation : yet we find them in no hurry——no posting to *Brindisi* ; but their Progress liker a Jaunt of Pleasure than the dispatch of Plenipotentiaries. They generally rode but one Stage a-day, took their own elegant *Villas* in their way, where they *entertained* by turns——or if the Master's Family happened not to be there at that time, he only *lodged* the illustrious Company ; but the nearest House-keeper supplied the Kitchen. They refused no Amusement on the Road ; we find *Mecenas* going to *Tennis* after a long Day's Journey (no Sign of a fatigued Traveller or a weak Constitution), in which neither of the Poets chose to bear a part. *Horace's* Eyes were but tender, and *Virgil's* Digestion weak. The ridiculous Ensigns of Power, affected by the Recorder of a little Country-Town, and some *local Miracles*, afforded them new mirth ; while the Encounter of *Sarmentus*, a Buffoon in *Mecenas's* Train, with *Cicerrus*, another *Grotesque* belonging to *Cocceius*, furnished laughter for a whole evening. But the Circumstance in the whole narration that chiefly struck me, is the *different manner* in which the Poet relates his meeting with the great Man, and with his fellow-Poets. A modern Bard, we may presume, who had been commanded to meet an Ambassador, and attend him as his Companion, would have principally dwelt upon the *auspicious Day*,—perhaps accumulated all the honour and happiness of the Tale on the *blessed Hour*, when his EXCELLENCE first joined them. It is here quite otherwise. ' At *Terracina*, says HORACE, while I was anoint-

ing

ing my sore eyes, *Mecenas* arrived, and along with him *Cocceius* and *Fonteius Capito*, a thorough-polite man*, and in the highest favour with M. ANTONY. From thence we proceeded to *Fundi*, and had soon the pleasure to leave it,—sneering at the Trappings of their wrong-headed Recorder—in his purple-edged Gown, with a broad Galloon down his Breast, and a Pan of live Coals carried before him in procession. That evening, pretty weary, we reached *Formiæ* the Seat of the *Mammurran* Family†, where *Murena* lodged the Company, and *Capito* furnished the Table. But the next day dawned by far the most agreeable; for at *Sinuessa*‡ we were joined by *Plotius Tucca*, *Lucius Varius*, and *Virgilius Maro*—than whom the Earth bears not better men, nor to whom any body has greater obligations than myself. —lord! what embracing there was among us! what a Flow of joy, and Effusion of heart! never, while in my senses, will I put any thing in the balance with a *delightful Friend!* There is both *Discretion* and *Dignity* in suppressing, or in touching gently upon Circumstances that might favour of Vanity; and the Exercise of these rare Qualities, in some measure accounts for this uncommon Phenomenon, of a great Statesman travelling with four such *Literati* in his Train.

AMONG Persons of this Turn, equally acquainted with Business and Learning, *Mén* and *Manners* must be frequently the

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Subjects.

* VOL. III. page 8.

† Hence the Epithet which *Catullus* usually bestows upon the prodigal *Mammurra*, *Julius Cesar's* Favourite, *Decessor Formianus*, the Bankrupt of *Formiæ*.

‡ *SINUESSA* was another *Baiæ*—a Place of gayety and pleasure. It likewise allured People of delicate Constitutions *mollitie coeli et salubritate aquarum*, by the Mildness of the Air, and the celebrated hot Springs, which, long before *Martial's* days, were used for dissolute Purposes (a): for in this Place the Monster *Tigellinus* was wallowing in debauchery, when *OTHO* sent to take off his Head. Was *VIRGIL* here using these Baths, to cherish a sickly Habit?—or had he rather come from *Naples* (his usual Retreat not far off) to meet his Patron at *Sinuessa*, because, next Stage, the Road to *Brindisi* quits the Coast, and taking to the left thro' the Hills, leads by the Bridge on the *Volturno* to *Beneventum*?

(a) LIB. II. Epig.

Subjects of Conversation; and *Horace*, who was particularly quick both in his Passions and Perceptions, has accordingly presented his Patron with some curious Draughts of the various *Characters* and *Pursuits* which diversify human Life. It is remarkable, that the *first* of his Odes or Songs, the *first* of his *Satyrs*, and the *first* of his *Epistles*, are all of this sort; and all the *three* addressed to MECENAS. The Poet therefore, in writing his *Discourses* or *Conversations*, was at once indulging his *own Genius*, and adapting his Productions to the *Taste* of his Patron. Knowledge of *Characters* is the prime Requisite both for judging of other men's Conduct, and for regulating our own: whoever *excells* in it, is capable of the highest Employments, and qualified to deal with all sorts of Persons: for *Characters*, springing from inclination, and marked by a pursuit, are the immediate Offspring, and therefore the sure *Test* of our Morals; so that the very learned and judicious Writer*, who has laboured most successfully to make these Compositions of *Horace* intelligible to our Countrymen, had good reason to affirm, 'that his SATYRS and EPISTLES contain a perfect System of Prudence and Morality; being the finest Collection of Precepts for the Conduct of Life, that all Antiquity can boast of.' This is a high Encomium——let us see whether it be well founded.

We are told by the great Master of Morals, 'that Men generally take to one of *three* kinds of Life:——they either give themselves up to *pleasure*; follow *public business*; or spend their time in *Study* and *Contemplation*. Under these, continues he, there is yet another sort of a Life to be considered, that of a *Money-maker*, whose sole Aim is accumulating Wealth †.'

This

* Mr. William Duncan, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Aberdeen, whose exact Translation of the *Satyrs* and *Epistles* of *Horace*, with learned Notes, was unfortunately printed as a *second Part* to the Odes, &c. translated and commented by a very different Hand.

† Οἱ γὰρ καθολικοὶ βίοι μάλιστα τρεῖς εἰσὶν· ὁ τε καὶ ἡδονῇ, καὶ ὁ πολιτικός, καὶ τρίτος ὁ θεωρητικός——ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλος βίος ἐν αὐτοῖς θεωρούμενος, ὁ τῷ χρηματιστικῷ.
Παραφρασ. ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛ. πρὸς Νικομαχ. Β.

This Observation is taken from *Fact*, and a *wide View* of human Affairs :—of a piece with it is the philosophic Arrangement of the *good-things* sought after, or the *Enjoyment* proposed from each kind of Life ; which the same Moralist, or his accurate Interpreter *, says must be likewise of three sorts : ‘ For all our ‘ Acquisitions and Enjoyments either relate immediately to the ‘ BODY, or to the MIND, or to *exterior* circumstances, which the ‘ Philosophers called Things WITHOUT us.’

IN a Run of Pleasure, or a Hurry of Business, the multiplicity of succeeding Objects that play before our fired Imagination, seems incapable of being reduced to order, and ranged under a few simple heads : but when that heat is over, cool Reflection and a calm View of Life, let us see the Truth and Justness of the comprehensive Division. If *Horace* therefore, in his Draughts of Men and Manners, has amply and artfully treated of these *four* kinds of Life, and searched into the three *Ends* or *Purposes* proposed in pursuing them——if he has inimitably shewn the Use and Abuse of *Pleasure*, *Power*, *Knowledge*, and *Wealth*——may we not return the Compliment which he pays to *Homer* †, and pronounce him a compleat Moralist ?

BUT that every one may judge for himself, *here* are the Subjects of his *Conversations*, in one compendious View. They are divided into two Books, the first containing *ten*, and the second *eight* Satyrs.

BOOK FIRST.

Sat I. Of the Choice of Life——various *Characters*——Use and Abuse of MONEY.

II. Of PLEASURE: Danger and Indecency of *high Intrigue*.

III. Of FRIENDSHIP: Indulgence to Friends: *Life* (not Theory) the *measure* of Things.

IV. Of

* Supposed to be ANDRONICUS the *Rhodian*, published by *Dan. Heinsius*, with a Translation.

†

Qui quid sit pulcrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non, Plinius ac melius Chrysippo ac Crantore dicit. Epist. II. ad Lollium.

- IV. Of POETRY. Satyr. LUCILIUS—HORACE himself.
- V. A JOURNEY to *Brindisi*—Accidents in common Life.
- VI. Of NOBILITY. Grandeur troublesome: Sweets of Independency.
- VII. A LAW-SUIT, or Scolding between a well-matched Plaintiff and Defendant: false Eloquence, ending in a Pun *.
- VIII. Of SUPERSTITION. Spells. *Priapus* and the *Witch*.
- IX. The PRATER. Impertinence in Conversation. (*le Facheux*).
- X. A DEFENCE of Sat. IV. Criticism. Characters and Excellencies of contemporary Poets.

BOOK SECOND.

Sat. I. The same SUBJECT. Essay-writing. Character of *Lucilius*—*Horace's* own.

- II. Of TEMPERANCE. Table-Luxury: honest *Ofellus*.
- III. Of STOICISM: Folly, a certain *pitch* of Madness;—wonderfully exemplified. *Horace's* own Errors in Life.
- IV. Of EPICURISM. Receipts in *Cookery* philosophically delivered.
- V. Of LEGACY-HUNTING. The Will-Catcher and his Wiles described.
- VI. THE WISH—private LIFE—rural Retirement—City and Country Mouse.
- VII. Of False GALLANTRY, and ill-founded PRIDE, opposed to real VIRTUE and Self-command.
- VIII. A ridiculous FEAST. Abuse of Riches. Absurdity of high Entertaining.

Now IF we review these Subjects with attention, we will find, that they run either upon the management of our *Pleasures*, which in the abstract stile you may call the good things of

* See Vol. II. page 48, 49.

of the *Body*; or upon Conduct toward our *Superiors, Friends, and Dependants*, which may be considered as *exterior* Circumstances; or finally they relate to Learning and Knowledge, particularly to Poetry and characteristic Writing, that delineates our Passions and Principles; which therefore properly belongs to the *Understanding*. Take human Life, then, in what light you please, and compare its Duties and Errors with these elegant Draughts of the *Roman Poet*, you will find them *follow* it in its principal and pleasanter Scenes.

SOUND SENSE is the grand Source of writing well,

says this candid Critic, and adds a memorable Proof of his Assertion; — ‘to be convinced that it is so, continues he, Go, read *the Works of the SOCRATIC SCHOOL*, that is, the Writings of *Xenophon and Plato*: — from *them* you must learn the Duties we owe to our Country, to our Parents, and to our Friends, to be qualified to *paint Characters* according to *Nature*. Would you therefore know the real Compass and *Extent* of these CHARACTERISTICS, take any approved SYSTEM of MORALS in your hand, but especially the *first* and *best* that I yet know to be published, which bears the name of *Nicomachus* to whom it was addressed*; or if that divine Work be not within reach, take *Cicero’s* Abstract of it and of *Panetius’* Treatise upon the same Subject†, — compare *their* Contents with the Subjects of the *Satyrs*, and (ONE grand Point excepted) you will equally find Directions for every Part of your Conduct. They are given in *various* ways; by Precept, by Example, but principally in the most difficult — but most delightful of all the methods of Instruction, that of *Painting and Ridicule* — a method that deeply attaches the Reader, [and wins his Consent, by interesting his *own* Judgment, and appealing to his *own* Taste for the Truth of the Conclusions which it leaves him to draw, after having turned out to his view the right and wrong Sides of Life, and raised approbation or dislike by bare *Representation*.

IN

* ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛ, ΗΘΙΚΩΝ πρὸς ΝΙΚΟΜΑΧ.

† De OFFICIIS.

In this delicate Art *Horace* excelled: his Pictures are all just, Colouring exquisite, and laid on in the happiest Language that ever flowed from a Poet's Pen: and as by this means, among all the *Roman* Authors, his Writings are the Sources from which a Gentleman, living in Court or Country, pursuing Pleasure, immersed in Business, or addicted to Learning, may draw the greatest instruction and delight, I hope the following Observations, tending to illustrate their excellency and spread their influence, will not be unseasonable.

AND first, his moral *Lectures* (if that be not too grave a word) are rendered amiable by a very essential, tho' often neglected qualification, their *Good-Nature* and *Pleasantry*. They are frequently delivered in some ludicrous Character—a *Virtuoso run mad* *, a *sprewd Sententious Slave* †, or a *subtile Kitchen-Philosopher* ‡; they are, besides, enlivened here and there with those strokes of humour, and little *Extravagancies* that are proper to prevent our flagging on *pure preaching* and *dry Morality*. It is surely no good Conduct in the Managers for Virtue, to give her such a stern merciless Aspect as to frighten the gay, the young, the good-natured, from daring to approach her. *Persius*, *Juvenal*, and the greater part of the modern Satyrists, seldom afford us a Smile; or when they do, it comes with so much disdain and Arrogance, that it has no chance to please, nor consequently to correct us. It must be allowed, that the gross unnatural Vices which they attack, require a harsher Tone, because the case-hardened Offenders in *these*, having forgot to blush, are proof against a Jest: and it being the business of Satyr first to laugh Vice out of countenance, or if, thro' impudence and profligacy, that cannot be done, its next work is to render it odious and frightful: But in chusing notorious *Rogues*, *Rakes*, *Thieves*, or Men of the most abandoned Characters, as Objects of their Satyr, they have rather followed the Authors of the *old rude Comedy*, than the Pattern here set them by this refined

Censor

* DAMASIPPUS.

† DAVUS.

‡ CATIUS.

Censor of Manners: and still, when they touch upon the *same* Subject with him, it is in a very *different* way. Criminal Intrigue, and Table-Luxury, have been the standing Butts of Satyr, constantly lashed by almost every Writer of that species; yet take the Pieces in which *Horace* exposes the Ridicule of these dangerous and delusive Follies, and compare them with the hideous Pictures drawn by *Persius* and his *Associate*, you will find they consider them in quite different views, and scarcely imagine you are reading upon the same subject. It is past doubt, that every VICE is attended with so much *genuine Folly*, that it needs only to be stript of its Tinsel, and shewn *as it is*, to make it look silly, and us ashamed of it: but if besides its own Deformity, we dress it up like a *Saracen's Head*, and endeavour to *inhance* its native Uglinefs, it is odds but we take it for a *Masque indeed*, and believe its real Visage not so deformed as the officious Representation.

I SAID there was *one* grand Point, on which our Poet could not keep pace with the Moralists: *Aristotle*, *Panctius*, and *Cicero*, had all the happiness to live in *free States*, and the *Roman* had a chief hand in *preserving* one so: of course they employ a great part of their Writings in explaining and enforcing *the Duties we owe to our COUNTRY*. But here *our Poet* is defective—not for want of capacity or good-will, but thro' a fatal *necessity* to abstain from the exalted Subject,—a *necessity* imposed upon him by the *Times* and his *own* condition. *Aristotle*, it is true, witnessed the Attempt made upon the Liberties of *Greece* by the artful PHILIP; as *Cicero* composed his admirable Work, addressed to his Son, during a *lucid Interval* that seemed to have surmounted the Usurpation. But the *Stagirite* had been conversant with better Models than his *own* Country produced, or his *Pupil's* Government could afford; else he could never have had those *distinct* and *beneficent* Views of SOCIETY, or felt that public affection we call *Patriotism*, whose beauty he has so exquisitely

described *: whereas the unfortunate HORACE, tho' early embarked in the Cause of Liberty, soon saw the bright morning overcast, and produce a dismal tempest of Tyranny and lawless Rule, in which he was himself a deep Sufferer. No wonder then, if we find, in his *first Productions*, no encomiums of a Passion, which tho' the most glorious and elevating that warms the human Breast, ran directly counter to the Spirit and Tenor of the newly-usurped Government.

LET us bear with this piece of *Discretion* in the lately-pardoned Poet; and remember that by seconding the salutary views of the humane *Mecenas*, and the generous *Agrippa*, he was even *now* approving himself a *worthy*, as well as a *wise* Man: for afterwards, when things were better settled, and a milder Spirit prevailed in Public, we shall find him endeavouring, as a professed Patriot, to make ample amends.

AFTER two or three looser *Essays*, he carried *Satyr* to its perfection; and in so far as it regards the conduct of *private* Life, remains, *unrivalled* by any ancient or modern Writer. I have already pointed out the Advantages which in part *account* for this superiority,—the noble *Pattern* he imitated, the high *Company* he kept, his quick perception of *Characters*, and equal acquaintance with *Books* and *Men*. But he stands in nothing so much alone, as in *Good-nature*, and that *smiling Ease* with which he administers medicine to a sickly Mind.—Not only the two noted Ancients already named, but all the Moderns who have attempted *Satyr*, are *sadly serious*: the bitter and bigotted *Salvator Rosa* never unbends his angry Brow: *Boileau's* natural Temper was sharp, nor was Mr. *Pope* averse to *Severity*. It is true, they have both taken up the *other* manner with great success—but it is either when they have

Horace

* In all Antiquity, I know nothing that in sublime Sentiment, nervous Expression, and Strength of Colouring, surpasses an *Ode on VIRTUE*, ascribed to *Aristotle*. APETA ΠΟΛΤΜΟΧΘΕ—ΤΕΝΕΙ ΒΡΟΤΕΙΩΙ, &c.

Horace in view, or are copying *Tassoni*, *Cervantes*, or some other of the *burlesque* Writers.

Two peculiarities more distinguish *Horace's* Composesures : first, they are genuine *dramatic* Representations, like so many *Scenes of a Comedy* : the greater number are *strictly* so, and the two or three that appear *narrative* and declamatory, yet *introduce* Persons and Characters in the Narration. They are of the same kind, both as to matter and form, with those *Socratic Pieces* which he recommends as the fountains of Sense and fine Writing. An Author more ennobled by his learning and virtue than by his high birth, has ingeniously remarked, that every one of *Plato's* Dialogues is a sort of MORAL MIRROR, into which no man can look stedfastly without seeing his own real Face, and if frequently consulted, will likewise shew him the Visage wore by every one of his acquaintance. *Horace's* DISCOURSES are vastly elaborate in this respect, and wrought up to a strict *Consistency* of character and sentiment.

A NOBLE *Venetian*, who by staying long in BRITAIN had acquired an esteem for the fair Sex not very common in his own Country, started an *Objection* on this subject which will set it in the clearest light. ‘I cannot conceive, said he, how so delicate a Writer as *Horace*, should in his fifth Satyr * have ventured to abuse the most shining female Character in all Antiquity, and represent the virtuous *Penelope* as capable of the lowest prostitution. The very Language he uses on this occasion, is *foul*, and the Image to which he compares the Heroine is grossly shocking †. Is not this trespassing against the Truth of Character, and irreconcilable to his own Precepts?’

A Gentleman in the company observed, that *Horace*, tho' supremely well bred, and strictly adapting his style to the Speaker,

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has

* Book II.

† *Ut CANIS a corio numquam absterrebitur uncto.*

ULYSSES is introduced consulting *Tiresias* by what ways and means he may repair his broken Fortunes, and grow quickly rich ? The old Bard bids him hunt for Legacies ; and among other arts, *prostitute his WIFE*.

has yet many *strong*, perhaps we would say *coarse* Expressions, hatched, to be sure, under the high liberty of the *Roman* State, and which had probably crept into his compositions from the Fountains whence he drew, *Lucilius'* Writings, or more licentious Authors of the *old Comedy*—that what is called *Politeness* has no fixed Standard, but varies so much in different ages and countries, that some Moderns have stript the rude Ancients of all pretensions to Gallantry. You know, *St. Evremont* finds it only in *Petronius*, and in *two* or *three* of the Odes of *Horace* *; while other *French-men* censure even *your* *TASSO* and *GUARINI*, and pretend to give proofs of their being gross Writers on the subject of Love †.

SIGNIOR G-----NI allowed that *Politeness* had no standard but Good-nature; and that the fantastic *french* Writers of the last age wanted to make their own national Foppery the general Model of Manners—but still he insisted that here was a palpable Inconsistency with the established character of *Penelope*, exaggerated in very indecent terms; and looking to a known admirer of the *Poet* and no enemy to the *Fair*, ask'd him, *How he could almost idolize an Author who had so insulted the most accomplished of Woman-kind?*

WHEN you take that Piece of my Favourite again in your hand, said the Person to whom he put the question, do him the justice to consider it as a *Continuation* of the XI. Book of *Homer's Odyssey* inscribed *NEKRIA*, or the *State of the DEAD*; just as the admired *Fenelon* has grafted his *Adventures of Telemachus* upon an Episode of the same Poet: consider too the *Purpose* of it—to expose a piece of mean Corruption which was beginning to prevail, and which soon after came to a shameful height, that of courting the *childless Rich* by the lowest and worst of arts ‡: for the regard formerly paid to *Virtue* being

now,

* A la reserve d'HORACE en quelques odes, PETRONE est peut-être le seul de l'Antiquité, qui ait sçu parler de Galanterie.

† *Pria—ch'jo le mie arme, nel suo sangue non tinga.* Aminta di TASSO.

‡ Vir bonus et pauper, linguaque et pectore purus,

Quid tibi vis URBEM qui Fabiane petis?

now, after the loss of Liberty, transferred to *Pomp* and *Wealth*, MONEY was become the grand Pursuit at *Rome*—every body hastened to be rich—no matter *how*, so you were but rich; and the most expeditious and secure method of acquisition, (after a stop was put to plundering) being by bequeathed Estates, *Will-catching* became a Profession, and (like Fortune-hunting lately in *Britain*) a public nuisance and scandal*. To expose the base Artifices they employed, and make the Trade at once odious and ridiculous, the foil of the most shining Characters was necessary; as *their* contrast set the deformity of it in the most striking light:—and what more shining Characters than those of *Penelope* and *Ulysses*?

AY—but he should have *kept* to these Characters—observed the proper measures of probability—and not represented the heroic *Ulysses* as capable of acting the Scoundrel, or the virtuous *Penelope* of playing the-----! The raised Tone of Voice, and Vivacity of the *Venetian's* Looks, made this Sentence be received with a loud laugh—after which the Poet's Advocate modestly begged leave to tell him, ‘*That Ulysses was represented, even by Homer himself, as not at all averse to receiving gifts, and extremely intent upon accumulating wealth*†: nay,

Qui nec leno potes. nec commissator haberi,

Nec pavidos tristi voce citare reos:

Nec potes uxorem cari corrumpere amici,

Nec potes argentes arrigere ad vetulas;

Vendere nec vacuos circum palatia fumos,

Plaudere nec *Cano*, plaudere nec *Glaphyro*:

Unde miser vives?—

MARTIAL. Lib. IV. Ep. 5.

* An tu *Arruntium* et *Aterium* et cæteros, qui captandorum testamentorum artem professi sunt, non putas eadem habere quæ designatores et libitinos vota?

SENEC. de Ben. VI.

† When set on shore by the Phæacians in *Ithaca*, and (as he thought) in hazard of his Life, his first care was to number the Presents he had received, lest the Seamen should have pilfered any thing while he was asleep; and afterwards, when *Penelope* was making trial of her Suitor's generosity,

γῆθησεν δὲ πολὺτλας δῖος ΟΔΥΣΣΕΥΣ.
Οὐνεκα τῶν μὲν δῶρα παρέλκετο— ΠΑΥ. Σ.

' nay, that there were not wanting Writers who had formally attack-
 ' ed Penelope's Character, and endeavoured at least to leave it
 ' dubious, whether the Princess of Ithaca, like our great Queen
 ' ELIZABETH, were really such a Pattern of Virtue as Homer
 ' paints her, or whether she had imposed upon the world, and made it
 ' believe her a Saint while she indulged in secret, and was indeed
 ' a Sinner * : whereas Horace introduces Ulysses himself (who
 ' should know best) doing full justice to his excellent Consort, and
 ' strongly asserting her superior Prudence and unblemished Chastity †.
 ' WIT, he said, required some grains of allowance, and is never ob-
 ' served to shine brighter, than when it makes free with exalted
 ' Characters—besides, Sir, remember that the Insinuations in
 ' prejudice of this admired Lady are put into the mouth not only of
 ' an old Soothsayer, but of a blind one, and who lost his sight for a
 ' harsh Judgment passed in a ticklish point upon the Sex in general.
 ' ————— An old Man, said the Italian (pausing---and
 ' weighing the words);—an old Man—and a blind one too!
 ' Why, that may possibly acquit the Poet ‡.

IT is the chief Boast of the Muses, to make the Lyes they tell
 resemble Truth. CONSISTENCY of Character is accordingly the
 Master-piece of Poetry, which is seldom reached if the
 Foundation at least of the Fiction be not laid in Facts, or
 if the Poet have not real Persons in his eye while he is drawing
 Characters. Without this, the warmest Fancy and widest Ge-
 nius cannot guard him against slips in composition;—nor se-
 cure him against some wry feature or unhappy touch, betraying
 the

* Quid inquiris;—an PENELOPA impudica fuerit, ac verba suo saeculo de-
 derit? an ULIEM illum esse quem videbat antequam sciret suspicata sit.

SENEC. Epist. 88.

†

————— Putas ne

Perduci poterit tam frugi, tamque pudica;
 Quam nequiere proci recto depellere cursu?

‡ In bocca di Vecchio, dice V S—ed anche di cieco—cieco—e vecchio!
 ————— ah! questo sì, basta per iscusar il Poeta.

the deceit, and bespeaking human Infirmary. The second *Peculiarity* of *Horace's* Pieces is therefore easily perceived, as being closely connected with the first. The *Rise* of his Satyrs was *real*; and the Persons to whom both they and his Epistles are addressed were not fictitious. They are founded upon some Incident that actually happened, or upon some Relation in life that really existed; and are accordingly framed and *adjusted* to their situation at that time. It was this that enabled him to *paint so true*, to make his introduced Persons speak with such *consistent* Propriety, and to observe himself the proper *measures* of familiarity or deference. I should write a Commentary on his Works, were I to point out the Proofs that every where occur of the truth of these Observations: but I cannot avoid taking notice of one *happy effect* of this way of Writing, which we may call a *moral Drama*. By introducing various Characters, and making them talk each in their own stile, you put a *PERSON* between you and the PUBLIC, and out of *his* mouth can say many things which you could not have said so well, or possibly not said at all from your own. With what grace could *Horace*, for instance, have recounted his own foibles and follies, in comparison of the Virtuoso newly converted to Stoicism? Or how could he have removed the false glare of Wealth, and so decently displayed the Enormities of the *Great*, as in the person of a *sagacious Valet* perfectly acquainted with his Master's private life? It is needless to add, that to draw such a character *justly*, the Poet must have *been so too*. He now lived much at Court; from which however he made frequent and long elopements to his rural Retirement, to enjoy plain Nature, saunter in the Woods, or contemplate among the ruins of a Temple gone to decay. He had his Friends and his Enemies, both as a Courtier and an Author——had a new dependance upon a Minister——a small Fortune to manage, and a greater to make;——besides an irascible Temper, and a large share of more lasting Passions. These give great *Openings* into Life,
and

and when joined with the *Masters* he consulted *, and the *Models* he followed, produced those wondrous Draughts of Men and Manners that have stood the test of Ages; and still command admiration and love.

AN ingenious *French-man* lately named, says the reading *Seneca's* *Morals* rather *indisposed* than excited him to *Virtue*,—
 ‘ that he felt an aversion to what that *Writer* recommends, and
 ‘ a liking to what he dissuades; that the gloomy pains he takes
 ‘ to prepare us for *Death* made him passionately fond of *Life*,
 ‘ while his haranguing in praise of *Poverty* made him sigh for
 ‘ the vast wealth amassed by the *Moralist*.’ So preposterous an
 effect affords no prejudice in favour of the *Writer's Sincerity*;
 it seems to speak his *Virtue* rather *acquired* than natural,—rather
 assumed to *serve a purpose* †, than really dictated by his heart:
 whereas *HORACE's* softened Reproofs, and artful methods of con-
 veying Advice, produce a very different disposition. — You
 begin to read with pleasure—you smile—turn all Attention,
 —find out yourself—bite your lip, throw down the book,
 —take it eagerly up, read anew—and blushing resolve to
 become a better Man.

HOMER, says the Father of Criticism, thro’ all his Works
 speaks but very little in his own person—just enough to in-
 voke his Muse, and introduce his Actors, whom he paints more
 exquisitely by the Speeches put in their mouths, than by direct
 Description. The same thing holds strictly true of *Horace* in
 these *mimic* Conversations, who tho’ occupying the least *poetical*
 quarter of *Parnassus*, I mean *SATYR*, and sily declining the
 name, is yet, in the strict sense of the word, a *POET*. His Friend
Fuscus

* When he went into the country, the Authors he carried with him were
PLATO and *MENANDER*—*EUPOLIS* and *ARCHILOCHUS*: the two former as
 sources of Wisdom and models of Dialogue; the latter for the strength of their
 Stile and Sentiment,—keen strokes of Wit and Ridicule, without much Morality.

† *SENECA*—instituta prioris potentiae commutat: prohibet coetus salutanti-
 um, vitat comitantes; rarus per urbem, quasi valetudine infensa, aut sapientiae
studii dominaretur.
TACIT. Ann. XIV.

Fuscus Aristius serves him to set forth CRISPINUS the everlasting *Prater*. *Fundanius*, the comic Author, describes the extravagant Dinner given by *Nasidienus Rufus* (a rich Fool, ambitious to be thought a Man of taste) to *Mecenas*, and his motely Train. *Trebatius*, the celebrated Lawyer, whom Mr. *Pope* transforms into Dr. *Arbutnot*, gives him handles, by his prudent advice, to justify his conduct as a Satyrist. Fabulous Persons, like *Tiresias* and *Priapus*, turn Preachers of Morality; and even his own Father bears a part in the satyrical Drama. They are each amiable in their *Way*; but none of them come up to DAVUS, the sententious Valet; and much less to *Damaspippus* the pragmatistical Stoic, whose Character far surpasses that of *Cervantes'* witty and learned Madman, the Licentiate *Vidriera* *.

WHEN he first began to write, LUCILIUS was in possession of the highest reputation as a Poet. *Horace* openly attacked him, and raised the indignation of his Admirers.—He allowed him great Worth, Wit, and Learning, but censured him a little sharply, as a *loose, incorrect, and verbose* Writer. This Judgment was not ratified by Posterity: LUCILIUS continued the popular Author, and was in every body's hands; while his Rival became the favourite of the select Few. In some sense, it is so still; for tho' the degrading his Works into a *School-Book* has enabled every Smatterer to quote *Horace*, he is not thoroughly understood by the majority of *Latin-Scholars* †. The very *Plans* of his best Pieces suppose no slender acquaintance with *History, Philosophy, and various Literature*; and his Art in conducting them is too fine to be perceived, and his Sentiments too uncommon to be relished by the learned Vulgar. In vain have we recourse to *Translations* made by ingenious and learned Men:

VOL. III.

K

Dacier

* EXEMPLARES de Mig. de Cervantes, NOVELA V.

† 'I must confess, that the delight which *Horace* gives me is but languishing (be pleased still to understand that I speak of my own Taste only). He may ravish other men, but I am too stupid and insensible to be tickled,' says even the ingenious JOHN DRYDEN; who prefers *Juvenal's* sounding verse to the nicely-touched Characters and refined Composition of our Poet.

Dacier and *Duncan* may have perfectly understood him in themselves; but it is beyond their power to transfuse the spirit and elegance of the Original *.

AFTER tracing this branch of Learning from its first Rise to its highest perfection, we shall conclude the Research with a view of the State of the *other* parts of Poetry at this period—and point out the prime Favourites of the tuneful Train, who felt the happy raptures of an inspiring Muse: and that Account at we can take from no better hand than from *Horace* himself.

ABOUT the DCCXIX year of the City, and the twenty eighth of *Cæsar*'s age, the Summer after *Sextus Pompey*'s death, and *Antony*'s return from *Parthia*, *Horace* was writing his miscellany Dis- courses; and in the end of the first Book gives the following Sketch of the State of Poetry, and its Professors at Rome.

The Beginning of that Century had seen *Lucretius*, *Catullus*, *Calidius*, and *Cinna*, sitting on the summit of *Parnassus*; but after the death of *Calidius* who survived the other three, *VARIUS*, *L.* *Pet.* He was in possession of the character of the greatest Epic Poet. He is acknowledged as such both by *Virgil* and *Horace*: and yet, it is strange, no Work of his has survived—nor has even the Name reached us of any of his Epic Compositions. His Tragedy (*Thyestes*) which he published some years after this, procured him the Reputation of an eminent Tragic Writer, and a Poem on *CÆSAR*, still higher favour as a Panegyrist: but I can find no mention of any of his other Works—nor ascertain on what Per- formance his Epic Reputation was founded. Without doubt, he must either have published something of that nature before his Friends, or at least have read to his some

Serene and clear harmonious HORACE flows,
With Sweetness not to be express'd in Prose.
I, who have serv'd him now these twenty years,
Scarce know my Master, when that Dress he wears.

COMMON.

Ro

some parts of an Heroic Poem he had then on the anvil. There is an artful way of showing abilities that makes some men appear capable of Productions, to which at bottom their Genius is not equal: witness the celebrated Mr. *Courart*, the first Secretary to the *French Academy*, who, without publishing any one thing of his own, found means to pass all his life for a person of superior capacity and judgment.

IN *TRAGEDY*,—the Palm was given to the well-known *Asinius Pollio*; and *C. Fundanius*, Brother-in-law, I believe, to *M. Varro*, was allowed to have the happiest Genius for *Comedy*. Besides other Productions of the severer Drama, published during the civil War*, *Pollio* had an intention to make *that WAR itself* the subject of a Tragedy, and to bring the great Actors in it, *Pompey*, *Cato*, *Curio*, and *Cesar*, each in his proper character, upon the stage. He had been deeply engaged in it himself,—was intimately acquainted with all the Chiefs, and therefore perfectly qualified to paint Characters, and narrate Transactions: he meant to do both; having likewise composed a *History* of that unhappy and calamitous War. This was published, and admired; but as for the *Tragedy*, he seems to have taken the same person's advice, who allows him here to be the *first* Tragic Poet†, but who, in a wonderful Ode addressed to him much about this time, warns him plainly of the danger of treating so ticklish a subject: ‘The Blood spilt in the cruel Struggle was yet warm, and the Wounds not yet closed—the greatest Men were by some Tie or other all interested in the fatal Catastrophe:—would he venture to play with such dangerous Materials, or dare to tread upon Ashes that covered a devouring Fire? or supposing that he had actually compleated the hazardous Draught, might it not be proper to *defer* the publication,—to apply his great talents

K 2

“ and

* PRETEXTAM, si voles legere, *Gallum Cornelium*, familiarem meum poscito.

C. A. POLL. ad CICER.

†

—POLLIO Regum

: Facta canit, pede ter percusso.

‘ and powerful influence to *resettle* the State; and when that was accomplished——when passions had cooled, and men’s minds were returned to their wonted quiet, then he might resume the *Athenian* buskin, and, like *Sophocles*, paint the Crimes of Kings, big with mischief and misery*.’ But *Pollio*, tho’ placed at the top by *Horace*, was soon surpassed by succeeding Tragic Writers; and the delightful comic Scenes of *Fundanius* were no longer-lived than *Varius’ Epic* Poems.

BUT after pointing out the distinguished Favourites of the *Heroic, Tragic, and Comic* Muse, the Precedency in two species of Poetry still remained to be disposed of, *Pastoral* and *Satyr*. The supreme *Sweetness* and *Pleasantry* of the former he assigns to *VIRGIL*, who for certain had then published nothing considerable but his *Eclogues*; and he himself claims the chief talent for *Satyr*, preferably to *VARRO* the *Atacian*, Author of the *Argonautic Expedition*. That famed Poem was promised the admiration of ages by a very able Judge†; and yet the exalted Genius that produced it, had, it would seem, but ill succeeded in satyrical Compositions. These were the eminent *Writers*.

THE *Judges* of writing, and Readers of taste, who tho’ not professed Authors, both composed themselves, and judged with candour of others, were chiefly these following. *CILNIUS MECENAS*, the Patron of polite Learning led the van; then *Plotius Tucca*, *Fuscus Ariftius*, and *C. Octavius*, no less remarkable for Probity, than for his abilities in Literature‡. He was probably the Son

MORUM, ex *Metello* consule, civicum,
 Bellique causas, et vitia, et modos;
 Ludumque Fortunae, gravesque
 Principum amicitias, et arma,
 Nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus,
 Periculosae plenum opus alcae,
 Tractus, et incedis per ignes
 Suppositos cineri doloso.

HORAT. Lib. II. Ode I.

VARRONEM, primamque ratem, quae nesciet AETAS. OVID.

——et probet haec OCTAVIUS optimus—— HORAT.

Son of POMPEY's Admiral, (who fought against *Julius Cæsar* in the *Theſſalic*, *African*, and *Spaniſh* Wars), and Father, perhaps, of the famous Glutton *P. Octavius*, who rivalled even *Apicius*, and carried off in triumph the huge Mullet ſet to ſale by *Tiberius*' order *. But among the reſt, *two* great Perſons are mentioned by *Horace* with a peculiar mark of diſtinction †, *Mæſſala Corvinus*, and *Aſinius Pollio*; Men of great *personal* dignity, who ſtood upon their *own* bottom, and tho' not mixing with the Knot of *Cæſar's Intimates*, were rather more reſpected for their Remains of Patriotiſm. *Mæſſala's* Brother, the faithleſs *Publicola*, is likewiſe mentioned as a Judge and Patron of Learning. Surely he muſt have been much reformed; or his *Party-Merit* with *M. ANTONY* which had lately raiſed him to the Conſulſhip ‡, muſt have covered the crimes of his youth ||, and made his Name appear not unworthy to ſtand with his eminent Brother's. Some others of the young Nobility, who had not fallen at *Philippi*, nor been ſacrificed on the horrid *Perugian* Altar, make up the liſt of *Horace's* Friends; *Servius Sulpitius*, the great Lawyer's Son, and *Lucius Bibulus*, the Admiral's; the candid *Furnius*, *Antony's* Miniſter; and a young Man of great genius, *C. Valgius* (who was honoured with *Mæſſala's* confidence, and afterwards thought almoſt *another HOMER* **), is now *only ranked with VIRGIL*,
among

* He gave *quinque H. S.* (almost forty guineas) for this Fiſh; which, they ſay, weighed four pounds and a half,—double the uſual ſize. *SENEC. Ep. XCVI.*

† *Ambitione relegatâ, Te dicere poſſim,
POLLIO, Te MÆSSALA, tuo cum fratre.* *HORAT.*

‡ He was made Conſul four years before his Brother *Mæſſala* Anno U. C. DCC, XVII. along with the great Negotiator *Cocceius Nerva*; and having abdicated the Supreme Magiſtracy (I know not for what reaſon), was ſucceeded by *MUNATIUS PLANCUS*, now one of *Antony's* chief Conſidents. *FASTI CAPITOL.*

|| See Vol. II. page 14. and 107.

** *Eſt tibi, qui poſſit magnis ſe accingere rebus;
VALGIUS; eterno propior noni alter HOMERO,*
ſays the modeſt and elegant Albius Tibullus to VAL. MÆSSALA. *Lib. IV. El. I.*

among the *Judges* of Poetry. Neither of these Sons of the Muses had as yet taken those flights that carried them afterwards over the heads of all their contemporary Poets.

BUT as no Profession can be much honoured without producing many Pretenders, wherever Wit is regarded, there will be abundance of Witlings; and one good Writer rewarded, raises a multitude of Scriblers. These *Excrescences*, tho' the spawn of vanity and indigence, never fail to spring along with the liberal Arts. Conscious of their own insufficiency they generally *herd together*, and club wits to bear down any Merit that eclipses their own. The Men therefore of true genius, whom we have named, had for their Detractors a Sett of pert Poets, Musicians, and Court-sycophants, who made some sort of figure, and therefore require our notice.

THE Conquest of GREECE had first *civilized* the rude *Romans*; and the Conquest of ASIA soon after *corrupted* them. The *Grecian* Colonies early settled along that delicious Coast, and the Inhabitants of the adjacent islands, had felt the power of the enervating clime; and the *Macedonian* Conquest having peopled the in-land cities of *Asia* with new swarms, they too quickly learned the vices of the soil. They were now conquered by the *Romans* in their turn, and became the chief instruments in tainting the manners of their Masters. It was the *Asiatic Greeks* that were the *Ministers of their Pleasures*, and who knew but too well the unhappy art of joining elegance to luxury. They assumed all characters, and exercised all professions. The Men of activity and address applied themselves by the most artful flattery to gain the confidence of the *Roman* Magistrates: then, as Publicans, or *Financiers*, they farmed the Revenue of their Province, and became immensely rich, notwithstanding the magnificent Presents they were obliged to make to the succeeding Governours, and Bribes to their Missions. Of this rank was the noted PHAMEAS, a necessary Man to *Julius Cesar*, and very gracious with all his Favourites. *Pharman* had the prettiest taste

in ordering a Table, of any Man in Rome *, and was blest with a Grandson of still higher accomplishments. He had a Cause depending before the Pretor, in which he had procured, I suppose by *Hirtius* and *Pansa's* means, a promise from *Cicero* to appear and plead for him. He accordingly came of a morning to that great Man's house, told him his Cause was to be called *that very day*, and hoped he would attend to defend it. *CICERO* said, ' he was sorry it should have so happened ; but he, (*Phameas*) well knew the deep obligations he lay under to *P. SEXTIUS*, who in a Cause of a higher nature was to be acquitted or condemned that *same* day, and whom he could by no means desert ; but as the time of calling *his* (*Phameas'*) Cause was not fixed by Law (which was *Sextius'* case), if he pleased to bring it on any *other* day, he would not fail to appear and patronize him.' This Answer the old Gentleman thought fit to take in extreme ill part ; and having informed his Grandchild, the famous *TIGELLIUS*, (who was necessary to *Cesar's* Pleasures in another way), they both railed so bitterly against *CICERO*, that his Friend *Fabius Gallus* thought it his duty to write to him of their Insolence. He answered, *some time ago, when I was said to be all-powerful in Rome, there was not such respect paid to me by any body as I now meet with from every one of Cesar's intimate Friends, except this one Man—that, I reckon a real happiness—not to be obliged to hear with a Fellow of a more pestilent nature than his native Climate* (Sardinia), *and one whom Calvus has in his Satyrs bound over to eternal infamy.——But Phameas knowing that he has a pretty kind of Piper, and no bad Bagnio-keeper, to his Grandchild, presumes upon his merit with our Masters †. So much*
for

* Nec tamen eas coenas quaero ut magnae reliquiae fiant ; quod erit, magnificum sit et lautum : memini te mihi PHAMEAE coenam narrare——temperies fiat ; caetera eodem modo. *CICERO*. ad *Pap. Pact.*

† Ille autem qui sciret se nepotem bellum *Tibicinem* habere, et sat bonum *Unctorem*, discessit a me iratior. By the word *UNCTOR*, I cannot doubt but that *Cicero*

for Sale-Slaves from *Sardinia*—each more rogue than t'other †: You see, Sir, my Case; and the groundless Insolence of that wou'd-be Sycophant ‡.

TIGELLIUS had a fine Voice, play'd admirably on the Flute, had great access to the fair Sex, which he complacently employ'd to oblige his Friends. But besides these useful talents, he had pretensions to Poetry, affected the character of a Wit, was profuse, capricious, and unequal, as if he had been a real one. The Estate left him by *Phameas*, and the Liberalities of two Princes, enabled him to make a figure.—he kept a good Table, where amidst Fiddlers and Witlings like himself, *Varius* and *Virgil*, *Horace* and *Pollio*, were run down for poultry Poets, while *Bavius*, *Mevius*, *Crispinus*, *Fannius*, *Hermogenes*, *Demetrius* ‡, *Tigellius*, and their Cabal (whose abilities reached no farther than perhaps a Song in the manner of *Calvus* and *Catullus*), passed for the true Sons of *Apollo*.

HAD these Poetasters been quite obscure, perhaps they might have escaped the ridicule that *Virgil* and *Horace* have for ever affixed

Cicero meant to express the greek term ΑΛΕΙΝΤΗΣ, the discreet Person who rubbed and anointed the Gentlemen, and latterly the Ladies (a), after they came out of the Bath.

(a) Callidus et *** digitos impressit ALIPTES,
Ac summum Dominae semur exclamare coegit. Juv. Sat. VI.

* *SARDINIA* was conquered by the Consul *T. Manlius*, betwixt the first and second *Punic* War. There was little Booty but Slaves—and of these *Sempronius Gracchus* sent afterwards home such a multitude, that the Public Cryer, weary of telling their country and qualities one by one, as was usual at the sale, bawled out, *Sardos venaleis, alium alio nequioresin*, which passed into a Proverb, and is here applied by *Cicero* to *Phameas* and his Grand-child.

† *Istius SALACONIS iniquitatem*. *Salaco* signifies a Fellow who assumes a State he has neither Fortune nor Merit to support: such as we daily see hanging on about great Men's houses, and some of them precisely with the same qualifications as *Phameas*, Pimps, Publicans, and Connoisseurs in french Cookery.

‡ *Fannius*, *Hermogenes*, and *Demetrius*, appear by their names to have been of grecian Extract, like *Tigellius*. Has *Nero's* execrable Minister, *Tigellinus*, been a Descendant of this *Tigellius*?

affixed to their Names : but as it constantly happens, they joined Petulance to bad Poetry, an ill Heart to a rhyming Head ; and having at the same time their circle of Admirers, like * * * or *Frelon*, they became considerable enough to be marked for Fools by the pens of the first Poets in *Rome*. *M. Bavius* died soon after this, banished to *Cappadecia* ; nor did *Tigellius* long survive him. *Mevius Gallus* was sent abroad with the satyirical Song writ by *Horace*, that gives reason to suspect his Person to have been as nauseous as his Morals were corrupt. In the first of these respects, he has not probably been resembled by his Sister, who was a Woman of Gallantry. The *Roman* Ladies did not change their maiden Name when they married ; so that *Mevius*'-Sister kept that of *Mevia Galla* in her married state : we would have called her *Mrs. Galls*. She was suspected of an affair with *Plancus*, who made a much better figure at the bar than he had done in the field ; and, now that the Courts of Justice were re-established, resided for the most part at *Rome*. *Plancus* was warmly engaged in the cause of a Friend, and wanted to marr the Evidence on the other side by putting a troublesome Witness out of countenance ; and therefore, tho' he knew well that the fellow was a Leather-dressing Cbler, with a solemn air he put the question to him, ' *What Business he followed—?*' and received an answer that might have convinced *Plancus*, that as there was no passing for a great Captain without Courage, nor for a Patriot without Integrity, he must not pretend to play the Censor (as he afterwards did), without a suitable Life and Conversation *.

VOL. III.

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To

* MUNATIUS PLANCUS in judicio forte amici, cum molestum testem destruere vellet, interrogavit, quia SUTOREM sciebat, quo artificio se tueretur ? ille urbanè respondit, GALLAM SUBIGO. Sutorium hoc habetur instrumentum, quod non inficetè in adulterii exprobrationem ambiguitate convertit ; nam *Plancus* in *Mevia Galla* nuptâ male audiebat. MACROB.

' *Business, Sir!* said the Cbler : ' *My Business—What is your Trade or Employment ?* ' *My usual Employment*, answered the Droll, *is the same with your's ; We both dress GALLS.*

To compensate the Petulance of *Tigellius* and his Cabal, HORACE not only met with the applause he deserved from the able Judges just mentioned, but received a particular Mark of Esteem from the Prince himself. *Mecenas* had put some of his Poet's *miscellany* Conversations into *CESAR*'s hands, who was so pleased with their Turn and Taste, and so persuaded that they would stand the test of ages, and prove immortal, that he wished to appear in them to Futurity. He therefore did their Author the honour to write a Billet to him; which he concluded, after a due commendation of his Satyrs, with the following humorous Sentence, *Let me tell you, however, that you have fallen under my Displeasure—because you do not address these Discourses principally to ME, and give me the chief share in the Dialogue. Are you afraid it should hurt you with Posterity, if it appeared that you had lived with me in some Familiarity?*

HORACE was too courtly to interweave *the Prince* in any conversation with *himself*; and perhaps found it difficult to do it properly, with *Mecenas* or his other *Ministers*. It was a delicate Undertaking, to introduce Persons on whom all Mankind had their eyes, conversing in a manner worthy of them. He therefore waved *Cesar's Character* in his Satyrs; but addressed the admirable Discourse to him, by way of LETTER, which contains the finest History of Learning, and the justest Criticism of *Roman Poetry*, that was ever yet published².

* Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus, &c.

B O O K X I I .

TH O' the Miseries entailed upon the *Romans* by the civil Wars seemed to be now at an end, and that nothing but public Shews and private Feasting was to be seen at *Rome*, yet neither the young *Cesar's* Ambition, nor the State of his Affairs, permitted him to remain long inactive. His Colleague *M. Antony's* vast Armaments filled him with apprehensions, and his own mutinous and insatiate Army lay a heavy burden upon him in time of Peace. He was, besides, in the height of Life, when it did not become him to sit idle at home with *Livia*; and the Designs he had by this time formed of *establishing* his Power, made it proper to seek military Reputation in some other way than the effusion of *Roman Blood*. To obtain these ends, and at once cut out work and make provision for his Troops, he must think of some Expedition, if possible not too far from the unsettled Seat of Empire: and the restless Tribes of *Dalmatia* offered him a known field of Action, just on the opposite *Adriatic* Shore.

In the happy times of *Rome*, under the Consular Government, their Arms had acquired Glory in *Dalmatia*. Its hardy Inhabitants living in the Woods, and addicted to Robbery, had attacked their *Illyrian* Neighbours, when become tributary to the *Romans*; who according to their constant Maxim, did not fail to march to the assistance of their Allies. The Consul *Marcus Figulus* laid siege to their Capital *Delminium*. It stood on the top of a steep Rock, which rendered it inaccessible to the battering Ram, and a Scalade impracticable. He had therefore recourse to an invention, not unlike our Bombs, or red hot Cannon Ball. Having

fitted Stakes of dry Wood to his Cross Bow Machines, he set the ends of them on fire ; then shot from the Engine, they flew blazing thro' the Air, and falling upon Timber-Buildings, quickly laid the City in ashes.—It was not rebuilt. *Salona*, a Seaport, lying conveniently for trading to *Italy*, became the Capital and was filled with *Roman* Merchants. Here *Cecilius Metellus* passed a peaceful Winter, and led a mock-Triumph over the *Dalmatians* in the Spring. But these warlike People resumed their Arms during the *Cesarean* Confusions, and totally routed *Gabinus*, who had deserted *Pompey* the Great, and was leading thro' their Country some raw Legions to *Cesar*. After the Dictator's Death, they fell upon his deformed Instrument *C. Vatinius*, killed his Lieutenant *Bebius*, and forced himself to take refuge in *Durazzo*, where *M. BRUTUS* stript him of his Command. All *Macedon* and *Illyria*, long happy under the Consuls, were well affected to *Pompey* and the Commonwealth, and lent willingly their assistance to *Brutus* and *Cassius* in their attempt to restore it to liberty. But *ASINIUS POLLIO*, first a *Cesarean*, and now, which was equivalent, an *Antonian* General, while commanding on the east coast of *Italy*, had *Dalmatia* almost in his view : and it is not to be doubted, but that his active Spirit, and high Ambition would put him upon forming designs of conquest and triumph in that country when he came to be Consul himself. There stood a Town in the heart of it, called *Parthium*, which gave name to a Tribe, the *Parthians* : these, allured by the Broils among the *Triumvirs*, or encouraged underhand by *Pollio's* Emisseries, took arms according to his wish, and having laid waste all the low country about *Durazzo*, they marched to *Salona*, put the *Roman* inhabitants to the sword, and drew all *Dalmatia* to take part in expelling their Invaders. It was in *ANTONY's* Department of the Empire ; and with his consent, if not by his express orders, *Pellio* led the Army he had commanded for five years, to quell the Insurrection. He was now a Leader of great Experience, having had many trials of

good

good and bad fortune in War. He had fought but too successfully under *Julius Cesar* and *Marc Antony*; but was fairly beaten by *Sextus Pompey*, when sent to succeed *Carrinas* in *Spain*. He had shewn his back at *Milan* and *Foligno* to *Salvidienus* and *Agrippa*, and was forced to ly upon the defensive until the Peace of *Brindisi*. With this experience he passed over his Army into *Dalmatia*, and in several Onsets (for I can scarce call them Battles) dissipated the bodies of the Natives that opposed him; then laid siege to their Capital *Salona*, which he took; and having stript the Inhabitants of their only Possessions, their *Arms*, *Lands*, and *Flocks*, returned triumphant to *Rome*, in the end of the year.

IN the Memoirs which the young *Cesar* wrote of his own Life, this Expedition and Triumph of a man whom he did not love, was, I apprehend, *flurred* over: and the Conquest only mentioned, without naming the Conqueror, or so much as the conquered People. 'I find, says *Appian*, (speaking from this Record of *Cesar's* own Performances), that another *Dalmatian* Nation was subdued by the *Romans*, but cannot ascertain which it was (it has been the *Parthinians*); for *Cesar*, who got the name of *Augustus*, relates only his own, not other Men's Atchievements.'

ASINIUS POLLIO was a very extraordinary Person. During the three civil Wars, in all which he bore high command, he had effectually improved the opportunities they afforded of making money: he had too much profited by the forfeited *Estates* at the cruel Proscription, and now, when commanding in chief, he absorbed the Wealth of Nations. At the head of this immense Fortune, he assumed high State, and supported a Character which he had aimed at from his first entering upon Business in the days of Freedom and the Common-weal. When scarce one and twenty, he managed the Impeachment of *Caius Cato* the incendiary-Tribune, with such Spirit and Eloquence, that the Speeches he then made were long read with the Admiration

miration already mentioned. In short he so acted the *independant Patriot*, as to be ranked by *Tully* with *MARCUS CATO* for his love of Liberty and Virtue*. But in pursuing this steady course of the best Ambition, he had incurred the displeasure of many powerful Citizens, and particularly created to himself some dangerous Enemies among *Pompey's* intimate Friends. To shelter himself from their threatned Resentment, he was *driven* (as he affirms) to take side with *Cesar* against his will †: but in the midst of party-violence, on occasions where he could *act freely*, he gave signal proofs of moderation and humanity. At *Cesar's* death, the same Disposition (or more interested Motives ‡) made him offer his Army and Services to the SENATE: and now he held such a conduct, as *became the Prop of a sinking State*. A man of spirit, who shews a regard for his Country and the Laws amid the disorders and rapine of an Usurpation, is almost adored by the Public: all good Men turn their eyes upon him, and in *their* esteem and *their* affection he acquires a Dignity and Weight beyond the power of Arms to bestow on a Tyrant, or his Favour on his Tools. But *such* a Man was *POLLIO* during the Triumvirate. His high Merit with *M. Antony*, and low Opinion of the young *Cesar*, rendered him almost *independant*: for *presuming* upon the mighty services he had done the former, and undervaluing the Irresolution and *Inequality* of the latter, he dared to *act up* to the CONSULAR DIGNITY;—he restrained violence, administered justice, and afterwards marched with his Legions to govern and to conquer, as if he had been still under the Common-wealth. But this was not all, for along with

* *QUINTUS* filius, mirus civis! ut tu *Catonem* vel *Asinium* dicas.

CIC. ad ATTIC. Ep.

† Cum non liceret mihi nullius partis esse, quia utrobique magnos inimicos habebam, ea castra fugi in quibus plane tutum me ab infidiis inimici sciebam non futurum. *Compulsus* eo quo minime volebam, ne in extremis essem, plane pericula non dubitanter adii.

C. ASIN. POLLIO ad CIC.

‡ See VOL. II. page 311.

with these superior Talents, POLLIO was unacquainted with no one of the *finer Arts* *; he was allowed, as we have heard, to be a Judge and Master in Poetry and Eloquence,—he had great Vivacity, and a happy Turn of Humour suited to all Places and Persons †. We accordingly find him an early Favourite with the greatest Geniuses of his Age, *Licinius Calvus*, *Valerius Catullus*, *Cornelius Gallus*, and in his turn, the Protector of *Horace* and of *Virgil*.

WHILE shining with this double lustre, a Patriot in public, a Patron of Learning in private,—while subduing Provinces, and preparing for Triumphs; *Quintia* his Lady was delivered of a Son, and filled his Family with new joy, and his Friends with congratulation. At *that* conjuncture did VIRGIL compose and present him with the celebrated *Birth-day ODE*, which still bears his Patron's name. It has occasioned great speculation; chiefly because some well-meaning Fathers of the primitive Church will needs have it to be a divinely-inspired Prophecy of our Saviour's Nativity ‡. *That* did not happen till more than forty years after *Herius Saloninus* was born: nor do I know any religious end which *Virgil's* Eclogue served, except the very superfluous one of misleading the credulous Fathers in their faith, and giving them a Subject on which to flourish. If, beside the bewitching *Charm* of its Poetry, it did substantial service, it was to confirm POLLIO in his *Patriot-Principles*, and prompt him by || exquisite Praise to exert himself in putting a stop to the Calamities of

* *Est enim lepōrum*

Disertus puer, ac facetiarum, says the witty CATULLUS of Pollio to his wrong-headed Brother *Asinius Marrucinus*.

† De Pollione *Asinio*, seriis jocisque pariter accommodato, dictum est, *Esse eum omnium horarum hominem*. QUINTIL. Lib. VI. § 4.

‡ EΥΣΕΒ. Κωνσταντίνου βίος. LACTANT. Lib. V. § 7. AUGUSTIN. Ep. 156. ad *Martian*.

|| At simul heroum laudes et facta parentis
Jam legere, et quae sit poteris cognoscere Virtus.

of the Empire. It is written in POLLIO's own Style—strong, concise, sublime, starting from Image to Image, with delicate but unexpressed Connections, and ending abruptly when you least expected the Conclusion *.

VIRGIL, as I formerly observed, had not only a native Flow of Verse, but was extremely *learned*, and perfectly versed in *Antiquity*. He had all the *Grecian Doctrine of the Sphere* † full in his view, and appears, even in his *Pastorals*, acquainted with the *Tenets* peculiar to the several Sects of Philosophy and Religion. The most illiterate *Roman* had heard of the *Syllabic Verses*; and the four Ages of the World, named and characterised from the four Metals, were known to their Children. A step farther leads to an ingenious Speculation which will give us the true Key of this famous Prophecy, and teach us to look upon it as an elegant Rapture, more proper for Poets to imitate, than to be preached upon by grave Divines.

It is a general Opinion prevailing in every age, *that the preceding Generation was more virtuous and happy than the present*: you will hardly meet with an old Man who does not believe the People among whom he lives far inferior in Stature, Sense, and Manners, to those with whom he passed his youth. This Persuasion makes way for the belief of *another STATE* of THINGS,—a happy Period when none of the Vices and Miseries were known, that now afflict unhappy Mortals. A Tradition of this nature gains *easy* belief, and scarce needs any Proof but a *TALE* to make it be generally swallowed. It has been cast into various shapes, *poetical, Lyrical, and religious*, by the Retainers to the several Professions, and has been variously

variously *modelled* to serve their different purposes. They have accordingly borrowed from one another not only the poetical Imagery of the *four* AGES, but a philosophical Account of the primitive Fabric of the World,—its fatal change to the worse, and their hopes of its returning in course to its former blessed Condition *.

THE ancient SAGES, particularly the Pythagoreans and their Platonic Followers, inculcated the Doctrine of ONE GRAND PERIOD, containing *two* lesser Periods; ‘ in the first of which the World was governed by GOD himself, and the administration of all things was carried on by *Genii*, or good Spirits, under his *immediate* direction. It was *then* there was neither winter from the Heavens nor war upon the Earth—that the untilled Ground poured forth her treasure, and furnished necessaries in plenty both to Man and Beast: But in the *second* Period, they said GOD had left the UNIVERSE (created originally *sensi-*

VOL. III.

M

tive

* *Questo pensava,——e mentre piu s' interna
la mente mia, vedere mi parve un MONDO
NUOVO, in etate immobile et eterna:
e' l Sole, e tutto 'l Ciel' disfare a tondo
Con le sue Stelle; ancor' la terra e' l Mare;
e rifarne un piu bello e piu giocondo.*

IN this NEW WORLD there was to be
*Non alcun Mal; che solo il TEMPO mesce,
e con lui si diparte, e con lui viene:
Non hav' albergo il SOL' in Tauro o'n Pesce;
per lo cui variar nostro lavoro
Hor' nasce, hor' more, et hor' scema et hor' cresce.*

F. PETRARCA. Triomf.

In the same Strain sings the greatest English Poet:
SOME say he bade his angels turn ascanse
The Poles of Earth twice ten degrees and more
From the SUN's Axle: they with labour pushed
Oblique the centric Globe, to bring in change
Of Seasons to each Clime: else had the Spring
Perpetual smiled on Earth with vernant flow'rs.
Equal in Days and Nights.—— MILTON.

‘*tive and rational*’) wholly to itself; and MEN to their own
 ‘forefight and prudence, to provide for themselves in the best
 ‘manner they could. These two Periods, continued the *Sages*,
 ‘are perpetually to succeed one another; so that when the se-
 ‘cond Period is at an end, then, by a certain stated Revolution
 ‘of things in Heaven, and things in Earth, the celestial Bodies
 ‘return to their primitive positions—the UNIVERSE regains its
 ‘*first* constitution, and the ENIATTOΣ ΜΕΡΙΕΤΟΣ (or grand
 ‘Circumvolution) begins anew.*’ The poetical Sub-division in-
 to *four* Ages, painting the gradual decay of Nature and dege-
 neration of Mortals under the metaphor of Metals, makes no es-
 sential Alteration in the general doctrine of the grand Restora-
 tion. *The End of the Iron-age, says the Poet, prophesied by the Cu-*
mean Sybil, is now come; the mighty Period begins to spring from
on high.—now unspotted Justice revisits the earth, and Saturnian
days begin to shine on the sons of Men.—while You are CONSUL
POLLIO! shall the honoured Period commence,—from Your Con-
sulship we shall date the Series of its blissful Progression †.

HERE we find the real Clew that will guide us thro’ the Maze
 of *Virgil’s POLLIO* ||. Inattention to the high Character which
 that

* ΠΑΑΤΩΝ ἐν ΤΙΜΑΙΩΙ.

† *Ultima Cumaei venit jam Carminis aetas.*
Magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo.
Jam redit et VIRGO, redeunt Saturnia regna.—
Teque adeo, decus hoc aevi, TE CONSULE inibit
POLLIO!—et incipient magni procedere menses.

|| The Compliment paid about this time to Pollio by *Virgil’s* Friend, *HORACE*,
 (Lib. II. Ode 1.) is of the same high Import, and adapted to the same Patriot-
 character. He is not only the Refuge of the illustrious unhappy Persons oppress’d
 by the Triumvirs, but the ORACLE of the SENATE, the SUPPORTER of the
 State, and shining with the Honours of the DALMATIC TRIUMPH,

Insigne moestis PRAESIDIUM reit,
Et consulenti, POLLIO CURIAE
Gui laurus aeternos honores
Dalmatico peperit triumpho,—
Mox, ubi PUBLICAS RES ordinario, &c.

that great Man sustained, and to the noble part he acted as a Reformer of the State, a *Moderator* and even a *Check* upon the flagitious Triumvirs, has misled some learned Men to apply it to *Augustus*, and others to a much higher Meaning. But under POLLIO's Consulate the young *Cesar* had but just drenched the horrid *Perugian Altar* with *Patrician Blood*, and was writing Libels against *Pollio* himself: neither is it at all needful, when *Rome*, and the Poet's eminent *Patron* afford an apt and ample Solution, to go a hunting after Mysteries in *Palestine* or *Judea*.

ASINIUS POLLIO therefore, excelling in arts and arms, had reduced the *Dalmatians* to a very low State. He threw down the Walls of their great Sea-port *Salona* (now *Spalatro*), dispeopled the Remains of *Dalminium*,—stripped the Inhabitants of their Pasture-lands and Flocks, and at last forced the whole Nation to deliver up their Weapons of War*. But it was not in their nature to be long quiet. In the space of three or four years, they had provided themselves with new Arms, and began to issue forth from their Woods, and descend in scattered Bodies from their Mountains to plunder the new Possessors and annoy the *Roman Colonies*. Here was Employment for *CESAR's Veterans*, who, as they had been lately the Scourge of their Country, were now become the Terror and Torment of their Master. Their Demands were exorbitant and endless; they made mutiny after mutiny; and, in the height of their fury, put their Leader more than once in hazard of his Life. War in so rough a Country, and with so hardy a Race as the *Dalmatians*, *Croatians* and *Stirians*, was no improper Exercise to tame them. Their Morasses and Mountains,—their thick Woods and Forts

M 2

built

* IN the accurate STRABO's Description of this Country, we read, ΔΑΛΜΙΟΝ δὲ, μεγάλη πόλις, ἧς ἐπώνυμον τὸ ἔθνος. μικρὰν δ' ἐποίησε ὁ Νασικᾶς, καὶ τὸ πεδὶον μηλόβοτον, διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων.—so that Dalmatia has been a constant Scene of War. This *Nasica* was the famous SCIPIO, whom the SENATE judged to be THE BEST MAN IN ROME; and so beloved by his Fellow-Citizens, as to be called *Carculum*.

built upon Rocks, could let them spend the Fire that was dangerous in the Suburbs of ROME. His first Intention was, to have carried them over to *Africa*, to repress the disorders arisen in that ill-governed Province; and he had actually gone so far as *Sicily* on his way: but the news of the *Dalmatians* being in arms, made him prefer a less distant Campaign. It proved however both laborious and bloody. The Natives had rendered their Country, which was naturally rugged, next to impassable, by cutting the Woods, and encumbering the Roads, so as scarcely the Legions, and far less the heavy Carriages, could pass over. The *Romans* were then forced to change their route, and march thro' another Valley, when the Enemy rushed out of the Woods, attacked them fiercely in flank and rear, and were not repulsed without many wounds. After this harassed March *Cesar* penetrated into the heart of the Country, and laid siege to *Metulo*, the Capital of *Japodia*, (a bordering Nation of the *Dalmatians*.) *Metulo* stood on a woody Mountain, including two pointed Hills within its walls, with a Valley between them. It was defended by a Garrison of three thousand pick'd Men, who fought with fury rather than courage, and gave a thousand proofs of the highest contempt of death and wounds. In the first Attacks they tumbled the *Romans* from their steep Walls headlong into the ditch; and when a Bastion was begun to be reared to equal the Walls, they sallied out incessantly, interrupted the Work, and killed many of the Workmen: scarce had one Party been repulsed by the Legion on duty, and retired into the Town, when another Party broke out, fell upon the other side of the Bastion, and pulled it to pieces, burning the Timbers used in raising it. But this was not the worst: for during the disastrous War at *Philippi*, (not a great many Miles from *Metulo*) * having found some of the great Machines which the *Romans* used for shooting Stones and heavy Darts, they had brought them into their City, and now play'd them with success against *Cesar*. They forced him to retire from the Wall, abandon the begun Bastion, and

make

make Preparations at a greater distance for attacking the Town in another manner.

It was by a Tower of Wood, going upon Wheels, and covered with raw hides to secure it from Fire. When with immense labour it was pushed to the foot of the Wall, a folding-bridge, suddenly thrown from the Top of it, enabled the Soldiers to advance to a more equal Combat: Many Machines had been burnt, and many Attempts baffled by the Besieged, who repaired their Breaches over-night, and when one Rampart was pulled down, had another reared by the next morning. CESAR therefore, under the protection of his Tower, built two long Platforms where the Wall was lowest, and fitted four Bridges to throw from them to the Battlements: when all was ready, he ordered a Legion to make a circuit, and attack with ladders the opposite side of the Town, to draw off the Garrison; then he mounted himself the wooden Tower, from whence he had a full View of the Action, gave the signal to throw the Bridges, and begin the Assault. The *Metolians* always alert, quickly perceived the Stratagem—regained their Posts, and made a noble defence: for while some of them were repelling the Assaultants, others who had hid themselves without, suddenly rushed from either side, and with long armed Poles and Scythes unhinged one of the Bridges, and tumbled it with all the Troops on it into the Moat. From that they flew to the second and third, and served them in the same way, all under *Cesar's* eye. He commanded a Body to advance upon the *fourth* Bridge, and once more to renew the Attack; but three Repulses with so much Blood and Ruin,—and the Sight of their Companions miserably crushed to death, so damped their courage, that they flatly refused to go on. At this pinch CESAR did the bravest Action of his whole Life.—He snatched a Shield from a Soldier, and, attended only by *Agrippa* and *Luceius*, with two of his Guards *Iolas* and *Hiero*, he resolutely mounted on the last Bridge to renew the fight. The daring example and danger
of.

of their Leader, filled the Troops with confusion and remorse.— They flew to support him in such multitudes, that the Bridge, unequal to their weight, came down with horrid Crash, and precipitated its armed Load from the top of the towering Wall. Some perished in the fall; others were maimed, and *Cesar* himself was taken up wounded in his right Leg and both his Arms. As the whole Army had seen him lead on this Attack, and also the fall of the Bridge, his first care was to prevent the *Pannic* which the supposition of his Death could not fail to spread among the Legions. He therefore remounted the wooden Tower, accompanied by the chief Field-Officers; and shewed himself to the Soldiery, who now doated on him; and willingly obeyed his Orders *to build immediately another Bridge.* The Sight of that new Preparative struck the *Metolians*; they thought it in vain to make farther resistance to a Man undaunted by so many disasters, and sent Deputies next morning with the *five hundred* hostages he had demanded, promising to admit a Garrison into the Citadel, while they, with their families, retired into the lower Town. This was punctually executed; but the day thereafter, when a *Roman* Tribune sent them word that they must *lay down their arms*, they were in great consternation; and having suddenly assembled their Wives and Children in their spacious Town-hall, they let the Tribune know, that if he offered the least Injury, they would set fire to the place, sell their Lives as dear as they could, and leave him nothing but Ruins. He persisted in his purpose to disarm them; which they prevented by a sudden and desperate Attack in the night; they surprized the newly admitted Garrison, mastered the Citadel, and put every man in it to the sword. After this, having neither hopes of Pardon; nor of being able to hold out against *Cesar*, in rage and despair, they set fire to the public Building where they had their Wives, Children and Effects—a general Frenzy seized the Citizens—many of the Women killed themselves—some threw their Children alive into the flames; others first stabbed their

Infants,

Infants, and then tossed them in the faces of the soldiers ; even the Prisoners and Hostages, who were safe in the Roman Camp, caught the madness, and rushed upon death : so that, like unhappy *XANTHUS* *, the great and populous *METULO* perished by the hands of its own Inhabitants, and not a Vestige remained of the Capital of that brave People.

CESAR spent some days in receiving the Submissions of the other Towns, and settling his *new* Conquest ; (for these *Transalpine* Tribes had never yet bore the Roman Yoke ;) and then marched northward in quest of more *Glory* and *Plunder*. If there was a Blemish in the Character of an ancient *Roman*, it was carrying the Love of their Country *too far* : for so they could extend their Empire, and raise the Fame of *Rome*, they were not over-scrupulous about the *Causes* of declaring War. Some few of their greatest men might be Exceptions from this Rule : A *Catulus* might dissuade, or a *Scipio* decline an unjust Enterprize ; and a *Cato* might solemnly give his opinion, that the rapacious *Cesar* should be put in chains, and given up to the Nations he had cruelly and causelessly invaded ; but the general Run of the Consular Times, was the Aggrandizement of *ROME* at the expence of her Neighbours.

THE bordering *Gauls* and ambitious *Carthaginians* had in a manner forced the *Romans*, after they had mastered *Italy*, to make their first Conquests in *France*, *Sicily*, *Spain* and *Afric*. Then the encroaching Kings of *Macedon* and *Syria* drew their Arms into *Asia* and *Greece*. From these Countries *POMPEY the Great* carried them all over the East, to the *Kür*, the *Araxes*, and *Euphrates*. But all this while the Nations living among the *Alps*, almost at their doors, remained unsubdued ; and much more the wild Tracts to the north, lying along the *Danube*, whose names they scarcely knew, tho' within six or seven days march of *ITALY*. There was no *Union* among their Inhabitants ; they frequently made IncurSIONS in small Parties into the adjacent Pro-

vinces ;

vinces; but never joined in *one Body* to make head against the Romans. This was the true Reason of their remaining so long unmolested, and accounts for what was matter of wonder to an ancient Writer,—that so great Armies of Romans should pass and repass the Alps, marching into Gaul and the farther Parts of Spain, without ever touching the numberless Tribes dwelling among these Mountains; and that even Julius Cesar, a fortunate fighting Commander, should spend ten Winters in Gaul with the same neglect of these plundering Highlanders.

It does indeed appear strange: but has not the same thing happened in *Great Britain*? Have we not waged many foreign Wars, and sent many Fleets and Armies to the most distant parts of the Globe, while the mountainous Tracts of our Island remained uncivilized, if not unsubdued? It is within these few years, in the humane and happy Reign of GEORGE II. that the Officer of a civil Court *dared* to go among them to execute the Laws; and even within my Memory, we were much better informed of Transactions in *America* or the *East-Indies*, than of what was passing within fourscore miles of us in the *Highlands* of *Scotland* and *Wales*. Till of late, the Attention of the Government was not forced to turn itself that way; which, it is to be hoped, will be now continued to so important an Object, as a large and improvable Tract of our Country, full of a hardy People, hitherto indeed a Thorn in our Side, but who, with the *Continuance* of the same Attention and good Usage, cannot fail of soon becoming a sound piece of our Dominions, and a great addition to our native Strength.

BUT as this was the Campaign in which CESAR gained more *personal Honour* (if I may so speak) than in any other of his Life, let us try to retrieve both the *Scene of Action*, and the *Series of his Conduct* from obscurity.

ON the South-side of the *Danube* a vast Ridge of Mountains run from west to east almost parallel to the Course of the River. They branch out from the *Alps* at the head of the *Adriatic*, and reach

reach thro' *Austria*, *Hungary*, and ancient *Thrace*, all the way to the *Euxine* Sea. On the south of these Mountains lies *Epirus*, and *Macedon*, with the bordering barbarous Tribes often mentioned in the *Grecian* History : to the north lay the *Illyrian*, upper and nether *Pannonian*, and then the *Dardan* and *Mesian* Kingdoms, stretching down to the mouth of the *Danube*. These now comprehend the lower *Austria*, *Stiria*, part of *Hungary*, with *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, and the western Provinces of *Turkey in Europe* : they lie, I say, on the south-side of the *Danube* ; for the north-Bank was possessed by the *Dacians*, *Getes*, and *Germans*, who were not reckoned within the *Roman* Empire.

THE very last *Skirt* of the *Alps*, that shuts in the *Gulf of Venice*, and from a high Mountain, *Albi* or *Alpi*, (which perhaps gave its name to the whole Range) spreads itself in a long declivity to the north-east, was the proper Seat of the *Japydians* ; a half-Celtic half-*Illyrian* Nation, inhabiting from the *Adriatic* Shore all the way to *Pannonia* and the *Danube*.

CESAR had just demolished *Metelo* their Capital, and their northern Frontier, according to *Strabo*, was *WENDO*, the German *Wien*, and our *Vienna*. That exact Author says they were furious Warriors ; but, as we have heard, totally reduced by the young *Cesar*. From *Aquileia*, the last town of *Italy* on that side, a Waggon-road of fifty miles leads over Mount *Ocra*, the flattest of the *Alps*, to *Nauporto* ; as does another from *Trieste*, (the ancient *Tergeste*), to the *Lugean* Lake. The *Corcora*, a navigable River, runs near *Nauporto*, which receives Goods from *Italy* and *Dalmatia*, and carries them into the *Save* ; that great Stream again joins with the *Drave*, and both falling into the *Noar*, receive the *Colap*, with which they form the famed Island *SEGESTE* *. and then all the five swell the *Donau*
VOL. III. N Strom

* It is now known by the names of *ZYGSA*, or *LANDSPURG*. Among the ingenious Men whom *MATTHIAS CORVIN* King of *Hungary* (the *Mecenas* of the North) invited to his Court, was the famous *ANTONIO BONFINI*, an Italian Gentleman of great Genius and Learning. He visited *Landspurg* in person, and gives an ample account of the Situation of *SISKIA*, and its magnificent Ruins, in his admirable *Decades*, or HISTORY of *Hungary*, in XLV Books.

Strüm * (so the Germans call the *Danube*) with the Tribute of a thousand hills. It appears from this Sketch of the Country, how near the *Illyrian Nations* lay to the SEAT OF EMPIRE; and what convenient *Inlets* there were into this new Conquest. For this Peninsula, formed by the Confluence of so many navigable Rivers, with a fortified Town *Siskia* (now *Sisaken*) came to be the head-quarters of the *Romans* in their northern wars. In the first they had waged with the *Illyrian King Gentius*, and the subsequent *Dalmatian Expeditions*, the Armies of the Republic had twice passed through the *Segeſtan Territories*; but without imposing tribute or treating them as a conquered People. The *Segeſtans*, who interpreted this moderation as the effect of Inability or Fear, had probably sent Succours to their *Japidian Neighbours*, or some way taken part in the War. However it were, *Cesar*, under colour of chastising them, marched into *Pannonia*, a wide and woody Country†, inhabited by a very numerous People.

THE *Pannonians* had no Towns, nor any general Policy. The Tribes lived scattered and independent like the *Indians*; so that tho' they were brave to fierceness, and could bring a hundred thousand fighting men into the field, they were no formidable Enemy. *Cesar* entered their Country in a peaceful manner, restraining his Troops from violence, or even pillaging the Rows of Huts abandoned by the Natives, who had betaken themselves to the Woods; but finding in his progress, that they sent no Deputies, and frequently fell upon the Stragglers from his Camp, he began to burn their Hovels, and in a March of eight days, laid every thing waste with fire and sword.

WHEN

* The original Name of the *Danube* is the same with that of the *TANAIS*; DON being the Appellation of many Rivers over Europe. It is composed of THON, or DHON as the Germans sound it, and AW, their common word for *Water*, DONAW.

† Inde glandifera Pannoniae, quâ mitescentia Alpium juga per medium Illyricum molli in dextra ac laeva devexitate confidunt.

WHEN he approached to *Siskia*, an Embassy met him, to know his purpose and pleasure. He assured them, that he came with no hostile designs against their State ; that he meant to use them as *Allies* against the *Dacians* and *Germans* beyond the *Danube* ; and therefore only required such a quantity of Corn for his Magazines, a Fort to garrison, and a hundred Hostages for that Garrison's security in his absence. The Men of chief rank in the City thought these Conditions not unreasonable, and were beginning to execute them, when the Indignation of the Populace rose at the sight of the Hostages going out to *Cesar* : they first began to insult them, and when the Legion approached that was to garrison the Citadel, they flew in a rage to shut the Gates, and appeared in arms on the Wall. A Siege ensued of course, which proved both laborious and bloody. The City *SISKIA* was almost begirt with two navigable Rivers. The *Colap* ran just under the strong Wall, and the *Save* at so little distance, that the Interval was fortified with a deep Trench and a Palisade within it. The Place must be attacked both by land and water, and *Cesar* was under a necessity of sending for Boats to the *Danube*, which he brought up the *Save*, and thence into the *Colap*, to beleaguer the whole Town. But this could not be done without some fierce Encounters on the River ; in one of which the famous Sea-Officer, remarkable for Bravery and changing Masters, received his death's wound. It was *POMPEIUS MENAS*, *POMPEY* the Great's Freed-man, and his Son *Sextus*' chief Admiral : he had deserted four times between *Sextus* and the young *Cesar*. Having destroyed their fresh-water Fleet, *Cesar*, no Novice in Sieges, encompassed the City with a Trench and a Wall : then he began to erect his Platforms, which the besieged attempted to pull down in many Sallies, and then to burn, with fire thrown from the Walls : but being frustrated in both, their last hope was placed in a Body of their Countrymen, who they heard were coming to their relief. Against these *CESAR* marched in person ; and having surprised

them by an ambush, killed the greater part, and put the rest to flight : yet the resolute *Siskians* continued to defend their Walls ; they held out a full month against the most expert Army, and the best Generals then in the world, *M. Agrippa*, *Statilius Taurus*, *Fufius Geminus*, *Cornelius Gallus*, not to mention *Cesar* himself : nor did they surrender (like the brave *BLAKENEY* late Governor of *Minorca*) till they were overpowered in a general and bloody Assault. Then the Citizens of *Segeste* first learned to beg for mercy, which *Cesar* was become too wise to refuse : he not only gave them their Lives, but a part of their City to live in ; having only imposed such a Contribution as he thought they were able to bear, and left *Fufius Geminus*, perhaps a Twin-son of old *Calenus*, with five and twenty Cohorts, about fifteen thousand men. It was toward the end of *Autumn* when he took his way towards *Italy* with the rest of the Army : but he had not gone many days, till a Report reached his Camp, that the *Segestans* had suddenly taken arms, and cut off *Geminus* with the whole Garrison left in *Siskia*. He immediately faced about, and by great marches regained *Pannonia*, upon whose Confines he learned, that the News (as frequently happens) were but half true. The *Segestans* had indeed risen, and killed such of the *Romans* as they could catch without their Works : but the tables had turned next day, when the Garrison sallying out of the Citadel, attacked and carried the Town, and put the greater part of the Inhabitants to the sword. *Cesar* then took his route homeward thro' *Illyria* ; but the fate of the *Japidians* not having deterred the other wild *Dalmatian* Tribes inhabiting the *Candavian* Hills above *Apollonia*, the Place of his own Studies, they met him in arms to the number of twelve thousand hardy Men. In effect, they had not laid them down for more than ten years : for tho' we be uncertain whether they bore the Name of *Kinambers* or *Cambeanis*, it was *they* who destroyed the five Cohorts (three thousand men) under the luxurious but brave *Gabinus*, and who now hoped to do the same to *Cesar*. They had no
fortified

fortified Town of their own that could contain or support such an Army ; but marching suddenly down the Hills, they seized upon a strong Place PROMONA, a *Liburnian* City ; and to carry on their Affairs regularly, chose an experienced Leader, WERSO, for their General. He immediately set about fortifying the Town, call up a vast Ditch and Rampart, and with great skill and foresight placed strong Parties on the Tops of the steep Hills that *surround* the Town, in order to keep his communication open with the high Country, and have a view of every Movement of the Enemy in the Plain. When the *Roman* Army found the *Dalmatians* in this posture, it appeared there would be more occasion for Skill than main Force to reduce them. For some days, therefore, *Cæsar* made a shew of opening an immense Line that should encompass both the Town and the fortified Rocks behind it, which reared their Points like so many Turrets to the sky. This Attempt was the subject of much derision among the *Dalmatians* ; but while they were still of the belief that the *Romans* were engaged in a vain and endless Work, *Cæsar* pick'd out a strong Detachment of his best Men, whom he sent in the dark to hide themselves in the Woods, with orders to get *about* the fortified Hills, and attack their Guards next night, with full confidence of being well supported from below. He was obeyed—the farther Guards were caught asleep, and hill after hill was abandoned or taken : a sudden Terror seized the *Dalmatians*, who thought they were surrounded on all hands ; and these stationed on the highest Rocks were afraid of being excluded from Water, and therefore rushed down to take refuge in *Promona*. The two Hills nearest the City still held out, which *Cæsar* did encompass with a Circumvallation of five *Roman* miles, in hopes of taking them by famine, if not by assault. But while he was intent upon the Siege, a new raised Body of *Dalmatians* marched to the relief of *Promona*, under another Chieftain, TEUTIN, whose Name is but once mentioned in History. *Cæsar* prevented their near Approach to
his

his Camp ; he attacked and routed them on the Mountains, and from what threatened him with dishonour and disappointment, he found Success and Victory. For the Besieged, who had been prevented by the quick March of the *Roman* Army from completing their Fortifications, or raising them to a proper height ; now jumped down from their Rampart when they saw their Confederates engaged on the heights, in order to second their Efforts in raising the siege. This proved their Ruin : for being beat back with great slaughter, and flying precipitantly into the City, the *Romans* entered pell-mell over the half-finished Work, and cut off a third Part of their Army : the rest betook themselves to the Castle, at the Gate of which *Cesar* placed a Cohort on guard, while he lay with the Pretorian Band and a select Legion in the City. They kept quiet in the Castle for three nights ; but the fourth they made a fierce sally, which so astonished the stationed Cohort that they shamefully abandoned their Post. The Legion on duty quickly repulsed the *Dalmatians* into their Castle, which was surrendered the next day. But the Cohort that lost its honour underwent a severe Punishment : it was first decimated by lot, and sixty men put to death ; then the Officers, who were doubly guilty, were again decimated ; and lastly two of the six Centurions were made Examples, and condemned to lose their heads. The rest of the Cohort were ordered to be fed with Barley-meal instead of Wheat, while the Army continued to keep the field.

THUS CESAR returned victorious from a toilsome Campaign. But neither the Acquisition of more Glory, nor the gaining the Hearts of his Army, could prevent his finding new Reasons of Disquiet and Anxiety at home. No Ties but Wisdom and Virtue can lastingly bind two Men sharing the supreme Power. When Ambition and Envy rule, their most evident Interest can scarce make them hang together. *Antony* and *Cesar* were too well acquainted to put any Trust in one another's Probity or Friendship ; and the former had too mean an opinion of his
young

young Colleague to lay himself under the least Restraint, or be at any pains *not* to offend him. Let us consider his Behaviour, which naturally leads us back to the Affairs of the EAST.

Tho' *ANTONY* had hurried home from his *Parthian* Expedition with such impetuosity, as to lose eight thousand of his Men among the Snows; and tho' after his Arrival he had abandoned himself wholly to *Cleopatra*, he still retained a deep Resentment of the *Armenian* King's Treachery; and as he could well dissemble when he pleased, he resolved to employ *Artuafdes*' own Arts to ruin him. For this end he pitched upon a plausible persuasive man, *Q. DELLIUS*, very well versed in the Affairs of *Asia*, to go Ambassador to the *Armenian* Court. *Dellius* was dispatched with Assurances of the Continuance of the Triumvir's Esteem and Friendship to his Ally the King of *Armenia*; but was at the same time instructed to let him know, ' that as he ' had been suspected, no doubt wrongfully, it would be proper, ' to shew his Innocence, that he came and put himself in the ' power of the *Roman* General, and afterwards clear his Honour, ' and wipe off the least Imputation, by substantial services against ' their common Enemy.' In this case, he was to promise him the best Reception when he arrived, and such splendid Recompences,—such Accessions of Dignity and Dominion as were fit for a King to receive, and to be given by the Lord of the EASTERN EMPIRE. Conscious Guilt kept the *Armenian* long irresolute; but at last, upon *Antony*'s advancing with a powerful Army in the Spring, partly thro' terror of his Arms, and partly by the persuasions of *Dellius*, the King resolved to trust himself to the *Roman* Generosity, and marched with a Royal Retinue into *Antony*'s Camp. He was received with all the Demonstrations of Honour due to his Rank, and treated with great Splendor; being in appearance at full liberty to go or stay as he pleased.

THE Pretence of this new Expedition towards *Armenia* (undertaken after the Interval of a Year, in which *Antony* had done little but frolicked with *CLEOPATRA*) was the same with the

the former War against the *Parthians*—revenging the Death of *Cassius*—recovering the *Roman* Ensigns and *Prisoners*—retaliating the Succours sent to *Pompey* against *Cesar*, and to *Cassius* and *Labeius* against the Triumvirs. These Reasons were specious: but the real Motive was just the same as formerly, a *Thirst of Gold*, now mixed with Revenge for the *Armenian's* Treachery. Accordingly a Track of Rapine marked the March of the *Roman* Army; and thro'out all *Syria* and upper *Cilicia*, where-ever there was any thing to plunder, nothing was to be seen but Ruins and Desolation. The most sacred Places were not spared; even *VENUS ANAÏTIS**, the revered Temple of the East, was plundered, and the Object of the deepest Devotion, the Statue of the Goddess, of solid Gold, was carried off by a *Bolognese Veteran*†. This holy Place was of great Antiquity; insomuch that the Image of the Goddess, who in their opinion animated and governed the Universe‡, was said to be absolutely the FIRST Statue of beaten Gold that was ever dedicated in a Shrine. It is scarce possible to describe the profound Reverence with which it was worshipped by all the Nations round about, or the Veneration paid to the supreme *Pontiff* who ministred to this Divinity. He was next in honour to the King, and had a rich and wide Domaine around the Temple, with a numerous Train of consecrated *Servants*, especially young Women, who received Strangers hospitably, and exercised unreluctant their Profession—in devotion to the Goddess.

WHEN

* This Epithet of *VENUS*, unintelligible to the Greeks and Romans, is pure *Syriac*; and comes either simply from אַנַּיִתָא *ANÏTTA*, *Woman*, *Female Nature*, or compounded from חַן *GRACE* and אַנַּיִתָא *WOMAN*: the Greeks lost the Aspiration, as in *ANNÏAS*. See Vol. II. p. 57.

† Vol. I. page 369.

‡ See a Description of her Power in the wonderful Introduction of *LUCRETIUS*' Poem, OF THE NATURE OF THINGS.

WHEN this Temple was rifled by the Army that should have been the Protection of the Provinces, the Priests did not fail to give out, nor the People to believe, that the Officer who had sacrilegiously dared to pull the Goddess from her Sanctuary *had been suddenly struck blind*, and remained a Monument of divine vengeance. Instead of that, he rose to such a rank, and lived in such affluence, as to be able to entertain the young *Cesar* at dinner after he was Master of the Empire. The Report had spread in the *Roman Army*, as well as among the Natives, of the Plunderer's having been punished by Blindness, and was the subject of conversation at Table ; when the Veteran being asked, whether he was really the Person who had carried off the Golden Statue ? frankly confessed he was ; adding, *that Cesar had just dined upon the last Leg of the Goddess**.

AT the head of these rapacious Bands ANTONY entered *Armenia* (whose King was in his Camp) as if only to *march thro'* it against the PARTHIANS ; but with a firm Resolution to avenge himself of its Prince, and enrich his Troops with its Plunder. He therefore drew near to the Town and Castle where the Royal Treasure and Jewels were kept, in an amicable manner, in hopes of being received as a Friend ; but found the Gates shut, and the Walls manned, to repel force by force, if any were offered : he stormed—called for *Artuafdes*, asked if he meant to treat the *Romans* as Enemies ? and if not, to command the Garrison instantly to open the Gates. Whether *Artuafdes* directly refused to give such Orders, or whether the Commander of the Garrison, who knew his real Intentions, refused to obey them, is uncertain : but however it were, *Antony* had the King immediately seized and put in chains. Then he began openly to plunder the Country, and to avow the new Alliance into which he had previously entered with the *Median* ARTU-ASDES, this Prince's greatest Enemy.

FOR as he had been satiated with fighting and sieges in these wide Countries the former year, ANTONY resolved to employ a double Artifice, and, besides circumventing *Artuafdes*, to make, if possible, a Breach between the allied-Kings, and secure the Conquest of *Armenia* by the assistance of the *Median Power*. In this attempt he was both favoured by fortune, and admirably served by POLEMO, whom he had made King of *Pontus*. We must be better acquainted with this brave and wise Man, who rose, like old *Deiotarus*, to the highest honours by personal merit, and whose incomparable Queen discovered qualities truly royal, that shone throughout all the Reign of *Augustus*.

POLEMO was of *Grecian* Extraction, being the Son of ZENO, the leading Man in *Laodicea*, a free City which we formerly mentioned. His Father's Opposition to *Labienus* and the *Parthians* brought his Family first into favour; and the services performed with great personal Bravery by the Son, made *Antony* (who was sensible of such Accomplishments) cast his eyes upon the young Man, as a fit Person to succeed MITHRIDATES, *Julius Cesar's* Minion, enriched with *Deiotarus's* Spoils. Wherefore, at the partition of the eastern and northern Provinces, soon after the fatal Victory at PHILIPPI, he settled POLEMO King of *Pontus* and *Gadilone*. The young King attended as an Auxiliary in the *Parthian* Expedition, was taken Prisoner by the *Median* Horse at the defeat of *Statianus's* Detachment, and, while in the custody of their Prince, laid the foundation of that acquaintance that now enabled him to become a successful Negotiator for *Antony*. But this negotiation had been greatly facilitated by the ill usage which the *Median* King had received from the *Parthian* Tyrant, his Ally. Like the Lion in the Fable, PHRAATES had seized upon all the choicest Parts of the Booty gained from the *Romans*, had left *Artuafdes* a very inconsiderable share, answered haughtily when he complained, and sent him home to *Praaspa* in high discontent, but not knowing how to obtain redress. While he was in this disposition POLEMO arrived

arrived at his Court, with high Offers from the *Roman* Triumvir—not only of powerful Protection, and of grand Additions on either side to his Dominions, but of Affinity and Kindred by the marriage of the young Princess his daughter, the beauteous *Jotape*, to *Ptolomy*, ANTONY's son by *Cleopatra*. The Offers were tempting—*Artuafdes* accepted, and the Spring before *Antony* moved from *Alexandria*, to his no small contentment, *POLEMO* brought him a Ratification of the Treaty with the *Median* King.

BUT along with the Assurances of this Prince's Friendship, *Polemo* brought another piece of important News, *that the Parthian Affairs were in the utmost disorder—that the oppressed Grandees had taken arms against their Tyrant PHRAATES; had driven him out of the Kingdom, where yet he had a Party that was tearing the Empire with a civil war.* But tho' the Opportunity was every way inviting, the Remembrance of the Toils he had undergone, and the Risques he had run last year, and especially the *Habit of Luxury* growing upon M. ANTONY, got the better of the *Roman* Passion, the *Love of Fame*, and kept him like an enchanted Knight in the Queen's Palace in *Alexandria*. To shew the real Temper of his Mind at this time, how little he was his own Master, and how much the Property of *Cleopatra*, it will be necessary to lay open the Secrets of two COURTS, and represent a Scene acted by some of the first Personages then in the world.

CONSIDERING the Connexions of the two Triumvirs, and the constant Intercourse between *Alexandria* and *Rome*, we need make no question of OCTAVIA's being exactly informed of *Antony's* flagrant Irregularities, nor of the grief with which a wise Woman, who loved her Husband's Honour and Interest, would receive the shameful News. But her Sorrow was silent, and her Tongue never uttered a syllable that favoured of complaining, or that reflected upon her Consort: on the contrary, she was at great pains to *soften* her Brother, who highly honoured

her, and had a proportionable Resentment of her Wrongs :
 ' ANTONY, she said, among many valuable qualities, had an
 ' unhappy Weakness with respect to Women, and was unlucki-
 ' ly fallen into a very artful one's hands—from whence, how-
 ' ever, with his (her Brother's) assistance, she hoped once
 ' more to recover him; and therefore, if he would be pleased
 ' to let her have a Body of Men fit to recruit ANTONY's Life-
 ' Guards, with Cloaths for his Army, and proper Presents for
 ' his Favorites, she was resolved to undertake a Journey
 ' to her Spouse, and do her utmost to prevent the terrible
 ' Consequences which his present course of Life threatened
 ' to bring on her and the *Roman State*.' CESAR, with re-
 doubled admiration of his Sister's Virtue, and detestation of the
 Man who could abuse so much Sweetness, gave way to her sol-
 licitations; and OCTAVIA having, with the help of *Domitius*
 and *Pollio*, picked out two thousand choice Men, richly armed,
 and provided Store of Cloathing and magnificent Presents, set
 sail in the Spring from the *Tiber*, and steered towards *Athens*.

THE News of her Approach, and intended Meeting with her
 Husband, threw *Cleopatra* into racking disquiet: she dreaded
 every thing from so accomplished a Rival—the Charms
 of her Person, the Sweetness of her Temper and Man-
 ners, heightened by the fairest Character, and backed by the
 weight of her Brother's Power:—if, along with *these*, she
 should have access to employ the melting Endearments of the
 conjugal State, she made no doubt of her reclaiming ANTONY,
 and that she herself must be finally undone: wherefore, to
 prevent their Meeting if possible, the cunning Queen laid aside
 her mirth and frolics—she quitted by degrees the *rakish* man-
 ners that had formerly captivated the Triumvir, and now assu-
 med a soft languishing Air, like a Virgin deeply in love;—she
 brought down her Body with thin Diet—looked faintish and
 pale—took care to be often caught in tears, which she pre-
 tended to be anxious to hide.—she gazed on her Lover with
 wonder,

wonder, when he entered her Apartment, and her obedient eyes suffused and melted as he was going away: at the same time, Persons of a certain Trade, never wanting about Courts, beset him incessantly, in behalf of their incomparable Lady, and *obsequiously* presumed to chide him for Ingratitude.——*Could he be so hard-hearted and barbarous, as to abandon a Princess who lived upon his Smile—who had given herself wholly up to his Pleasure—who, tho' a great Queen, and born to command Nations, thought her most glorious Title to be ANTONY'S MISTRESS—so she could but see his Face and enjoy his Company—but who, if driven from his Presence and left forlorn, would most assuredly put an end to her days before his Return.* In short, these trusty Instruments so wrought upon his Weakness, that immediately after touching at Syria; he wrote to his Wife, *not to advance farther than Athens, as he was obliged to repass into Armenia on a fresh Expedition against the Parthians: and then, tho' his Army was assembled, and, upon POLEMO's successful Negotiation and seasonable News, immense Preparations were made, yet he finally threw up the Expedition,—disappointed his new Ally the Median Prince, and hastened back to Alexandria, lest CLEOPATRA should die of Grief, or do some violent thing in his absence.*

THIS was the fatal Step that hurried him to his Ruin:—he lost the fairest Opportunity of acquiring immortal Glory by the conquest of the *Parthian* Empire, and could scarce avoid a Breach with his Colleague after such Contempt poured on his Sister, nor a consequent civil War.

WITH silent grief the injured OCTAVIA perceived that the *Parthian* Expedition was all a Feint; and that her blinded Husband was resolved to sacrifice her, and her Brother's Friendship, to his *Egyptian* Mistress: yet still she bore with the cruel Treatment; and instead of sailing away in discontent, or so much as reproaching him with his misbehaviour, she only wrote back, desiring to know, *Where he would be pleased to have the Things delivered which she had brought from Rome for his service?* This

Letter

Letter was carried by *Aquilius Niger*, the same, I suppose, who afterwards wrote *Memoirs* of the Life of *Augustus*, and who in delivering his message *did justice* to the Merit of *Octavia*. Her Husband heard him without emotion; the Praises of a lovely Wife had no effect upon a Man accustomed to debauch from his youth, and who was now plunged in two *stupifying* Vices, *daily hard drinking*, and many a *lewd Commerce* besides with *CLEOPATRA*: he therefore *sloped* to receive the Presents she had brought, at the same time that he poured dishonour and neglect upon the best Wife and most beautiful Woman of her age.

WHEN she returned to *Rome*, her Brother, provoked out of measure, would have had her come and live with him in the Palace: but she went directly to, what she still called, her HOME, that is to *Antony's House*; where she attended his Affairs, entered into the Interests of his Friends, and took care of the Education of his Children, as if he had not offered her the least Indignity. If she made any distinction between his Children by *Fulvia* and her own, it was by treating those more tenderly, and bestowing more liberally upon their Education and Equipage. She had a large and lovely Family: two Daughters and a Son (the noble *Marcellus*) by her first Husband*; *Antony's* two Sons (*Antyllus* and *Julus*) by *Fulvia*, and her own two little Daughters, just past their Infancy. Her exemplary Conduct was the subject of conversation in all companies: it filled *Rome* and *Italy* with deserved admiration, and, very contrary to her Intentions, did infinite mischief to her deluded Husband. What a Barbarian must he be, said they,—how blind to Beauty and Merit, that can abuse so divine a Creature? He must be quite gone, 'twas answered, sunk in the lowest dregs of Vice, that can prefer a Prostitute to the Pride of her Sex, the *matchless Octavia*!

* See VOL. II. p. 326.

I scarcely believe that ANTONY's lawless Life had left him any Friend so faithful as to hazard his displeasure by informing him of the public Odium under which he was fallen. He was surrounded with Flatterers, *Cleopatra's* Creatures, who talked of nothing but his unexhausted Treasures and irresistible Power. Regardless therefore of Infamy at *Rome*, and despising his Brother-in-law, who indeed had no such *Body* of an *Army* as his own, he lived in a continued Course of Riot and Profusion. The Queen and he *vied* together which should lay out *most* money on an Entertainment. She pretended to laugh at his Feasts as mean and sordid: and it came to a formal Wager, that on one Dinner she should squander to the amount of near ninety thousand pounds: nay, to surprise them the more, she would only take till to-morrow to provide it: the polite *Plancus*, a great Favorite, who had gone that year to *Alexandria*, was chosen Judge. She accordingly prepared a royal Dinner indeed, not to lose the day; but nothing above *Antony's* usual Table, who was in high spirits, and every now and then asking with a sneer the Price of the Dishes. The Queen bid him have patience, for the fixed Sum was to be the Price of her own Desert; and after Supper, it is a known Story, that a second Table was set before her with only a Goblet of Vinegar, when putting up her hand to her Ear, and taking the PEARL of immense Price that hung in it, she dissolved and drank it up; she was about to do the same to its fellow, when *Plancus* laid his hand upon it, and pronounced ANTONY *fairly vanquished* (which passed for an *Omen*) and saved the remaining Jewel. These Pearls were reckoned Wonders of Nature, having passed thro' the hands of the richest Kings of the East: that preserved by *Plancus* was afterwards cut in *two*, and served for Pendants to the *Pantheon-Ventis*.

By ANTONY's constantly residing in *Egypt*, and the consequent Resort of *Romans* of highest Rank, *ALEXANDRIA* was become the Capital of the East. The nearest bordering Kingdom

dom was that of JUDEA, whose Court, partly infected by its splendid Neighbour, and partly by the magnificent Turn of its new King, was become more elegant and gay than ever it had been known. HEROD, deservedly called *the Great*, (if Courage and Conduct can justify that Title) was in the height of Life; his young Queen, the wondrous *Mariamme*, in the full bloom of her Beauty. The Queen's Mother *Alexandra*, the King's Mother *Cypris*, and his Sister *Salome*, were graceful high-spirited Women. Old *Hircanus* was returned from *Parthia*. His grand-child by the Mother, and grand-nephew by the Father, *Aristobulus* (*Mariamme's* Brother) was beyond dispute the finest Youth of the Age. These royal Persons, surrounded with *Herod's* Captains and Ministers, gave his Court an air of Grandeur that might have adorned a much greater Empire. But this *Exterior* of Prosperity and Pleasure was not found at bottom: a Crown has its Thorns, and the regal Purple often covers an aching heart.

The Queen-Mother ALEXANDRA, married to the eldest son of that *Aristobulus* who was deposed by POMPEY, and herself of the royal *Asmonean* Line, being *Hircanus's* daughter, had ambition equal to her Birth, and *above* her present situation. She secretly contemned her son-in-law *Herod* as of ignoble Blood, and looked on him as the Usurper of the Rights of *her* Children. She was so unwise as to tincture *them* with the same sentiments; and, upon some slight occasion, when *Salome* the King's sister was assuming State, *Mariamme* had the imprudence openly to remind her of her mean Descent. From hence arose, first a spiteful Pique, dashed with mutual scorn, which grew to a standing *Rancour* among the Women; while the King was unhappily placed between the Insinuations and Whispers of his own Kindred,—the Complaints of *Alexandra*, and the Murmurings of his haughty Queen. Royalty is suspicious;—and a recent Settlement, apprehensive of every Gust that might overturn it. HEROD privately placed Spies over his Mother-in-

in-law and her son, to observe their smallest motions, and acquaint him with what they were daily doing. The sagacious Princess soon perceived it, and made proportionable Returns of hatred : uneasy and restless, under such restraint, she ventured to touch a *ticklish String*, and complain of the unworthy Usage she received at *Herod's* hands to *Cleopatra*, his known and powerful Enemy. He held his Crown solely by ANTONY's favour, whose Lieutenant-General, C. Sossius, had reduced *Jerusalem*, and in consequence of his Victory had, by *Antony's* permission, led a Triumph over *Judæa* in DCCXVII. ANTONY was wholly under the influence of a Woman, who coveted *Herod's* Kingdom, and longed for an opportunity to destroy him. The complaining to HER was therefore touching the King *in the tenderest part*, as it tended to sap the immediate Foundation of his Throne : he resented it,—as we may suppose ; but checked the natural Violence of his Temper ; and both not to exasperate matters, and from Love to *Mariamme*, prudently stifled his Vengeance against the Mother.

It so happened, towards the end of this inactive Summer *, that DELLIVS's Affairs called him into *Judæa*, where he was welcomed by HEROD as the great Friend of his Master, and treated with surprising magnificence. But *Dellivs's* predomining Passion, the Love of Pleasure, fixed his whole attention upon *Alexandra's* two Children, *Aristobulus* and *Mariamme*, whom he considered as master-pieces of Nature. He entered into the familiarity and confidence of the Queen-Mother, the Fountain of so much Beauty,—listened to her complaints of hard usage from the King ; and did not depart from his own Character or Practice †, in directing her to have Pictures drawn of the

VOL. III.

P

young

* A^o. U. C. DCCXVIII.

† Κυῖνον Δέλλιον, ΠΑΙΔΙΚΑ ποῖε Ἀνῳνιε γεύμενον. ΔΙΩΝ. μ. 9.

young Prince and his Sister, and to send them by himself to the TRIUMVIR, who after he had seen them, would be able to refuse her nothing. This was done; and *Dellius*, in presenting the Portraits of the matchless Pair, failed not to expatiate upon their perfections: ‘*they did not seem, he said, to be of mortal Race, but looked like the Offspring of Heaven,—the Children of some Demi-god or Hero* ;’—and ran on in raptures; wanting to entangle his Master in a pursuit of new Pleasure. Tho’ *Antony* was not averse to a Love-Affair of any sort, he did not care impudently to command *Herod* to send him his new-married Wife; but he wrote for her Brother; desiring, *if it were not inconvenient*, to send the Youth under a proper Escorte to *Alexandria*.

THIS Desire, importing a Command, filled *Herod* with much perplexity: the Triumvir was all-powerful—easily captivated, and openly abused his Authority to satiate his shameful Passions; *Herod*, at last, determined *not* to obey, nor venture a Youth royally descended, in the very Bloom of Life (just turned seventeen) in the hands of so dissolute a Man; and therefore returned this Answer; ‘that such was the seditious Temper of the *Jewish* Nation, and so great their Propensity to *Change*, that the whole Country would fall into confusion if *Aristobulus* should but set his foot out of the Kingdom.’ After this, the Spies set upon the Queen-mother were doubled, and the Guards enjoined to keep so strict a watch, that it was difficult for her to send any letter or message unknown to the King: but as Necessity is inventive, a *Musician* was found, who undertook to convey her letters to her new Protectress, CLEOPATRA: by *his* means she bewailed her unhappy situation,——‘that she was nothing better than a Prisoner of State, confined with her hapless Son to the Palace, not daring to see Company, nor allowed to keep a Servant of their own choosing; and not only their Actions, but every Word and Look watched and reported to their haughty Master.’

IN this distress, *Cleopatra* advised her to take her son, and, if possible, make her escape with him from *Judea* to *Egypt*, where she should find an *Asylum* in her Palace, and powerful Protectors in *herself* and in *Antony*. Immediately a Plot was laid for the evasion of the Queen-mother and of the young Prince: they were to be laid in *two Coffins*, and carried out of Town as dead persons by their conscious Servants. Horses stood ready at the Gates to convey them to the nearest Shore, where a Ship waited to waft them to *Alexandria*. The Design was only entrusted to a few faithful Domestics, one of whom, Esop, took aside a known Confident of the Queen-mother, by name *Sabbio*, and talked of the affair to him as no doubt privy to the Plot. *Sabbio* was suspected to have dipt a little in the Conspiracy against the brave ANTIPATER, *Herod's* Father, who was poisoned by *Malichus*, and was in suitable disgrace with the Son. But now he fondly embraced so fair an opportunity of recovering the royal Favour, and going directly to the King, informed him of his Mother-in-law's intended Elopement to *Cleopatra*. *HEROD* permitted the royal Persons to be decently laid in their Coffins—brought down stairs, and carried thro' the Courtyard: but at the Palace-gate the Biers were stopped by the King's Officers; the Mother and Son taken out of their Cates, and brought gently back to their former Apartments. The Rage, the Shame, the Torture of Mind that seized the violent *Alexandra*, will not be easily imagined:—as for *HEROD*, tho' infinitely provoked, and no less desirous to chastise so heinous an Attempt, he put on an air of magnanimity and mildness, and treated the whole adventure *as the Freak of a restless Female*; while in reality a Dread of *Cleopatra*, the chief Accomplice, bound up his hands from punishing her Correspondent.

BUT these repeated Efforts of the ambitious Mother were productive of dismal consequences. The new King of *Judea* could not think that he sat firm on his Throne, while *Aristobulus* the Heir of the *Asmoncan Line* continued in Life; and therefore

with equal cunning and cruelty, created him first *High Priest*, to disguise his Intentions, and then took care to have him suffocated under water by some of his *French Guards*, in a Pond where he had been enticed to swim *.

No Tears which HEROD could shed (as he is said to have wept plentifully at the News), nor the astonishing Pomp and Expence which he displayed at the Funeral, could blind *Alexandra*, or hinder her from perceiving the Hand that dealt this mortal Blow in the dark. She was forced, however, to lock up her Indignation, and put on the appearance of silent Sorrow; but in the bitterness of her soul, she wrote the mournful Tale, and, by her trusty Musician, conveyed it to *Cleopatra*. The *Egyptian Princess*, glad of any opportunity to ruin HEROD, undertook this Cause with the same ardor as if it had been her own: she gave her Lover no rest; but was perpetually pressing him to avenge the death of a royal Youth, on an ingrateful Traitor, who possessed the Throne belonging by right to the unhappy Prince he had basely murdered. By continually urging him, and exaggerating the Indignity of the Deed, ANTONY was at last so far impressed, that, being a third time on his way to *Armenia*, he sent a Summons to HEROD to attend him in *Laodicea*, in order to clear himself of the Murder of *Aristobulus*, which was laid to his charge. I suppose Antony chose to come with the Queen by Sea from *Alexandria*, to save a toilsome March thro' the Desert; and pitched upon *Laodicea* as a Landing-place, both for its excellent Harbour, and the delicious Wines produced on the Skirts of *Mount-Casi* *, to which he was excessively addicted.

AN

* Πέμπεται μὲν ἔν τῳ ὁ παῖς διὰ νύκτος εἰς Ἱερὶχὺν ἵλα· ἐκεί δὲ κατ' ἐνβολὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ΓΑΛΑΤΩΝ βαπτίζομενος ἐν κολυμβήθρα τελευτᾷ. ΙΩΣ. αλ. α.

* The vast Mountain that rises gently from *Laodicea*, by an Ascent of XIX miles, to where it overhangs *Apamea* in towering Rocks that have given occasion to its Name *Νῆψ Casa*, which in *Syriac* signifies HARD.

It must not be confounded with a sandy Promontory of the same Name *Δόφος Δινώδης ἀκροτηριάζων* the Boundary of *Egypt*, of which *Lucan* speaks, describing

AN Army coming to invade *Judea* would have carried less Terror than this Summons : however, as there was no choice but to obey, *Herod* having put his young Queen and the Kingdom under the tuition of his Uncle *Joseph*, with the terrible Command (the effect of Love in its worst shape) immediately to strike off *Mariamme's* head; if he himself should fall a sacrifice to *Cleopatra*, he ventured on the dreadful Journey. No height of Passion can justify the inhuman Order left by *Herod*; but ANTONY's wild Character was the immediate Cause of it. The King, who knew that he had been informed of *Mariamme's* transcendant Beauty by *DELLIUS*, and that he had been struck with her Picture; made no doubt, if he were dead himself; but she would fall a prey to the Triumvir's Lewdness; of which he could not bear the Thought. At his arrival, he found *Cleopatra* was to attend the Roman General quite thro' *Syria*, and forboded no good from her Company. Indeed she did her utmost to irritate *Antony*, and procure the King's Destruction. But *Herod's* own Presence and princely Behaviour, the magnificent Presents he brought from *Jerusalem*, and the specious Footing upon which he put his Conduct, blunted the edge of her malice, and secured to him at this time both his Life and Crown. 'It did not become, he said, so great a Man as MARC ANTONY, who bestowed Kingdoms at his pleasure, to invest any Person with Royal Power, and then find fault with him for using it—better, in that case, not to have made him a King in name, while in reality a Subject;—but as he had deemed him worthy to wear a Crown, and entrusted him with the regal Authority, he should permit him to exercise it as the Exigencies

describing the Morning when *Achillas* intended to kill *Julius Cesar* *; and where stood the Monument of human Instability, the TOMB of POMPEY the GREAT. This last could scarce be denominated from *CASA*, *Hard*, which it was not; but has probably been so called from *כַּזְזִי* KAZZI, a Boundary, which it was; between *Egypt* and *Idumea*.

* LUCIFER a *Casia* prospexit *Rupe*.

‘ agencies of his Government required : that the same Maxim
 ‘ would hold with respect to *all* the other Princes, *Allies* of the
 ‘ *Romans* ; since it was not even *CLEOPATRA*’s Interest to have
 ‘ her Administration too narrowly canvassed, nor be obliged to
 ‘ give other account of her Actions than—*Reasons of State*.’

ANTONY long ago prepossessed in *Herod*’s favour, *allowed* of his Defence ;— he embraced him as his Friend—made him sit on his Tribunal as an Assessor in Judgment—had him every day at dinner,, and at all Parties of Pleasure at night, till he retired late to the Queen.—so that the King returned to *Jerusalem* with increase of honour, and with better founded hopes of possessing his Kingdom, even in spite of the grasping *Cleopatra*. To counter-balance this Contentment, he found at his return his Court and Family in the utmost disorder. The Ladies left under his Uncle *Joseph*’s management, had proved too cunning for their Guardian : *Mariamne*, spirited up by her artful Mother, had, by the most winning Behaviour, gained the good man’s heart, and then, by an affected disbelief of *Herod*’s Love, and a Strain of female Banter (says my Author *) had drawn from him the dreadful Secret—the bloody Order that was to be executed in case of *Herod*’s Death. It had *two* sides, and would be viewed by the Queen and her Mother only on the worst : wherefore, upon a flying Report’s being spread in town of *Herod*’s Condemnation at *Laodicea*, they had over-persuaded their simple Keeper *to leave the Palace, and fly with them to the Roman Legion that guarded it*. They were actually on the point of executing a Resolution, which would have set all *Jerusalem* in an uproar, when Letters arrived from *HEROD*, informing them of the Honours he had received from *Antony*, and the consequent Security of his Crown. This stopt their career : but he was no
 sooner

* Εξειρωννυμένων δὲ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΙΩΣ τὰς λόγους, καὶ μάλιστα τῆς Ἀλιξ-
 ἀνδρας—προηχθῆ Ιώσηπος καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐντολὴν ἐξαιπεῖν. APX. 11.

fooner come home, than his Mother CYPRIS took care to inform him of *Alexandra's* Contrivance to abandon his Royal Palace, and put herself and her daughter under the protection of *Julius* the commanding Tribune; and his resentful Sister, *Salome*, eclipsed and scorned by *Mariamme*, wickedly accused her own Husband *Joseph* of criminal Conversation with the Queen.

HEROD was doubly startled—a Storm of jarring Passions arose in his Breast—which his Love to *Mariamme* would have at last surmounted, if in one of the *Paroxysms* of that Passion she had not haughtily reproached him with *the barbarous Order left to kill her*. It was *then* he fell into the most violent Rage—he stamped and roared, and rolled himself on the ground, tearing his hair in inexpressible Agony. He took *Joseph's* betraying the terrible Secret as undoubted Evidence of a criminal Familiarity; and without farther Proof, or so much as *seeing* the unhappy Man, he commanded him to be instantly led to execution—*Alexandra* was put in chains; and with a *hard* Struggle he restrained himself from passing the fatal Sentence upon his loved *Mariamme*. These violent Fits do mischief only, like a Hurricane, in the heat of their fury: they subside on the shortest delay, and the contrary Affections resume their power. I am however apt to think that *Cleopatra's* Arrival in *Judea* soon after this, might contribute to compose these Distractions at Court, and assist the King to curb his Resentments against *Alexandra*.

IN her Progress with ANTONY towards the *Euphrates*, already mentioned, she had put all SYRIA in disorder. With equal art and malice, she had patched up Accusations against the little Princes and States, that when they were dead or deprived, she might obtain their Dominions in a Gift from her Lover. Thus, besides the vast Donations which I formerly enumerated, she persuaded him to kill LYSANIAS Prince of *Chalcidene*, under Mount *Libanus**, as if he had been in league with the *Parthians*,
and

* LEBANON, or, as the *Greeks* altered it, LIBANUS, signifies the *White Mountain*, from לָבָן LABAN *albus*, as it was always covered with Snows, which even in summer were carried down to TYRE for sale.

and then received his Dominion, as an Addition to her Syrian Territories, which (excepting the free Cities *Aradus*, *Tyre* and *Sidon*) comprehended the whole Country from the *Euphrates* to the *Eleutherus* (now the *Velana*) the River that divides *Phœnicia* from *Celestria*, and empties itself a little above *Tripoli* into the *Mediterranean Sea*.

AFTER taking leave of her Roman Lover, she made a Tour thro' *Syria* to visit her new Acquisitions ; and having taken possession of the delightful Cities of *Apamea* and *Damascus*, she took *Judea* in her way to *Egypt*, where she, who had the life and death of thousands in her power, was little aware of the risque she ran of her own. As a great Queen, and Mistress of the Lord of the East, she looked down upon the petty Princes, his Vassals ; and tho' she must needs be sensible that *Herod* knew her malice and treachery, she fearless entered his Dominions like his Sovereign ; nor did he fail to receive her Majesty with great submission and magnificence. She was a strange unaccountable Woman. Could it be believed, that on the footing she stood with *Antony* and with *Herod*, she should have thought of a *Love-affair* with the latter ? and yet it is certain, that in his own Court she made open and undisguised Proposals to the King of *Judea* ;—whether from a mere loose Inclination for so graceful a Man, or with an Intention to draw him into a snare, and effectually ruin him with *Antony*. But instead of answering her Passion (if she had one) *Herod* called his most intimate Friends together, and with them entered into deep consultation, *Whether having Cleopatra in his power, he should not improve the favourable moment, and do all Mankind, and even Antony himself, a service, by putting such a public Pest privately to death ?* His own Interest and Revenge strongly inclined him to the Affirmative ; but his Privy Council, of a very different opinion, represented to him with great earnestness, ‘ that in his present favourable situation, it would be very unwise to expose himself and his Kingdom to imminent danger,—that

Antony

‘ *Antony* would never bear it, were the Advantages of it set
 ‘ ever so plain before his eyes : that the Indignity of losing
 ‘ his loved *Cleopatra* by murder and treachery would inflame
 ‘ his Passion to such a height, that nothing which *Herod* could
 ‘ offer as an Apology would appear *tolerable* : — the Attempt
 ‘ being made upon a Queen of the highest Rank and Dignity
 ‘ of her time ; and the Arrogance and Presumption of it being
 ‘ more than sufficient to efface any advantage that could be
 ‘ reaped by her death—especially as it was in his power gently
 ‘ to evite the snare which the Traiteurs laid for him, and in-
 ‘ stead of bringing inevitable ruin on himself and his Family,
 ‘ to put a decent face on the matter, and send the Woman away
 ‘ honourably to *Egypt*.’ *HEROD* was convinced ; and in lieu
 of the intended Prison and Assassin, he made her sumptuous
 Presents, and conducted her to *Damietta*, the ancient *Pelusium*
 and Frontier of *Egypt* on the side of *Judea*.

ANTONY in the mean time having gone up to *Armenia*, and
 decoyed their treacherous King, as was formerly related, was
 not for all that immediately Master of the Country.

THE Armenians, while their King was Prisoner, took his Son
Artaxias, and put the Crown upon his head, that they might
 act under the Royal authority ; nor did the Youth, tho’ scarce
 seventeen, bely their hopes : he marched at their head—faced
 the *Roman Army*, and actually joined battle. But being beaten,
 as might be expected, he fled to *Parthia* ; and then *ANTONY*
 in conjunction with his new Ally, ravaged *Armenia* at his lei-
 sure. In vain did the *Median* Prince represent to him the dis-
 tracted state of their most powerful Enemy ; he would give
 himself and his Army no trouble in a fresh invasion of *Parthia*,
 and *PHRAATES*’ apprehensions at the approach of the Legions
 were disappointed to the better : It appeared that the sole purpose
 of the Expedition had been to plunder *Armenia*, and hurry
 home with the spoils to *CLEOPATRA*.

I KNOW nothing in ancient History so like the Feats performed by *Knights-errant* *, as *Antony's* Behaviour at his return. He entered *Alexandria* (as he should have done *Rome*) in a triumphal Chariot, with the King and Queen of *Armenia* and their younger Children bound in silver-chains. Soon after a grand Theater was raised, and a Throne of Gold was set upon a Base overlaid with silver for *CLEOPATRA*. When she was placed, the King of *Armenia* and the royal Family were brought forth, and ordered to pay their humble Obedience to her Majesty, with many promises if they complied, and threats if they refused; neither of which produced any effect: the King and his Consort would not debase themselves: they *did* address the Queen, but called her plain *Cleopatra*, without deigning to make submissions, or implore her favour: a Deportment which gained the Esteem and Condolence of the Public to these royal Personages, and procured them much harsh Usage from their Keepers.

BUT his *Egyptian* Mistress, not satisfied with this piece of Pageantry, persuaded him soon after to a more substantial Display of his Passion and her Power. Since their Commerce began, which was almost eight years, *Cleopatra* had bore three children, two Sons and a Daughter, whom *Antony* believed to be his own. Tho' both he and she trampled upon all Laws, yet they so far complied with custom, or perhaps with the pattern set by *JULIUS CESAR*, as not to give their Children *Roman* Names, but called them, as illegitimate, by the *Mother's* Family. For *CESAR* had not allowed his natural Son by the Queen, now about fourteen years of age, to be named *Julius*, but with a greek termination, formed from his Sirname, he was called *Ptolemy-Cesar*: much in the same way, *Antony* gave his Twins the

* *COMO el famoso ESPLANDIAN mandò à los que avia librados, que fuesen à Constantinopla, agradecer à la hermosa LEONORINA hija del Emperador, la merced de su Libertad.* *AMADIS de GAULA* (the Standard of Romances) Liv. v. ch. 25. parody'd by *CERVANTES*, Lib. iii. cap. 22. of *DON QUIXOTTE*.

the names of *Ptolomy* and *Cleopatra*, along with the romantic Appellations of the SUN and the MOON bestowed upon them, in imitation of *Isis* and *Osiris* the Egyptian Gods: their younger Brother was called *Alexander*—all three, by the names common to the *Lagean* Family.

To do honour to these Youths, and exalt their Mother above the rest of Womankind, a high *Festival* was proclaimed at *Alexandria*; a second Theatre was erected in the midst of the *Forum*, adorned with amazing magnificence. Lofty Thrones were set under Canopies of the richest Workmanship for *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, and on either hand, Chairs a little lower for the Queen's four Children. Hither the royal Company proceeded in solemn Pomp from the Palace, and when they were set, it is strange to tell, that M. ANTONY, one of the three Men appointed to settle the ROMAN State, rose up and made a speech to the *Egyptians*, as if he had been in the *Capitol*. The chief import of it was to persuade them, that *Cleopatra* had been Julius Cesar's lawful Wife, and that *Ptolomy-Cesar* was his legitimate Son and rightful Heir, in opposition, no doubt, to an adopted Stranger whom he did not name. Then turning to *Cleopatra*, he saluted her QUEEN of Kings, and her eldest Son *Cesar*, KING of KINGS; assigning to them at the same time *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and the ancient Domaine of the *Lagean* Race: As for his own Children by the Queen, he proclaimed PTOLOMY King of *Syria* and *Asia*, from the *Euphrates* to the *Hellspont*; CLEOPATRA was to have the Kingdom of *Cyrene* in *Afric* for her Dowry, and their Brother, ALEXANDER, was by way of anticipation, declared King of *Armenia* and *Parthia*, all the way to the *Indies*, against these Countries should be conquered by his Parent. Not a word of his children in *Rome*, his two sons by *Fulvia*, and two daughters by *Octavia*, who by this deed were in a manner disinherited, and cut off from their paternal succession. Nor was he contented with acting this pompous Farce at *Alexandria*, but was so intoxicated with power and pleasure, as to transmit an authentic

Copy of this his Settlement of the *Eastern-Empire* to ROME, that it might there be ratified by a Decree of the SENATE and a Vote of the PEOPLE.

It is true, *Domitius* and *Pellio*; *Capito* and *Cocceius*, were too wise not to suppress it, and would never allow it to be produced in any Court; but being publicly known, and industriously spread by *Cesar's* Friends, it effectually co-operated with his *Armenian*, or rather *Egyptian* Triumph, and Contempt of *Octavia*, to ruin his Interest in ROME, and persuade the Citizens that he was no longer a *Roman* in his heart, but become such a Barbarian and lawless Tyrant as they fancied the greater part of Kings to be, and particularly the Kings of the East *. The *Commons* especially, always fond of Shews, took particular offence at his triumphing in *Alexandria*, and carrying the spoils and honours purchased by *Roman Blood*, and due to the *Capital* of the Empire, among a motely Multitude, the Offscourings of *Egypt* and *Greece*. They even believed a Report, which his Collegue did not discountenance; That *CLEOPATRA* had employed *Sorcery* to make him so much her Slave; and that, by means of some magic Spell or poisonous Draught, she had, as the Vulgar say, bewitched him; by which they meant, that she had depraved his Understanding, and robbed him of the Use of the high Faculties with which he was born.

I am apt to believe, that this *Witchcraft* was nothing else than the gradual Effect of a long Course of Debauchery, to which he was more and more addicted: a Head over-heated every night with wine, turns lumpish and dull—It loses the *finer Perceptions*, and the *relish* of elegant pleasure; retaining only that of the grossest Gratifications. The Opinion, however, that *ANTONY* was bewitched, generally prevailed. The great

* When some people were commending *EUMENES* King of *Pergamus*, as a good man, and a Friend to the Romans; *Perhaps he is so*, said old *CATO*; but by nature that Animal they call a KING is a carnivorous Creature. φύσει μὲν τῆτο τὸ ζῶον ὁ βασιλεὺς, σαρκοφάγον ἐστὶ.

great *Lucullus*, they knew, had dy'd of a *Philtre* or Love-potion administred by a jealous Mistress ; as did *Lucretius* the admired Poet, in the flower of life. *Caligula's* Madness was afterwards ascribed to the same sort of draught ; as indeed the mystic Liquor of *Eleusinian Ceres* *, and the dreadful Cup given to dangerous Noblemen in the *Mogol's* Court †, leave no doubt of the power of *Potions* over the human Constitution. *Antony* was therefore believed at *Rome* to be no more himself ; but a sort of animal Machine, acting by the sole Will of *Cleopatra* ; a Belief which mixed *Contempt* with the hatred of his other Vices, and was a poisonous Ingredient,—of the worst consequence to a Man in power.

AFTER passing the Winter in revelling and riot, he went up in the Spring, for the last time, to finish the plundering of *Armenia* in reality ; but gave it out that he was now to attack *Parthia* in conjunction with his *Median* Ally. What he might have attempted, had he been free from other Cares, is uncertain ; for a Man given up to his Passions, like a fluctuated body, knows not whither they will drive him : but he soon received News from *Rome* that called him to act on a different Scene. From the time of his sending back *Octavia* with dishonour and neglect, *Cesar* perceived there was no more confidence to be put in his Collegue, and that a final Breach was inevitable. But knowing *ANTONY's* weight in the *Senate*, and especially his root with the *Soldiery*, he was cautious how he came to an open Rupture ; but cast about how he might plausibly throw the blame of their Diffension upon *Antony*, and secure Power and Popularity to himself. He therefore lost no opportunities to exaggerate his *Encroachments* upon their common Prerogative ; and, their Correspondence not being yet broke off, he both wrote his Complaints, and fully instructed his Ministers, whom he sent on purpose to *Alexandria*. Thus the Disgusts

* ΚΥΚΕΩΝ. Ὁρᾷ Κλημ. Στρωμ. ιδ.

† M. BERNIER Hist. de la Cour du Gran. Mogol.

Disgusts hung for some time, like a gathering Cloud, before they burst into a Storm; and were managed like a *civil Difference between Citizens*, by Memorials and Rescripts passing backwards and forwards, which came at last to be made public, and submitted to the Judgment of the People.

I know of no Offence or Accident that was the *immediate Cause* of the War*. The Characters of the Leaders, their Fortunes and Situation sufficiently account for it. *Antony* was haughty and overbearing; a heavy Partner in the division of Power, and carried things with so high a hand, that *Cesar* must have been long since weary of him, and grasp greedily at an opportunity of getting rid of him. *ANTONY*, on his part, had given him many handles: he was doubly drunk with wine and power; and fell into all the enormities which attend that Vice in a leading Man strictly watched by a sober and subtle Rival.-- He committed unheard of Disorders, disobliged his best Friends, and squandered his immense Revenue with amazing Profusion: for he was capable of any Excess in his liquor; and often treated the greatest *Romans* with cruel and wanton Insolence. This, co-operating with his blind Passion for the rapacious Queen, *cut the sinews* of his Power, and paved the way for his final Ruin: for he came at last to place his chief Pride in being a *strong Drinker*: and so far forgot himself as even to write a PANEGYRIC upon EBRIETY, in which he enumerated the *Feats* that Liquor had enabled him to perform. It has been published I judge not long before the decisive Stroke was to be struck between him and his adversary, and by shewing while he was reveling in *Greece* that his head was turned, and his heart corrupted, he disposed Men to believe the black Stories which *Cesar's* Friends were

* The DUKE de la ROCHEFOUCAULT, among his other Paradoxes, affirms, that the *Asian War*, which turned the World upside down, was the Effect of Jealousy about a *Mistress*; for which Assertion, after the utmost pains, I can find no foundation in History.

were propagating with great industry*. He had long allowed the frothy *Asiatics* to call him FATHER BACCHUS; but it is certain that he now actually assumed the *Habit* and *Ensigns* of the God of Wine; and rode thro' the Streets of *Alexandria* in an open Chariot drawn by *Tygers*, his Head crowned with *Ivy*, his feet dressed in *Buskins*, and holding a *Thyrſus* (a Spear twisted round with Vine-Twigs) in his hand. At other times he appeared in the Dress of an *Eastern Monarch*, holding his golden Scepter, a Sabre by his ſide, and cloathed in a Robe of regal Purple clasped with costly Gems; and at laſt he clapt a *Diadem* on his head, that CLEOPATRA might be kiſſed by a KING.

WHEN two Princes, from pique or intereſt, are once determined to break, REASONS are ſought by way of *parade*; and generally meet with the diſregard they deſerve. The Oracle uttered by the preſaging Spirit of *Marcus Brutus*, (enlightened by calm Virtue even in the Plains of *Philippi*), was now accompliſhing, 'that the ſame flagitious Paſſions which had driven *Antony* and ' *Cæſar* to deſtroy the Conſtitution of their Country, would ſoon ' after ſet them at variance between themſelves, and make them ' more bitter Enemies to one another than they had been to the ' Friends of Liberty and the Common-wealth †.' It is proper, however, that we know the *Plea* of either party, and what violations of Faith or breaches of Friendſhip each laid to the charge of the other.

AND

* M. ANTONIUS avidiſſimè apprehenderat hanc palmam (Ebrietatis) edito etiam volumine de ſua Ebrietatè; quo patrocinari ſibi auſus, approbavit planè, ut equidem arbitror, quanta mala per temulentiam terrarum orbi intuliſſet: exiguo tempore ante praelium Aſiacum id volumen EVOMUIT; quo facile intelligatur ebrius jam ſanguine civium, et tanto magis eum ſitiens; namque et hæc neceſſitas vitium comitatur, ut bibendi conſuetudo augeat aviditatem. PLIN. Lib. XIV. § 22.

† M. Αντώνιος—προσθήκην εαυτὸν Ὀκλασίῳ δέδωκεν κ' ἂν μὴ νῦν ἡτληθῇ μετ' ἐκείνου, μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐκείνῳ μαχεῖται. ταῦτα μὲν ἔν καλῶς ἀποθεοπίσαι πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἔοικεν ὁ ΒΡΟΤΤΟΣ. Πλουταρχ.

AND first ANTONY, as is the custom of Aggressors, complained, ' that in the division of *Italy* among the Veterans, *Cesar* had defrauded *his* Army of their due share, and filled it with ' his own Troops. II. " That having driven *SEXTUS POMPEY* " out of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, he had seized these Islands as his " own Property. III. That having of his own Authority, with " out consent of his Colleague, divested *LEPIDUS* of the trium- " viral Power, he had sent *Statilius Taurus* into *AFRICA* to take " possession of his Armies and Provinces without sharing them " with *him* who had an equal title to both. IV. That in the disa- " strous War, which he had long unfortunately waged with *Sex- " tus Pompey*, he had borrowed of him (*Antony*) several Squadrons " of Ships for which he had never thought fit either to account " or to restore." He therefore demanded satisfaction in all these points,—the Establishment of his defrauded Veterans, the half of *Africa*, *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, an Equivalent for his Ships of War, and the half of the Legions which *Cesar* had lately raised in *Italy*, which, by agreement, was to remain the common Recruiting-country for them both.

To the first of these Articles, *CESAR*, provoked by the Contempt lately put upon his sister, answered jeeringly, That the Veterans whom *Antony* had called and kept in the *East*, could not ' be settled in *Italy*; nor was there any reason they should, as ' they had *Media* and *Parthia*, and the other Countries they ' had conquered by their Prowess under so mighty a Leader, ' which were more than sufficient to contain them. To the se- ' cond and third, That having defeated *Sextus Pompey* in fair War, ' and stripped *Lepidus* of a Command he was abusing with in- ' solence, *Cesar* possessed their Provinces in right of Conquest, ' which yet he was ready to divide with *Antony*, as soon as *he*, on ' his part, had shared his new Acquisitions of *Egypt* and *Arme- " nia* with *him*. To the last, That he had sent back no less than ' seventy of his borrowed Ships, who had landed most oppor- ' tunely at *Proconnesus* (now *Marmara*) or his Lieutenant *Titius*

‘ to catch *S. Pompey*, and cut off his Head : that it was *Antony’s* own fault if he did not recruit in *Italy*, which lay alike open to them both, and from whence he (*Cesar*) had often sent him greater bodies of men and of warlike Stores than were sufficient to over-balance those Ships that had perished in the *Sicilian War*.’

THE Distance between the Places of Residence of the two remaining Triumvirs, and their leading out their Armies, after the *Roman* manner, to some Expedition in the Spring, prevented *Cesar’s* last Answer from reaching *Antony* till near mid-summer, when he had got upon the Banks of the *Araxes*, and was about to invade *Parthia*, with his new Ally the King of the *Medes* : and as its *Tendency* was very plain, he immediately countermanded the movement of the Army, and ordered CANIDIUS GALLUS his Lieutenant General, to take sixteen Legions, (about eighty thousand men) and facing about, to march directly down thro’ *Asia* to the Sea-Coast.—The Invasion of PARTHIA was once more laid aside : he contented himself with exchanging some *legionary* Soldiers, for a Body of *Median* Horse from *Artuafdes*—he added the *lesser Armenia* to POLEMO’s dominion, as a Reward for *past*, and Incitement to *future* services ; and then having, as I said, received the young Beauty, JOTAPE, from her Father, his son *Alexander’s* future Spouse, ANTONY hastened after his great Army that was marching under *Canidius*.

To give his Conduct an air of Moderation at ROME, and add weight to his Complaints against *Cesar*, he had subjoined to them a formal Declaration, *That as the last five years of their Triumvirate were about to expire, he was ready to lay down that extraordinary Power, to restore the Government to the SENATE and PEOPLE of ROME, and betake himself to the legal Honours of his Country, if his Collegue Cesar would do the same.* This Declaration cost him nothing, while he was at the head of his Armies in distant Provinces—no more than the formality of entering upon the *Consulship* the first day of the year DCCXIX, and immediately resigning it in favours of his friend *Sempronius Atratinus*. But CESAR, who was

Conquest. The *Setovians*, hemmed in by a Chain of Winter-Encampments, (which resembled small fortified Towns, and cut off all communication with the neighbouring Country) were pressed with famine, and glad to submit to *Cesar* in person. He had the honour to recover the *Roman* Ensigns lost with *Gabinus*, and to receive seven hundred of their noblest Youths, as Hostages of the future fidelity of their Parents*. After the true Glory which he had gained in conquering so wide and warlike a Country as *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia* and *Illyricum*, inhabited by fierce hostile Nations, almost bordering with *Italy*, *CESAR* might have justly entered *Rome* on a triumphal Char: nor were the Senators slow in voting that Honour to him, which they had allowed to his Lieutenants the former year. Old *Norbanus*, who commanded at *Philippi*, had triumphed from *Spain*, where he had been *Proconsul*; and the rising Officer (of no family, but great personal Merit) *Statilius Taurus*, having been dispatched, as was told, in the same capacity to *Africa*, after the Deposition of the insignificant *Lepidus*, took possession of it in *CESAR*'s name without coming to Blows, and led a bloodless Triumph out of that ravaged Country, at the same time that *C. Sossius* had solemnized his Conquest of *Judea* †. But *CESAR*'s Thoughts were turned upon more important matters than *Show* and *Parade*.—He wisely postponed his *Illyrian* Triumph—all he did in that way was, from his Share of the Spoils of the conquered Towns ‡ to rear a noble and lasting Monument of his Magnificence; it was a *QUADRUPLE COLONNADE*, including an oblong Square, consisting of a double Tire of stately Pillars, whose Interstices were adorned with Statues and Pictures done by the greatest *Grecian Masters* ||.

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* Αποσπασμα Ιλλυριων. † TABULAE CAPITOLINAE. ‡ De MANUBIIS.

|| Its vast Extent appears in an anonymous Description of the *Ruins of Rome*, written in the XI century, and published by the learned *Mabillon*, Tom. iv. p. 502. of his *ANALECTA*. *Bufalini* and *Bellori* imagine *JUNO*'s Temple to be now the Church of *SANCTA GALLA*, and *ST. NICHOLAS* to have occupied the Temple of *Jupiter*, both within the *PORTICO*.

It was quite *open* below, which gave it the Name of a PORTICO,—but the *VASE* above contained a large and curious Library, with retiring Rooms for private reading,—public Halls for reciting,—Schools for teaching, and all the Conveniences and Allurements to Study, each of them more elegantly fitted up than another. I have not been able to satisfy myself as to the exact Dimensions of this prodigious Edifice; but it will assist us to form *an Idea* of its Grandeur, if we figure to ourselves *six stately* Buildings standing in the *Area* of it, (three of a-side) Temples, Courts, common Halls, all adorned with Paintings like the PORTICO itself *: between these, and quite around, were practised lovely Walks, some under Cover, some in the Sun, others in the Shade, according as the Seasons of the Year required. To do honour to his deserving Sister OCTAVIA,—to comfort her under unmerited Injuries, and perhaps to spite her infatuated Husband, he called it from *her* Name, the OCTAVIAN PORTICO: here, among the other Decorations, he hung up the *Ensigns of the Cohorts* cut to pieces under *Gabinus* by the *Dalmatians*, which he had newly recovered; and that august Fabric long remained one of the chief Ornaments of the *Campus Martius*, in the neighbourhood of ROME.

DURING the Interval of suspense, while both Parties without noise, were carrying on the Preparations for this impending War, nothing could be more prudent than the Behaviour of the artful CESAR. Whether the constant Conversation of the Men of distinguished Worth and Learning, with whom he was surrounded

* ROMÆ opera Cephissodori (filii Praxitelis) sunt *Latona* in Palatii delubro: *Venus*, in Asinii Pollionis monumentis; et INTRA OCTAVIAE Porticus, in Junonis AEDE, Aesculapius et Diana—Similiter in CURIA OCTAVIAE, quaeritur de Cupidine fulmen tenente.—Nec *Sauron* atque *Batrachon* obliterari convenit, qui fecere TEMPLA Octaviae Porticibus INCLUGA, natione ipsi Lacones.—ad Octaviae vero Porticum Apollo *Philisci Rhodii* (laudatur) in DELUBRO suo. Ejusdem Praxitelis est et CUPIDO objectus a Cicerone *Verri*, ille propter quem Thespiae vivebantur, nunc in Octaviae SCHOLIS positus.

ed, had really wrought a Change on the young Tyrant, or whether he found it his Interest to have it so believed, it is certain that he put on the most plausible Appearances, not only of *Lenity* and *Moderation*, but of REPENTANCE for his former Cruelties.—he made the young CICERO, who had driven him into the Bog at *Philippi*, Edile and Pretor; he redoubled his Caresses to the approved Patriot M. MESSALA, who had beat his Troops and plundered his Camp that same day: he had lately sent that great Man to command in *Gaul*, and humble the SALASSI—*Savoyards* who nestled among the fastnesses of the *Alps*, and defied a regular Army to curb their Robberies.—It was indeed no easy Task; they were *fierce, cunning*, and knew the advantages of their *Situation*: but being withal very covetous, tho' MESSALA was forced to winter among them, and wanted Wood both for fire, and to renew his military Machines, and the very Weapons of the Legions, they were so foolish as to furnish him with both *for money* *. In the Spring he surrounded them with impregnable Camps; —shut them up in the Valley d'*Aost*, until famine made them cry for mercy. The Conquest was so important, being the most commodious Pass from *Italy* into *France* and *Spain*, that *Cesar* afterwards settled a favourite Colony in it of his *superannuated Guards*, which he therefore called AUGUSTA PRAETORIA; —too long a Name for the barbarous People to pronounce; and which at the Break of the Empire they corrupted into *Aost*, that now denominates the Passage over the *Alps* thro' *Piedmont*.

AFTER such an Atchievement, the Leader who conducted it had a good title to the honour of a Triumph: but MESSALA was above Show and Ostentation—he acquired solid Glory by refusing that glittering Procession, which many now courted and obtained with little or no military Desert †. At his Return,

CESAR.

* See VOL. I. page 364. line 10. where read; and made MESSALA when Consul.

† Αλλοι δὲ καὶ ἐλαχίστην τινα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντες, καὶ ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΑ διενεργήσαντο σφίσι, οἱ μὲν παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων; οἱ δὲ διὰ τῶν Καίσαρος ψηφίζεσθαι. ΔΙΩΝ. βιβ. μθ.

CESAR expressed the highest satisfaction with his Conduct, and the most perfect confidence in his Probity and Friendship; which is the more strange, that this eminent Person was, in *modern* stile, but an indifferent *Courtier*:—tho' I have had the honour to know Ministers under GEORGE II. who resembled their great Master, and were *truly honest Men*. But MESSALA * would *dissemble in nothing*, nor take a *single Step* in Business, which he did not think warranted by *Law* and the *Practice* of the Commonwealth.

DURING the disorders of *Italy*, soon after his Return from the *East*, † his Nobility, Popularity and great Parts, made *Cesar* wish to intrust him with the Government of *ROME* in his absence, and to make him *Guardian* of the public Peace.—accordingly he received a Commission from the Triumvir, creating him PREFECT of the CITY, and giving him the same Jurisdiction in *Italy* which a Governor had in his *Province*, that is, all Power military and civil. MESSALA was at first persuaded to *accept* of the Commission; but in a few days, having better considered the Nature of it, he brought it back to *Cesar*, and formally resigned an Office, which he affirmed *was not* LEGAL *in itself*, *nor consistent with the CONSTITUTION of* *ROME* ‡. The Commission

was

* MESSALA CORVINUS, primus praefectus urbis factus, sexto die magistratus se abdicavit, INCIVILEM potestatem esse contestans. EUSEB. CAES. Chronic.

† VOL. II. p. 241.

‡ If MESSALA CORVINUS would have accepted of a *Temperament* or *Palliative*, his own perfect Knowledge of History could not have failed to suggest, That the *Prefecture* of the City was an *old Magistracy*, created for the better and more decent Celebration of certain solemn Festivals, particularly those termed the *LATIN GAMES*: and he was the lowest Magistrate that had the Power of calling and consulting the *SENATE*. M. VARRO ap. GELL. Lib. XIV. But *Cesar* put all civil and military Power in his hands; to suppress Riots, quell Conspiracies, in a word, to seize and put to death whom he pleased. This was a *new Office* under an *old Appellation*, which MESSALA could not digest: as indeed the *Prefecture* of *Rome*, exercised by the *Praefectus Praetorii* (General of the Guards) came in its natural course to swallow up all other Offices; and the Person possessed of it made and unmade Emperors at his pleasure.

was then made out for MÆCENAS, who, tho' good in the main, was not troubled with such Scruples ; and who made the best Apology for accepting an irregular, but necessary Jurisdiction, by the mild and humane Exercise of it for almost ten Years.

THE NAME therefore of such a Man as MESSALA had a growing Virtue in it to *sanctify* the Cause he espoused ; to which if we add his personal Bravery, and Character as a *General*, that rendered him of such consequence in the day of a decisive Battle, we shall be able to account for CESAR's not only *bearing* with his inviolable Attachment to Liberty, but his *courting* him to *declare* against ANTONY, by all the methods he could devise. But let us do justice to this same *transformed* CESAR, and not ascribe all the appearances of public Virtue which he put on at this juncture, merely to views of Interest and the Necessity of his Affairs ; they, no doubt, powerfully co-operated towards his Conversion.—but I am greatly mistaken if by this time his hard Heart were not really touched, and his merciless Nature beginning to melt into Humanity,—if he did not wish to become *truly good*, and to pursue salutary Measures from *Inclination* as well as Interest. MESSALA's embarking so cordially in his Cause, is a certain Proof that *he* believed so ; and I have a grand Presumption to produce that he was not mistaken.

AMONG those Friends of M. BRUTUS who survived *Philippi*, and who put themselves either under *Enobarbus*'s, the young *Cicero*'s, or *Messala*'s Protection, was the Hero's *Companion*, and Man of Letters, STRATO, a Native of *Egea*, whom we mentioned on a mournful occasion. He now held the same Rank in *Messala*'s Family and Friendship, as he had done in *Brutus*'s : who not contented with perpetually talking to *Cesar* of the superior Virtue of his heroic General, *Marcus Brutus*, one day asked an audience in his Closet ; and having obtained it, he walked in, holding *Strato* by the hand—whom he presented to CESAR with many Tears ; and *this is the MAN*, SIR, said he, *who did the*
last

last Office to my adored BRUTUS ;—and whose approved Fidelity to his great Master, makes me beg leave to recommend him to your Esteem and Protection. CESAR mingled his Tears with Messala's, embraced the brave Strato, gave him the Command of some Ships of War at *Actium*, when his noble Behaviour fully answered the Patriot's Recommendation *. But this is not all.

AMID the many Scenes of Perfidy and Cruelty acted at the horrid Proscription, there had appeared some Instances of Duty and Affection of *Servants* towards their Masters that were amazing. Among the rest a *Grecian* who had served in the noble *Junian* Family and been enfranchised, took his proscribed Master, and in spite of the Triumviral Terrors and Premiums, concealed and provided for him till the Fury of the Massacre was abated. Of this Fidelity *Cesar* was certainly informed, and whether now or not long afterwards is not of moment ; but instead of inflicting the Punishment denounced against the Abettors of the proscribed, he sent for the faithful Servant, *T. Junius Philopemen*, and, along with a handsome Present, promoted him to the Dignity of a *Roman Knight*, or, as we would say, *nobilitated* and made him a Gentleman.—Join now to these generous Deeds, that all the Friends of Liberty that remained in *Rome*, were invited by *Cesar*, I cannot properly say, to Court, which was not yet completely formed, but to take a share in the Government, and as *free Romans*, to enter upon the Honours of the Common-wealth ; such as *C. Flavius*, *Publius Sextius*, *Antistitius Vetus*, *Pompeius Sabinus*, with many others, some of them the Sons of the *Martyrs* of Freedom, and others who had themselves bore Command under *Cassius* and *Brutus* ;—put these things together, I say, and it will require a great Degree of Suspicion not to believe him a better Man.

I

* ΠΑΟΥΤΑΡΧ. in Βεῦτω. STRATO became so eminent, that his Effigies was engraved and worn in Rings like those of the greatest Romans. One of these, in a *Chalcedone*, (a thoughtful mild Figure) was in the curious Collection of the late Baron STÖSCH.

I OBSERVED that the footing on which the *Collegue-Triumvirs* had lived for some time was extremely precarious: while *Antony* kept true to *Octavia*, and passed the sun-shine days of his Life, blest in her Love at *Athens*, I believe their mutual Distrust was lulled asleep; nor was there for some time thereafter, while he lived with her in *Italy*, room for much Diffidence, tho' *Disguists* might intervene: But no sooner had he sent her back from *Corfu*, and dispatched the courtly *Capito* into *Egypt* to conduct *Cleopatra* to *Syria*, than the mutual Confidence of the Chiefs broke, and each watched the other as a dangerous Rival. For it cannot be too much inculcated, That nothing but the *Tye* of *immediate Interest* can keep Men of no honour long united; and *that* is perpetually varying: Witness the Treaties and Counter Treaties, the Alliances and Guarantees entered into and broken almost every year by most Powers in *Europe*, GREAT BRITAIN alone excepted, whose Liberty and Independency supporting the Principles of Honour of her King, hath for many years set an Example of FAITH and VIRTUE to the World. The Good and the Wise in every Country act from a *steady Principle* that cements their Love and Friendship, and makes it durable: But neither the high Familiarity in which the *Triumvirs* had long lived, their gaming, debauching, murdering and robbing together; nor the Affinity they had contracted by double Tyes*, could beget a *thorow Confidence* between them: Every new accession of Strength to the one alarmed the other; as every Disaster gave a secret Joy: The vast Preparations made by *Antony* for his *Parthian* Expeditions filled *Cesar* with Apprehensions that were only dissipated by the accounts of his Calamity or Miscarriage.

IN this state of Diffidence, the important News reached *Rome*; That the intended Invasion of PARTHIA was dropt for this Year; and that ANTONY's trusty General *Canidius Gallus* was actually

VOL. III.

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marching

* *Cesar's* young Daughter by *Scribonia* was betrothed to *Antyllus*, *Antony's* eldest Son.

marching thro' *Cilicia* with *sixteen Legions* for the Sea-Coast, whence they might land in *Italy* before the end of Summer. It filled CESAR with inexpressible Anxiety: He had no Army that durst look the *Antonians* in the face, being caught in a mannner *unprepared*, as he had laid his account when *Antony* had reached the *Araxes*, that there would be no sudden Rupture between them, nor consequent military Preparations till the next Spring. He *had reason* to be afraid: No General of his time was so beloved, or rather *doated on* by the Soldiery as M. ANTONY. This appeared in the height of his distress, when surrounded by the *Parthian* Squadrons in *Adiabene*. He himself *gave all for lost*; and intended to appear to the Army which his Rashness had misled in a *mourning* Habit. That his Friends opposed:—But when he saw *Fabius Gallus* his Lieutenant-General brought back with *four Arrows* sticking in his Breast—when he saw three thousand of his best Men lying dead on the field, and five thousand carried away in their Wounds, he could no longer contain his Tears; but went about from Tent to Tent, bewailing their hard fate and his own. *It was then* that the ardent Affection which his Army bore him shone brightest: The two Legions that had given way, offered themselves to be *decimated*, or to submit to *any* Punishment he should be pleased to inflict; so they might not ly under his Displeasure, but have an opportunity given them to expiate their Crime at the expence of the Enemy. The Wounded, struck with his condescensions and sympathy, entreated him 'to keep up his Spirits—to go and take care of *himself*:—That if *HE* were well, all would be well; but if *he* should fail, his Army would be undone.' The Reasons of this inviolate Attachment are not difficult to discover: M. ANTONY was a *complete Soldier*: all the brave and bold in the heat of youth, all the patient and strong in riper years; whether addicted to Pleasure or eager for Wealth, ranged themselves under his Banners:—These he treated in such a manner, that high and low, Officers and Soldiers, were ready

to do or suffer any thing to please their beloved Leader. His noble Birth, his majestic Presence, his soldierly Eloquence, his open Heart, and more open Hand—but above all, his eating, drinking, joking and toiling *as they did*,—and his taking part in their *Follies* as well as their Fortunes, rendered him just the IDOL of his Army. All this CESAR well knew; and farther, that this formidable Power was in the hands of a Man, who, when once *rouxed* and put upon his mettle, perfectly knew *how to use it*. The Chief whom JULIUS CESAR had entrusted with the Command of his right Wing at the *Battle of Pharsalia*, and who for near fourteen years had been acquiring military Experience in many a hazardous Campaign, must appear very formidable in the height of his Skill and Authority.

AT the same time Affairs at home were in no better posture than those abroad. ALL THE ITALIANS, except the lately intruded *Veterans* were greatly indisposed towards CESAR, and abhorred the Thought of a new civil War. ROME in particular was swelling with discontent, and ready to burst into Sedition and Tumults: for what with some great and expensive Works lately undertaken by *Cesar*, what with sumptuous Shows for the entertainment of the People; but above all the Demands of his insatiate Army kept his Coffers low and the Treasury empty. To enable him therefore to make the very *first Preparations* for such an impending War, he was under a necessity of having recourse to one of the odious methods of raising Money that was employed after the Proscription, and again lay on a *Land-Tax* on the Citizens, and a *Poll-Tax* on the Freed-men all over *Italy*. The former were to pay a fourth part of their yearly Rent, that is, five shillings in the Pound, and the latter, an eight of their Capital Stock.

The civil Wars raised by *Julius Cesar*, which had continued raging with some short intervals for near fifteen years, had swept off the main body of the old *Roman* Citizens: The bulk of the People that now inhabited *Rome* were *infranchized Slaves* and

their *Descendants*, who had no interest in the War, and who being pressed with a cruel Tax were ready to take any the most violent methods to evade it—They caballed in great Bodies, not without the knowledge of many landed Gentlemen up and down *Italy*; and at last set fire to the City itself, in order to throw every thing into Confusion. The Fire was first set to the Buildings that surrounded the *Great Circus*; thence it raged until the Flames caught the ancient Temple of *CERES*, and involved the adjacent Structure consecrated to *HOPE* in the same Conflagration. At the same time the Rioters appeared in arms in many open places of the City, and the Insurrection might have risen to a dangerous head, if the Prefect of *Rome*, *CILNIUS MECENAS*, had not exerted his unlimited Power, and sent some armed Cohorts to attack and disperse them. They resisted; and not a little Blood was spilt up and down the City, especially all around the burning Circus, ere they were finally quelled. After this their Accomplices in the other parts of *Italy*, who were ready to have seized upon some strong Places, and declared against Taxes and Cesar, were glad to dissemble, and to pay (tho' with great inward grudging) the heavy Rates imposed on their Estates. Had *ANTONY* landed his Legions in any port of *Italy*, while the Inhabitants were in this Temper, (which his numerous Fleet and the unprepared state of his Enemy made an easy Enterprize), *CESAR* must have been totally undone; and I make no doubt has often viewed the Probability of his own Ruin with Terror and Amazement.

BUT he met with relief from a quarter he little expected, and his Fears of being attacked *that* year were at last blown over. *CLEOPATRA* was sent for to meet her Lover in his way to the lower Coast, and she made such haste, that by the time he had crossed *Armenia* from the *Araxes*, she and her royal Retinue were ready to receive him on the *Cilician* Border. I say *Royal*, because it should seem she had brought the *Treasures of Egypt*, and the *Wealth of Nations* along with her. The Train of Men
and

and Carriages necessary to convey these, besides the infinite Tools and Ministers of all sorts of Luxury that accompanied her, could not amount to less than some thousands of Men.

I believe she never undertook a Journey with so much complacency:—not for any Love she bore to her Gallant, (for a Lady of such *extensive* Pleasure could take no tender Attachment); but she now thought herself in a fair way of attaining the top of her Wishes, and of being nothing less than MISTRESS of the WORLD. To shew therefore *Antony's* Captains the SPIRIT of the Woman in whose Cause they were to draw their Sword, and what they might expect from her royal Magnificence, she invited him and his chief Officers to dine in her wondrous TENT. It contained *twelve Dining-rooms*, each of which were filled with Tables of massive Gold; and not only the various Courses were served up in the same metal, but every Vessel and Instrument used at the Feast was of Gold, and many of them set with precious Stones and adorned with curious Workmanship. The Tapistry was of the finest Purple, enriched with Embroidery, and every thing so immensely sumptuous, that *even* ANTONY was amazed at it, and could not help expressing his Surprise at the sight of so much Magnificence. The Queen smiled; and ‘*Do you then think, Sir! this Night's Service so very extraordinary?*’ He said, he *did* think it *very extraordinary*: Well, ‘*reply'd the Princess, I make you a Present of it entire—and desire you and your Friends will come and dine with me to-morrow at the same hour.*’ The whole rich Furniture then of that prodigious Tent was moved to ANTONY's *Pretorium*, who came next day attended with his Grandees, in some sort of suspense about the manner of their Reception. It was such a Display of Splendor and Opulence as made the preceeding day's Feast appear a *very moderate* Entertainment. But it amazed them out of measure, when, in the height of their mirth, the Queen declared, ‘That

‘ That she presented every Guest with the Couch of Gold on which he had lain, the Table and its rich Coverings, with the Goblets and every Utensil he had used at Dinner.’ And when the illustrious Company was to break up, the chief Personages had magnificent *Chairs* and *Chairmen* attending to carry them home, which remained their Property; and the greater part had *Horses* richly caparisoned, with their Grooms, and every Guest without exception had a *Negro Boy* with a Flambeau to light him home; all freely gifted by CLEOPATRA*.

AFTER this we need not wonder at what MESSALA had recorded in those Memoirs of *Philippi*, *Sicily* and *Actium*, whose loss we justly lament, as a proof of the high pitch of Effeminacy and Profusion to which *Antony* had arrived, ‘ That all the Instruments in his Bed-chamber, even those destined for the lowest uses about his Person, were of pure Gold’——a *Crime*, says that virtuous Roman, of which even CLEOPATRA might have been ashamed! His natural Prodigality, that had made him a Bankrupt before he was seventeen, joined to the Tides of Fortune that had flowed upon him, and especially his living so long with the most rapacious and wasteful of Woman-kind, had wore out the traces of Roman Manners, and thrown him into every sort of Licentiousness†. He would not, we may suppose, make *hard Marches* after taking up CLEOPATRA: They advanced as their Conveniency or Pleasure permitted thro’ the rich *Asiatic Towns* to *EPHESUS*, the richest and most luxurious of them all, where
not

* Τῶν δ' ἡγεμόνων, ἐφ' ᾗ ἕκαστος, κατέκειτο κλίνη, καὶ τὰ κυλίτια; καθὼς ταῖς τρώμασι ἐμμεριζα, ἕκαστος φέρειν ἐπέτρεψε· καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀφοδὸν, τοῖς μὲν ἐν ἀξιώμασι φορεῖα σὺν τοῖς κομίζουσι, τοῖς πλείοσι δὲ, κατὰ γούροις σκευαῖς κεκοσμημέναις ἵπποις, πᾶσι δὲ λαμπρόφορος παῖδας αἰθίορας παρέθηκε.

ΑΘΗΝ. Δειπνοσοφ. βιβ. Ε.

† M. ANTONIUS, vir perdundae pecuniae deditus, vacuusque curis nisi instantibus.—

Fragm. SALLUST.

not only the several Columns of his Army, and the Auxiliary Forces of the Tributary Kings had been appointed to rendezvous, but his whole Naval Strength was to be collected, consisting of *eight hundred Sail* with their necessary Tenders; *two hundred* of which were furnished by *Cleopatra*. Yet they did not give themselves so wholly up to Frolic and Feasting, but that a very serious affair was debated in Council at *Ephesus*.

THE noble *Domitius Enobarbus* had almost such a Character in *Antony's* Party as *Messala* had in *Cesar's*. He was much the *best Man* that ever had been produced in that great and powerful Family. Tho' very gracious with *Antony*, he so preserved the Dignity of a *Roman*, as never to salute the Queen as his *Mistress**, or by any other Name than *plain CLEOPATRA*! This great Person, seconded by the other *Romans* who understood the Disposition of *Italy* and *Rome*, persuaded *Antony* to send this *Egyptian* Princess directly home until the great Affair should be decided: a step, they said, which would be attended with salutary consequences, as it would stop the Mouths of his Enemies, and leave him more disembarassed to carry on the War. ANTONY, who quickly perceived what was for his own Interest, let the Queen accordingly know, 'That she must prepare to set sail for Alexandria, and there in safety wait the Issue of the War.'

SHE received this Message as she would have done a Sentence of Banishment. Should her Lover be left in the hands of his *Roman Friends*, especially *Domitius*, *Furnius* and *Cocceius*, who were all in good habits with *Cesar*, She justly supposed they would endeavour, as formerly, to mediate an Accommodation: That at the same time the Virtue and superior Charms of OCTAVIA would be again employed to retrieve her bewitched Husband,

* ΔΕΣΠΟΤΙΣ OR ΔΕΣΠΟΙΝΑ, which implies such a Sovereignty as a eastern Master or Mistress have over their Slaves, was the usual STYLE in the Egyptian, and all the eastern Courts, with which I suspect *Plancus*, *Titius*, *Dellius*, *Sossius*, to have complied.

Husband, and bring him by the baits of *honourable Pleasure* to a due sense of his true Interest, and the genuine bottom of his Power—a Thought that put the *Egyptian* on the Rack, and threw her from that summit of Sovereignty to which she had already mounted in Imagination, upon presumption of her Lover, or, (as she now called him) her Husband's never questioned Victory. However, as the Message came directly from the *Triumvir*, she did not find it proper to oppose it personally, or give a downright denial; but she looked among his Followers for some fit Instrument to ward off this impending blow. At last she pitched upon *Canidius Gallus* the senior General, whose Services and blind Obedience had recommended him to *Antony*, and whose Love of Money had made him obnoxious to *Cleopatra*. It was not difficult for her, who had so great an ascendant over the Chief, to make interest among the Members of his Council, to have the matter brought again upon the carpet. When *Domitius* and *Cocceius Nerva* did not fail to insist and press the Queen's immediate departure for *Egypt*, CANIDIUS then took the counter part, and declared himself of a quite contrary Sentiment. ‘He thought it, in the first place, both unjust and imprudent to drive from them a Princess whose Treasures and Magazines contributed more to the War than any three of the other Auxiliary Kings; neither was it, he said, by any means advisable to dishearten the EGYPTIANS, the most numerous and zealous of their Allies, who were the Flower of their Fleet, as the sending away their Queen would infallibly do. That if he might speak his mind freely, he saw no Prince among those who had armed in their Cause to whom Cleopatra was inferior in Understanding or Capacity: That she had given many proofs of it in the Government of a great Kingdom and its large Dependencies for fifteen years; as indeed in the company and conversation of so great a MASTER, she could not miss acquiring a superior Skill in the Arts of Peace and War, of which, he hoped, they were too wise to deprive themselves.’

THE artful *Canidius* soon gained his point—"For, says the superstitious *Plutarch**, *FATE* had decreed that *Cesar* should have *ALL*."—*Cleopatra* was not only allowed to stay; but the insatuated *Antony*, whilst his Troops, furnished by all the Kings, Princes, and Nations of the *East*, from *Egypt* to the *Euxine* Sea, and from *Armenia* to *Illyricum*, were assembling; crossed over with her to the Island of *Samos*, there to abandon himself to equally ill-judged and ill-timed Rejoicings. Thither all Singers, Dancers, Buffoons, Players, Musicians, &c. were, by proclamation, commanded to repair: nothing was minded but Feasting and Diversion; so that whilst Grief, and dread of the approaching Calamities filled the rest of the World with Tears, Mirth and Pleasure seemed to have taken up their residence at *Samos*. Every City within the limits of *Antony's* Government was ordered to send thither an Ox to be sacrificed; and the Kings who attended him vied with each other, which should make the most sumptuous Entertainments, and give his Favourite the greatest Presents. Such was the height of their Luxury and Extravagance, that it became a common Question among the Spectators, *What they would do by way of Triumph after the Victory, who made such Rejoicings at the Opening of the War* †?

WHEN these Festivals, which lasted several days, were over, *Antony* sent his Players to *Priene*, there to wait his Orders, whilst he himself proceeded to *Athens*, where he lived after his usual Manner, spending his whole time in Luxury and Voluptuousness.—Another object then busied *Cleopatra*.—The Honours which *OCTAVIA* had received in that City (for her *VIRTUE* had raised the Admiration of all *Greece*, and justly merited every Mark of the highest Veneration), excited the Jealousy of the *Egyptian Queen*.—Sensible that the same Distinctions could never be conferred on her for the same Reasons, she substituted in their stead Caresses, and external tokens

* In Anton.

† *PLUT.* *ibid.*

of Favour towards the *Athenians*, who, always fond of flattering the Great, decreed her, in return, Honours beyond the Condition of Mortals, and sent this Decree to her, at her House, by a Deputation of their Citizens; at the Head of which *Antony*, being free of *Athens*, officiously put himself, and meanly harangued her, with fulsome Compliments, in the name of the People.—But he had done more than this before, at *Alexandria*.

THE Titles he had there given to her and to her Children; the large Provinces he had dismembered from the Empire, in order to augment her Dominions, and constitute new States for his newly created Kings; his barbarous Treatment of the virtuous *Octavia*; and his now acknowledging *Cleopatra* as his Wife; were Steps which rankled the Heart of every *Roman*; and of which *Octavius*, personally provoked at seeing *Cesar* set up in opposition to him, as the Son and Heir of *Cesar*, took every advantage to exasperate the People against *Antony*, who, on his side, was not more sparing of him.—Among other things, Letters were written by *Antony*, and industriously handed about, by way of *Manifesto*, in which not only the Conduct, but the Person and Character of *Cesar* were attacked without reserve. He represented him as a perfect Profligate; “ That having cruelly divorced his first Wife *Scribonia*, for no
“ other Reason than her complaining of his too great Attach-
“ ment to his Mistress, he had torn *Livia Drusilla* from the
“ Arms of her Husband; and not satisfied with that Mixture
“ of Insult, Lewdness, and Cruelty, employed his Friends in the
“ odious Office of stripping and inspecting ripe Virgins and mar-
“ ried Women for his Service, as if they had been standing for
“ sale in a Slave-market: nay, that in the height of his unbridled
“ Passions, he had forced a Lady of the first Quality out of a
“ Room full of Company, in the presence of her unhappy Hus-
“ band, and after some time brought her back, with her Face
“ and Ears glowing, and her Hair all in disorder.—With
“ what

“ what Face, said he, can *such* a Man find fault with my Love
 “ for *Cleopatra*, whom I acknowledge as my lawful Wife ?”
Antony's artfully offering, which he never intended in reality,
 to abdicate the *Triumvirate*, as being a Magistracy too powerful
 and absolute in a Republican State ; was as designingly answered
 by *Octavius's* taking the Consulship, tho' but for a few Hours ;
 and by his declaring, at the same time, that he was also ready
 to resign the Office of *Triumvir*, provided his Collegue came to
Rome, and made his Resignation in that City, the Centre of
 the Empire, and of all public Authority ; where alone it could
 be done with safety to either Party, by their both laying down
 their Power at one and the same time *. This Proposal seemed
 very reasonable ; though *Octavius* knew full well, when he
 made it, that he ran no risk of its being agreed to by his Rival,
 who, even if he had been free from *Cleopatra's* Fetters, would
 not have ventured to come to *Rome*, where he was sure of be-
 ing over-powered by *Cesar's* numerous Faction. .

THESE Disputes between the two *Triumvirs* occasioned
 long and violent Debates in the Senate ; for *Antony* still had a
 considerable Party there, and the two Consuls then in Office,
Domitius Enobarbus and *C. Sosius*, were intirely devoted to him :
 but with this difference, that *Domitius*, having learnt by Ex-
 perience the Danger of appearing zealous on such Occasions,
 behaved with great Moderation and Reserve : whereas *Sosius*,
 who had always been attached to *Antony*, and enjoyed a con-
 stant Flow of Happiness, shewed all that Pride which naturally
 results from a long Series of good Fortune. He openly
 opposed *Octavius* ; upon whose keeping away from the Senate,
 to avoid being exposed, *Sosius* would have passed a Decree
 very hurtful to his Interest, if the Tribune *Balbus* had not
 prevented it.

AT length *Octavius*, judging that his Absence might be im-
 puted to Fear or Weakness, and being at the same time un-

* Liv. Epit. CXXXI.

willing to make use of Force, or to seem to lay any Constraint on the Senate, went thither, and seated himself between the two Consuls; but with the Precaution of being attended by a Number of his Friends, armed with Poignards under their Robes. There he began with a modest Declaration, and an artful Apology for his Conduct: after which he inveighed bitterly against *Antony*, and *Sofius*, who was present, pretending to convict them of several Attempts against him and the Republic.—He was heard with Attention: but observing that this Speech was not attended with the least Mark of Approbation, he appointed another Day, on which he said he would produce such Proofs, as would set *Antony's* Designs in a full and proper Light. The Consuls, thinking it indecent for them to listen quietly to such an Accusation of *Antony*, when they durst not well shew their Resentment against it, left *Rome* privately, without waiting for the Day appointed, and went over to *Antony*, accompanied by several Senators.

OCTAVIUS, glad to get rid of all the Friends of *Antony*, rather than have them remain in *Italy*, ready, perhaps, to stir up Disorders when he might be absent or busied in War, seized this Opportunity to make an artful Shew of Moderation, by publicly declaring that he had not the least Intention to detain any of those who wished to join *Antony*; and that all such as chose to follow the Example of the Consuls, were at full liberty to depart as soon as they pleased. Almost all the Friends and Relations of *Antony* took him at his word. The noble POLLIO, who had not meddled in the least with *Antony's* Concerns since the Treaty of *Brindisi*, where he acted as his Plenipotentiary, being too conscious of his own Worth to condescend to make his Court to *Cleopatra*, and too grave to countenance her riotous Proceedings, remained quiet in *Italy*; not thinking himself at all obliged to take part with *Antony* in the Quarrel that was now breaking out. But at the same Time, judging it would be indecent for him to carry Arms against his old Friend

Friend and Benefactor, he remained neuter: and when *Octavius* proposed to him to attend him in the War, he flatly refused it, saying, *I have served Antony better, perhaps, than he has rewarded me: but as the Favours I have received at his Hands are more known than the Services I have done him, I will therefore wait the Event of the War, and run the risk of becoming the Prey of the Conqueror* *.

THE King of the *Medes* soon had Cause to repent his new Alliance with *Antony*. Supported by the Roman Legionaries, which this last had left him in Exchange for some of his *Median* Horse, he gained a Victory over the *Parthians*, and over his Rival *Artaxias*, whom they protected. But *Antony*, recalling his Troops, and not sending back those he had received in return, *Artaxias* was vanquished, taken Prisoner, sent to *Alexandria*, and there made away with, just before the *Ælian* War began, by Directions from *Antony*; whom he had formerly betrayed to the *Parthians*, and who was now afraid he might escape and join *Octavius*, with whom there were strong Suspicions of his being in Correspondence †. *Armenia* was thereby restored to *Artaxias*, and *Media* fell under the Domination of the *Parthians*. Such was the End of *Antony's* vast Projects with regard to the Upper *Asia*!

THOUGH both the Triumvirs were now making great Preparations for War, some possibility of a Reconciliation might perhaps still remain; when *Antony*, exasperated by the Reports of those who had left *Octavius* and gone over to him, and urged to it without doubt by the haughty *Cleopatra*, took a Step by which he for ever lost the Affection of every Roman. During his Stay at *Athens*, he solemnly divorced the virtuous OCTAVIA, and sent proper Officers to *Rome* to drive her out of his House. She obeyed without complaining, and retired to her own

* *Mea in Antonium majora merita sunt, illius in me beneficia notiora. Itaque discrimini vestro me subtraham, et ero præda victoris.* VILL. II. 86.

† STRAB. Lib. XII.

own House, taking with her all his Children, except *Antyllus*, his eldest Son by *Fulvia*, who was with his Father. She only lamented her hard Fate in being looked upon as one of the unhappy Causes of a civil War: but Men of Penetration well knew that her Brother's unbounded Ambition, which, not satisfied with one half of the *Roman* Empire, aspired at the whole, was the only real Cause. The *Romans*, who were Spectators of this affecting Scene, pitied her severe Misfortunes and *Antony's* extreme Weakness; especially such of them as had seen *Cleopatra*, who was no way preferable to *Octavia*, either for Youth, or Beauty.—Infatuated in every respect, he now lost in Diversions and Debaucheries with his *Egyptian* Enchantress, the precious Opportunity, which never more occurred, of attacking, and probably ruining, *Octavius* before he was sufficiently prepared, when all *Italy* was in the utmost Rage, and ready to take Arms against him*. But *Antony's* Delays gave him time not only to allay the Ferment, but also to win the People over to his side, and raise Forces nearly equal to those of his Enemy.

By divorcing *Octavia* and marrying *Cleopatra*, *Antony* committed two capital Errors.—By the first, he irretrievably lost the Friendship of his Collegue, which it appears by his Letters he thought might be still kept up: and by the second, he entirely forfeited the good Opinion of the *Romans*; who, tho' they allowed their Great Men as many foreign Mistresses as they pleased, looked upon his marrying the Queen, and giving her the Rights of a Wife, as a proof of a total Alienation, and that he was, in his Heart, no longer a *Roman*. Besides which he manifestly transgressed a plain Law, that defined legal Matrimony to be only between a *Roman* Man and a *Roman* Woman†, and

* P. 140.

† Legitimæ sunt Nuptiæ, si Romanus Romanam nuptiis intervenientibus, vel consensu ducat Uxorem.

CAH INSTIT. Lib. I. Tit. IV. DE MATRIMON.

and forbid it with Foreigners or Slaves*; in the same manner as it is prohibited in the Jewish Law †.

DURING *Antony's* Stay at *Athens*, many of his Friends, being ill used by *Cleopatra* for opposing her Design of attending him in the War, forsook him, and went over to *Octavius*: in particular, two of his *Privados* (as the Spaniards call Favourites), *PLANCUS*, the Uncle, and *TITIVS* the Nephew, left him.—This was an Acquisition of great consequence to *Cesar*.—*PLANCUS* whose Character has been already touched on ‡, was, for some time, one of *Cleopatra's* Sycophants, and privy to all *Antony's* Intrigues; debasing himself to the meanest Employments about him, even to the writing of his Love-Letters to the Queen and to other Women. Though he had been Consul, Commander in Chief of an Army, and Governor of a Province, he was not ashamed to appear at the *Egyptian* Court among common Actors, Buffoons, and Stage-Players; Wretches, whose Birth was as mean as their Profession. At a public Entertainment, to curry favour with the Queen, he took upon him to personate *Glaucus*; and having painted his Body green, danced quite naked on the public Stage, upon his Knees, with a Crown of Reeds upon his Head, and trailing behind him the tail of a huge Fish. This Behaviour, so unbecoming a Man of his Age and Quality, made him appear contemptible even in the Eyes of the *Egyptians*. This Contempt, together with *Antony's* reproaching him with some Extortions he had been guilty of, and for which he was under apprehensions of being punished, made him take the first Opportunity to go
over

* Cum Peregrinis et Servis Connubium ne esto.

Ibid.

† EXOD. C. XXXIV. v. 16. compared with I. *Kings*, C. XI. v. 2. would induce one to think that this Law was not universal against all Foreigners, but levelled against the neighbouring Nations, the Ammonites and Moabites, who did not meet Israel in their Journey. How else could MOSES marry first an Arab, and then an Æthiopian, or Moor, if, as some think, they were different persons?

‡ Vol. II. p. 85.

over to *Octavius*. Such, says *Velleius* *, (who had an opportunity of knowing *Plancus* extremely well, and who paints very naturally) and not Love of the Public, nor Esteem of the best Party, were the Motives which determined him to leave *Antony*. Nor is it difficult to reconcile this Account with that of *Plutarch* †; for it is not at all improbable that *Plancus* might advise sending away *Cleopatra* from the War, and that *Antony's* Anger on that account might burst out into those Reproaches, which were but too well founded.—*TITIUS*, the Nephew, lies under a heavy Suspicion of Ingratitude to a Benefactor, *S. Pompey*, who had saved his Life, and whom he, it was thought without order, put to Death in return. He was of a *factious* Family.—His Grandfather, by professing to tread in the Steps of *Saturninus*, the furious Tribune, and setting his Picture in the most conspicuous part of his House, gained such Popularity, as to dare to promulgate an Agrarian Law, which required all the Eloquence of *C. Antony*, (the greatest Orator in *Rome*) and weight of the Consular Power, to suppress.—His Father, *M. Titius*, bred under *Julius Cesar*, had gone through, as one of his Captains, all the Scenes of Iniquity, Rapine, and Murder, that necessarily happened in the Destruction of Liberty, and making way for a lawless Usurpation.

THE first Account we hear of this Youth is as Lieutenant to the flagitious *Dolabella*; then as the Tribune who preferred the mock-Law authorizing the *Triumvirate*. After this, he entered into *Cesar's* Service, where, being taken prisoner by *Menodore* in the *Sicilian* War, he was carried to *S. Pompey*, who gave him his Life, and used him as a Friend. He returned to *Rome* upon the Peace of *Miseno*, and followed the profuse and debauched *Antony's* Fortunes in *Asia*, where he became his Lieutenant-General. In that Capacity he is said to have perpetrated the unbidden Murder of *Sextus Pompey*. At least it was certainly believed to have been so, at *Rome*; for the Odium

lay

lay so flagrant upon him; that having by Extortion and changing Masters accumulated so much Wealth, as to be able to give Shews to the People, he was hissed and hooted out of one of them by the Spectators, who could not contain their Indignation at its being exhibited in the Theatre built by *Pompey the Great*.——Yet, as one acquainted with the *Eastern* Provinces, he was again made *Prefect* of *Syria* by *CESAR*, and had the honour to hold a Congress with *Phraates*, the *Parthian* Tyrant; and in *Cesar's* Name to receive the Eagles and Ensigns taken from *M. Crassus*, along with the King's own Sons, as Hostages in appearance, but in reality to screen them from the Vengeance due to their Father's Cruelties.

IT is not impossible but this may have been the daring *Pindaric* Poet mentioned by *Horace* in a passing Compliment, and perhaps criticized by him in the inimitable Ode addressed to *M. Antony's* youngest Son by *Fulvia*.—But as the *TITIAN* Family was numerous, I should rather imagine the Poet to have been a Grand-son of the famed *natural* Orator, *C. Titius*, whom *Cicero* declares to have arrived at as great a pitch of Eloquence, as it was possible for a *Roman* to attain without the *Grecian* Culture and much Study. His Speeches were so full of Wit, of pretty Tales, and Pleasantry, that they seemed to have dropped from an *Attic* Pen. He transplanted that same Wit into some Tragedies which he published, and shewed great Acuteness—but marred the Majesty of the Buskin.

THE Tribune, of whom I am speaking, was a sharp loquacious Fellow, but dissolute in his Manners and Deportment. His Gesture and Action, in defending Causes, was so much marked with these effeminate Motions, that the Managers of the Theatre contrived a lewd sort of a Dance, which they termed *TITIVS* * :—and one Day when he was lamenting his Fate, to tell Truth and never be believed, like *Cassandra*——

'Tis true, said the witty Consul, You are a *Cassandra*; and I
VOL. III. U could

* *Cic. in BRUTO.*

‘ could name a good many *Oilean Ajaxes*, who have taken you Prisoner *.’

WHATEVER may have been the real Cause that made these two Men, *Plancus* and *Titius*, leave *Antony*, *Octavius*, without troubling himself about that, received them with great Demonstrations of Friendship and Affection; and they, according to the usual Practice of Deserters, who, to justify their own Conduct, never fail to blame the Party they have left, railed violently in the Senate against *Antony*, and laid a thousand atrocious things to his Charge. *Plancus*, in particular, accused him of so many Crimes, and with such extreme Bitterness and Venom, that *Coponius*, an ancient Pretor, could not help reprimanding him severely, by saying to him, *This Antony must certainly have become a very bad Man the Evening before you left him* †.

OCTAVIUS listened to these Accusations with great Satisfaction; and *Cluvius*, one of his Partizans, seconding what had been said, urged many new ones, all of which sprung from *Antony*’s mad Passion for *Cleopatra*. He alledged, among other things, that he had given her the noble Library of *Pergamus*, consisting of two hundred thousand Volumes; that he had suffered the *Athenians* to salute her, in his Presence, by the Titles of Queen and Mistress; that frequently whilst he was giving Audience to Kings and Princes, he received Love-Letters from her, which he read before them; that one Day, when *Furnius*, a Person of considerable Rank, and the most eloquent among the *Romans*, was pleading before him, *Cleopatra* happening to appear, crossing the Forum in a Litter, *Antony* left the Assembly to follow her; and laying his Hand upon the Litter, went with her. These Reproaches would, perhaps, be thought trifling now-a-days; but they were judged to be so serious among the *Romans*, that it was not by attempting to extenuate, but by denying

* CIC. de ORAT.

† Multa, mehercule, fecit Antonius pridie quam tu illum relinqueres.

nying them, that such of *Antony's* Friends as still remained at *Rome* undertook to excuse him.

BUT nothing pleased *Octavius* better, or gave him more occasion of Triumph, than *Antony's* Will, the Purport of which, highly injurious and dishonourable to the *Roman* People, he was informed of by *Titius* and *Plancus*, who had signed it as Witnesses. This Will was lodged with the Vestals, who, upon *Octavius's* demanding it, answered, That they could not deliver it up without a sacrilegious Breach of the Trust reposed in them; but that *Octavius* might, if he thought fit, come and seize it himself. He did so; and after having read it over in private, and marked those Places which he thought most for his Purpose, he read it in full Senate, and then before all the People.—*Antony* therein declared, that *Cesar*, *Cesar's* Son by *Cleopatra*, was born in lawful Wedlock, and therefore was the true Heir of *Julius Cesar*: and that he himself was married to *Cleopatra*; to whom, and to her Children, he bequeathed enormous Gifts, not of Money or Jewels only, but of whole Kingdoms and Provinces of the *Roman* Empire: and,—which shocked the *Romans* most of all,—he ordered that his Body, wherever he should die, even tho' at *Rome*, should be sent into *Egypt*, to *Cleopatra*, there to be buried as she should direct.

OCTAVIUS, tho' in reality more piqued at the first of these Articles, which tended to dispossess him of the Inheritance he held only as the adopted Son of the Dictator, artfully laid the greatest Stress upon the last, as the most interesting to all the *Romans*; to whom, said he, the greatest of Indignities was offered by the Directions therein given for *Antony's* Burial, and who were to be robbed of their finest Provinces, to enrich a foreign Princess, a declared Enemy to *Rome*.—These Facts, indisputably proved from an authentic Instrument, estranged from *Antony* the Minds of many, who had, till then, pleaded his Cause with great Zeal: and even at this time some of his Friends

boldly declared, that they thought it an extraordinary and unprecedented way of Proceeding, to punish a man in his Lifetime for what was not to be put in Execution till after his Death.

ANTONY'S Friends, observing how much the People began to be disgusted at him, had recourse to Prayers and Intreaties to them; and in the mean time sent *Geminus*, one of the Party, to make a last Effort with him, and let him know, that, unless he altered his Conduct, he was in Danger of being deprived of the Office of Consul, to which he had been named for the ensuing Year, of being stripped of all his Governments, and declared a public Enemy. *Geminus's* Arrival alarmed *Cleopatra*, who, looking upon him as a Spy sent by *Octavia*, did all that lay in her Power to disoblige him, affronting him perpetually, and placing him always at the lowest End of the Table, where he was made the constant Butt of her insulting Rallery. *Geminus* bore it all with great Patience, in hopes of finding, at length, an Opportunity of talking with *Antony* in private. But at last being called upon, in the middle of a numerous Feast, to declare what had brought him to *Athens*; *The Business I come upon*, said he, *is not of a nature to be talked of over a Bottle: one Thing, however, I am charged by your Friends to tell you, which you may bear as well drunk as sober: Your Affairs will bear a much better Face, if you send Cleopatra back to Egypt* *. *Antony* was in a Passion; but *Cleopatra*, with an affected Coolness and a malicious Sneer, answered, *You have done very wisely, Geminus, to tell us this important Secret before it was extorted from you on the Rack!* A few Days after, *Geminus*, dreading the Effects of *Cleopatra's* Anger, made his escape; and returned to *Rome*, whither he was followed by many of *Antony's* Friends, no longer able to bear the ill Usage they received from the imperious Queen. Among these, *Plutarch* mentions particularly *M. Silanus*, who was afterwards *Octavi-*

us's

* PLUT. in Anton.

us's Collegue in the Consulship; and *Q. Dellius*, (*Antony's* first courtly Ambassador to *Cleopatra*) whom he calls the Historian, but who is better known by the Title which *Messala* gave him, of the *Faulter* † of the civil Wars, because he had left *Dolabella* for *Cassius*, *Cassius* for *Antony*, and now *Antony* for *Octavius*. *Seneca* the Father quotes several very gallant Letters of his writing to *Cleopatra*.—Towards the latter End of the time that he was with *Antony* he displeased the *Egyptian* Queen, by saying at an Entertainment, where the Wine was not to his mind, that *Antony's* Friends were served with Vinegar, while *Sarmentus*, (one of *Cesar's* Buffoons, mentioned by *Horace* ‡,) drank nothing but *Falernum* at *Rome*. *CLEOPATRA* was so offended at this Joke, that she ordered *DELLIUS* to be privately murdered: but he, being informed of her Design by one *Glaucus*, her Physician ||, saved himself by Flight. This, at least, is what he said; perhaps to excuse his Perfidy.

R O M E.

† *DESULTOR* ** *bellorum civilium*.

SEN. Suafor. I.

** A Metaphor taken from an Exercise in Horsemanship, long disused, but lately revived by the famous *Mr. JOHNSON*, particularly in the environs of *London*.—The Rider used to take four or six Horses, according to his strength, and, at full gallop, in a Ring, jump from Horse to Horse till he had rode them all. *Mithridates* King of *Pontus* used to drive eight, some say twelve, coursers in this manner.——This Rider was called *Desultor*; the Epithet wittily given by *Messala* to *Dellius*, and so happily applied, that it stuck to him for ever.——And here we cannot but observe in justice to our modern *Desultor*, *Mr. Johnson*, whom we could not miss this fair Opportunity of introducing, that if he has not yet equalled the Monarch of *Pontus* by riding so great a number of Horses; he seems, if we are rightly informed, to have surpassed him in the superior Dexterity of riding upon his Head.

‡ Lib. I. Sat. 5. where the Poet gives a description of a Combat between him and another Buffoon called *Cicerrus*. He was one of those Youths whom the Romans called *Deliciae*, *Mignons*.

|| Besides *Glaucus*, *Cleopatra* had another Physician, named *DIOSCORIDES*, a Native of *Anazarbus*, who got the Epithet of *Dioscorides* *Phaxis* from the multitude of Wens on his face. He wrote twenty-two Volumes, all on medicinal Subjects, and greatly esteemed.

SUIDAS in NOMA.

ROME echoed with Complaints and Reproaches against *Antony*. His old Adversaries, as well as those who had lately deserted his Party, all joined in condemning him; and his own Conduct was still more hurtful to him than all the Speeches that were made to his Disadvantage. A Slave to *Cleopatra*, he seemed to have no other Will than that of his Queen, who had the assurance to promise herself the Empire of *Rome*; and who, when she wanted to confirm a thing by Oath, swore by the Laws she would dictate in the *Capitol* to the whole Universe. She had already a *Roman* Guard, the Soldiers of which had her Name engraved upon their bucklers.—This gave *Octavius* ample Foundation to make the *Romans* fear that *ANTONY*, in case he remained Conqueror, would subject them to *CLEOPATRA*, and transfer the Seat of the Empire from *Rome* to *Alexandria*.—*Antony* seemed intirely to have forgot that he was a *ROMAN*. He had now quite laid aside not only the Manners and Maxims, but even the Dress of his Country; frequently appearing upon a Throne of Gold, clothed like an eastern Prince, glittering with Purple and precious Stones, a *Median* Sabre by his side, a golden Sceptre in his hand, and, if we may believe *Florus*, a Diadem upon his head. He had abolished the Use of the old Name of *Pretorium*, which signified, with the *Romans*, the Tent and Apartment of the General in Camp, or the Habitation of the supreme Magistrate in the Provinces; and substituted in its stead *BAETAEION*, a royal Tent or Habitation; as if he had yielded the Pre-eminence and Right of Command to *Cleopatra*. In short, in the same manner as *Cleopatra* gave herself out for the new *ISIS*, and assumed to herself the Attributes of that Goddess, in the Pictures and Statues that were made for her; so *Antony* would be painted, or represented in Brass or Marble, at her side, with the Symbols which characterised *OSIRIS*.

ANTONY, as if he had industriously studied to render himself odious to the *Romans*, at last completed his Ruin. *Octa-*

was obtained a Decree, depriving him of the Consulship he was to have enjoyed the following Year, and of all Command in the Commonwealth, which he had already given up to a Woman.—With his usual Policy, he would not suffer him to be declared a public Enemy; either because he durst not carry matters to that Extremity, on account of the Friends which *Antony* had still at *Rome*; or to keep up to that System of *Moderation* which he had prescribed to himself ever since his Victory over *Sextus Pompey*.—If *ANTONY* had been declared an Enemy to the Public, all those that were attached to him, among whom were several Persons of Distinction, would have been involved in the same Condemnation.—But *Octavius* was so far from wanting to lose them, that he was glad, on the contrary, to leave them an Opening to come over to him.

IN consequence of this System, all things being ready, WAR was declared only against *CLEOPATRA*. The Proclamation was made with all the usual Ceremonies, and the *Romans* put on their military Garb, as for an imminent Danger, which greatly interested the Safety of the Republic.——*OCTAVIUS* then made a Speech to the People, in which he told them, That *ANTONY*, enchanted by a Sorceress, was no more himself; the Drugs and Philtres administered to him by *Cleopatra*, having deprived him of his Reason: so that the chief Conductors of the War against them would be *Mardion*, the Eunuch, and *Pothinus*; *Cleopatra's* Tire-woman *Iras*, and her Maid *Charmion**, who were already become *Antony's* Counsellors, and Prime Ministers of State.

THIS

* Ἐπὶ δὲ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἰκανῶς, ψαφίζεται Κλεοπάτρα πολίμην, ἀφιέσθαι δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀντωνίου ὅς ἐξῆν γυναικί. καὶ προσεῖπεν Καίσαρ Ὡς Ἀντώνει μιν ὑπὸ φαρμάκων οὐδ' ἑαυτῇ κρᾶσιν; πολίμῃσι δὲ αὐτοῖς Μαρδίων ὁ Ἀνῆχθ' καὶ Ποθινὸς καὶ Ἐίρας ἡ Κλεοπάτρας κουρεύτρια καὶ Κάμμιν ἡφ' ἧν τὰ μέγιστα δοικῆται τῆς ἡμετέρας. ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧ. Ἀντωνίου.

These Maids of Honour seem to have been *Syrians*. *BOCHART*, from *Tzetzes* (*Chil. 6. Hist. 44.*) observes that Ἐίρας should be wrote Σαίρα or Ταίρα, coming from

THIS *Shew* of Moderation in favour of *Antony*, who was not once mentioned in the Declaration of War †, tended only to render him contemptible, and at the same time more reproachable and odious; since, without being personally attacked, he was now to fight against his Country and Fellow-Citizens, for a strange Woman. He saw through his Enemy's design, was excessively provoked at it, demanded a new Oath, and swore solemnly at the head of his Army, that he never would make either Peace or even a Truce with *Octavius*. He added, but without any real Intention to perform his promise, that he would abdicate the *Triumvirate* within two Months after the Victory.—His Soldiers pressed him to take six, which, with much *seeming* Reluctance, he at length agreed to.—*Octavius*, on his side, engaged all *Italy*, by Oath, to serve him in the War against *Antony*. Only the City of *Bologna*, which had always been under the Protection of *Antony's* Family, asked and obtained leave not to enter into this League against its Patron.

THE whole of this Year, the second peaceable one that *Rome* had enjoyed since the Ending of the *Sicilian War*, passed in formidable Preparations between the two rival *Triumvirs*, without any actual Hostilities committed on either side. But just before the Sword determined their respective Claims, whilst their Fleets and Armies were formed, and almost ready to engage,

from *Tair* a Bird; and *Χαρισμός*, *Χαρισμός* or *Χαριῆς*, from *כַּרְם* *Charm* a Vine, and *יונה* *Juno*, a Dove, of the Species called *ὄνας* *Vinago*: he might easily have added, That the Eunuch *Mardion* was of the same Nation, and had a Name very much befitting his Station, from the Chaldee *מָרְדִּיךְ* *Marat* or *Marad*, to shave, make bald, to smooth and polish. The Girls Names would certainly be abbreviated at Court; and if they were to be translated, we should call the one Miss *Bird*, the other Miss *Dove*; and the two Gentlemen, Mr. *Smooth*, and Mr. *Lovely*. These Names give us a small Taste of the Strain and Manner of that luxurious Court. The last Name is Greek, from *ἡδονή*, *Love*, *Desire*.

† HORACE has imitated the Reserve of his Patron in this point, by not so much as once mentioning the Name of *Antony* in the many Lines he has written upon this War.—VIRGIL has been less circumspect.

gage, a *paper* War broke out between the two Generals, who wrote very sharp and reflecting Letters to each other. *Octavius* reproached *Antony* with the Prodigality of his Entertainments, and his Intrigues with *Cleopatra*. *Antony*, on the other hand, reminded *Octavius* of his famous Banquet of the twelve Gods (a Scene, it must be owned, far more scandalous than any thing that *Antony* had ever been guilty of), and of his many other notorious Acts of Lewdness; to which he added the Charge of Cowardice, founded on his Behaviour in all the Battles at which he had been present. The young *Cesar*, nettled at this last Accusation, answered, That it was childish to fight any longer with the Pen; but that if he would approach at the Head of his Army, he should be suffered to land in *Italy* without Molestation, that his Fleet should have safe Ports, and his Land-Forces Ground enough to encamp on, and put themselves in Order of Battle. In Return to these Bravadoes, *Antony*, though much the oldest of the two, challenged his Rival to a single Combat; and sent him word, That if he declined the Challenge, he was ready to meet him at the head of his Army in the Plains of *Pharsalia*, where *Cesar* and *Pompey* had formerly decided their Quarrel.

In the mean while, *Octavius* made the most of the time, which the ill-judged Delays of his Adversary afforded him, to strengthen his Fleet and Army, and guard against the Commotions which his Absence might occasion in *Italy*. He had the more reason to be afraid of these, as he knew that *Antony*, whom the opulent Countries of *Asia* and the *East* furnished with immense Riches, had sent considerable Sums to *Italy*, and even to *Rome* itself, in order to re-animate the Courage of his old Friends, and, if possible, gain him new ones. This determined *Octavius* to distribute a Donative to his Soldiers, to strengthen their Fidelity against any Attempts that might be made to corrupt them; and, at the same time, he placed Troops in such Places as he suspected, or were exposed to the

Insults of the Enemy. His Fleet and Army were assembled at *Brindisi*, and towards Autumn *Antony* arrived at the Island of *Corcyra*, where he again missed a fair Opportunity of greatly annoying his hitherto not well prepared Enemy: for some of *Cesar's* Vessels, sent out only for Intelligence, appearing upon the neighbouring Coast, he imagined that *Octavius's* whole Fleet was at Sea, and thereupon retired towards *Peloponnesus*, put his Troops in Winter-Quarters, and spent that Season himself at *Patras*.

SUCH was the Situation of Affairs when *Octavius* took possession of his third Consulate*, having for his Colleague the great *MESSALA*, who was substituted in the Room of *Antony*.

IN the Beginning of the Spring, the Armies began to move, and the Seas to be covered with the gathering Fleets. *ANTONY's* Preparations were great and splendid, suitable to the Power of the Man who possessed the largest and richest Half of the *Roman* Empire. He had upwards of an hundred thousand Foot, and twelve thousand of the very best Cavalry, under his Command, besides the additional Assistance of several auxiliary Kings, who brought him their choicest Troops, more in Number than he found afterwards he had any use for. Among these were *Tarcondemus* King of *Upper Cilicia*, and his Son *Philopater*, *Rhymetalces* the *Thracian*, *Mitbridates* of *Commagene*, *Deiotarus* the *Galatian*, surnamed *Philadelphus*, *Bocchus*, or *Bogud*, King of *Mauritania*, *Jamblicus* the *Arab*, and the bold *Amyntas* King of *Pamphylia* and *Lycaonia*. These, with *Archelaus* of *Cappadocia*, who owed his Greatness to *Antony* and his Mother, came all in Person to assist the Man of whom they held their Crowns and Kingdoms; besides *Polemo*, who, from a private Man, had deserved the Royalty of *Pontus*. *Herod* the *Jew*, of the same Character, and another *Arabian* Prince, *Malchus*, not daring to leave their own Provinces, sent Men and Money to *Antony*. *Herod* sent him what Troops he could spare,

* A. U. DCCXXI.

spare, and twelve thousand five hundred Bushels of Corn : and *Cleopatra*, as in truth she had most Interest in the Undertaking, furnished two hundred Ships, three hundred and ninety-seven thousand five hundred Pounds (δισμύρια ταλάντα) in Money, for the Payment of the Troops, and Provisions for the whole War.—The *Athenians* too were very zealous on his side. His long Stay among them, and their Dislike to the Name of *Cesar*, attached them to *Antony*, who had several of the old staunch *Pompeians* in his Camp; among whom were *Cassius* of *Parma*, and *Domitius Enobarbus*.

CLEOPATRA'S Alliance was of more consequence, and the Weight she threw into *Antony's* Scale much greater than is commonly attended to.—The Mischief she did in the Course of the grand Transaction, has obliterated her otherwise powerful Assistance.—It is true, her Troops were of no great Significancy; being of such a Character as the Pope's Guards, or our City trained-Bands. But her Marine chiefly sailed the Fleet; she replenished the military Chest with her Treasures, and cloathed the Legions with her Manufactures. Nor was the Counsel of so superior a Genius as *Cleopatra* to be undervalued, as appeared by her amazing Projects, and the masterly Methods she took to obtain her own Ends.—It is allowed that her Pride, her Insolence, her Lewdness, and other unbridled Passions, frequently defeated the Effects of her great Understanding: but had she been joined with another Leader than a besotted obsequious Lover, who would have checked the Exorbitances, and improved the Advantages of her Alliance, it might have proved such an Addition of Power and Stratagem, as might have determined the Fate of the War.

OCTAVIUS'S Forces were assembled at *Brindisi* and *Tarentum*, and with them all such as were most distinguished, and had the greatest Influence among the Orders of Senators and Knights. He purposed to employ the Knights in actual Service, and to secure the Fidelity of the Senators, by keeping

several of them about his Person. At the same time he was glad to shew openly to the whole World, that the Chiefs and Body of the *Roman Empire* were unanimously interested in Support of his Cause.—He had no foreign Princes in his Army, which amounted only to eighty thousand Foot, but was as strong in Cavalry as the Enemy's:—nor had he more than two hundred and fifty Ships; which were much smaller than those of *Antony*, but better built, more nimble, and far better manned with Sailors and Rowers, who understood how to work them perfectly well: whereas the large Hulks of which *Antony's* Fleet consisted, seemed built merely for Shew and Ostentation, were half empty, and had neither Pilots nor Mariners, but Men who had been forced into the Service, many of whom had never so much as seen the Sea; such as Husbandmen, Carriers, and even Boys pressed in *Greece*, which had been exhausted long before: nor could a sufficient Number be found even of these.

EVERY Part of the *Roman Empire* was now in motion. *Antony's* Dominions reached from the *Euphrates* and *Armenia* as far as the *Ionian Sea*; and to these vast Regions must be added *Egypt* and *Cyrenaica*. *Octavius* had on his side *Africa*, from the District of *Cyrene*, as far as the Great Sea; *Spain*, *Gaul*, *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and the Islands of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. But *Italy* did not supply him with Forces only:—it was also a great Support, and a very advantageous Ornament to his Party, as *Virgil* expresses it, when, describing the Battle of *Ætium*, so much celebrated by the Poets of those Days*, he represents, on one Side, *Octavius*† (who had obtained the Title of *AUGUSTUS*

* HORACE, Epod. IX. OVID, Metamorph. Lib. XV. and PROPERT. Lib. IV. Eleg. 6.

† Hinc Augustus agens Italos in prælia Cæsar,
Cum Patribus Populoque, Penatibus et magnis Dis.
Hinc ope barbaricâ variisque Antonius armis.
Victor ab Auroræ populis et littore rubro,
Ægyptum, viresque Orientis, et ultima secum.
Bac̃tra vehit; sequiturque, nefas! Ægyptia conjux.

VIRG. ÆN. Lib. VIII.

GUSTUS at the time when the Poet wrote this) leading *Italy* to the Fight, accompanied by the Senate and People, the Household Gods of *Rome*, and the tutelar Deities of the Empire; and, on the other, *Antony* dragging after him a Train of motely armed barbarous Nations, *Egypt*, the *East*, *Bactria*, and, to complete the Ignominy, an *Egyptian* Wife, who followed, or rather commanded him.

OCTAVIUS, in embarking his Troops, took particular Care to imitate the wise Example of his great Uncle *Julius*, in not suffering his Ships to be loaded with useless Hands, or superfluous Stores; but carefully regulated the Number of Slaves each Officer or Senator was to take with him, and the Quantity of Provisions.

WHEN every thing was ready for the general Departure, he detached *Agrippa* with a numerous Squadron to harraßs the Enemy. That brave Commander acquitted himself successfully of his Commission: he made Descents on several Parts of *Greece*, took some Towns, and among others *Methona*, now *Modon*; in the Defence of which *Bocchus*, King of *Mauritania*, lost his Life. But the most important Exploit of *Agrippa*, in this Expedition, was his seizing a large Convoy of Provisions and military Stores, which was coming to *Antony* from *Syria* and *Egypt*. After this happy Opening of the Campaign, *Agrippa* rejoined *Octavius*, who thereupon set sail with all his Forces, and landed his Troops at the *Aceraunian* or *Thunder-Hills*, now called the Mountains of *Chimera*, with Orders to march along the Coast as far as the *Ambracian* Bay, now the Gulph of *Larta*, about sixty Miles on this side of the Gulph of *Lepanto*, where the naval Power of the *Turks* was broken in MDLXXI.—He then took possession of *Corfica*, which the Enemy had abandoned, and soon after sailed himself with his Fleet towards the Bay of *Ambracia*.—This Bay, which is full of good Ports, is safe from all Storms, and the Country on each Side is very fruitful. Two Necks of Land, the Souther-
most:

most called the Promontory of *Ætium*, on which stood the City of that Name, and the Temple of the *Ælian Apollo*; and the other, now called *Cape Figalo*, remarkable for the Town of *Nicepolis*, now *Preveza*, built there by *Octavius*, in Memory of his Victory, form this Bay, the Entrance of which is about a Mile over.

ANTONY'S, or rather the *Egyptian Fleet* lay at anchor before *Ætium*, where his Army was also encamped, near his Ships, when *Octavius*, crossing the *Ionian Sea*, suddenly seized upon a little Fort and Harbour in *Epirus*, called *Toryne*; which secured him a Retreat on the *Eastern Coast*, in case of Need, and proved of great Advantage to him for watering his own Fleet, and harrassing *Antony's*, as it commanded the North Bar of the Bay. The next Morning, as soon as it was light, he appeared off *Ætium* with his Ships in Order of Battle; and, in his turn, missed an Opportunity of ruining his Enemy. *Antony's Men* were already so discouraged by *Cesar's* taking *Toryne*, that it was with Difficulty he, and *Cleopatra*, who affected to make a Joke of the Loss of that Place, kept them from mutinying; especially as a great Number of his Land-Forces, and particularly the Legions under *Canidius*, were not yet arrived, and, at least, one Third of his new Sailors, unaccustomed to the Sea, had perished with Hardships and Diseases. Had *Octavius*, therefore, attacked *Antony* now, when he had but very few Soldiers on board his Vessels, he must certainly have gained an easy and complete Victory. But *Antony's Address* saved him from this Danger. Suspending all the Oars of his Ships in such a Manner, that their Blades appeared in the Air on both Sides of the Vessels, he armed all his Rowers and Mariners like Soldiers, placed them upon the Decks, and with that false Shew of Force sailed up into the Mouth of the Gulph, as if he had been, in all Points, prepared for an Engagement. *Octavius*, deceived by this Stratagem, retired, and fell to fortifying his Camp upon the North Side of the Gulph of *Ambracia*, by
drawing

drawing three Lines of Communication from it to the Port of *Camarus*, upon the *Ionian* Sea.—*Antony* occupied the two Points which commanded the Entrance of the Gulph, so that he could easily go in and out when he pleased: his Camp was extended in the Plain below *Ætium*, and separated from that of the Enemy by the Breadth of the Gulph.

THE two Armies remained some time in this Position, *Octavius* endeavouring to bring *Antony* to a Battle before his Reinforcements were arrived, and the other as studiously avoiding it till they had joined him. That done, *Antony* grew bolder, transported Part of his Army to the other Side where the *Cæsareans* were, and there formed a new Camp, leaving, however, the main Body of his Troops in the old one near *Ætium*. *Octavius* then seemed less ardent to engage: but whilst he himself remained quiet, he had always some Detachments at work, both by Sea and Land.—In order to harass *Antony*, and oblige him, if possible, to quit his Post, he sent several Bodies of Troops into *Greece* and *Macedonia*; and *Agrippa*, by his Order, having put himself at the Head of a powerful Squadron, attacked and carried, in full View of *Antony's* whole Fleet, the Town and Island of *Santa Maura*, the ancient *Leucas*, (famed for the Lover's Leap) and soon after the adjacent Cities of *Patras* and *Corinth*.

WHILE the Camps were thus opposed to one another, *Titius* persuaded *Octavius's* General, *Statilius Taurus*, to give him some Troops of Horse for a Sally he intended to make; and described the Design so to him, that he resolved to join in the Attempt. Accordingly they fell suddenly upon *Antony's* Cavalry, and routed them; and whether they took *Philadelphus* the *Cappadocian* Prisoner, or found means to talk otherwise to him, I know not, but they brought him over with all his People to *Cesar*.——*Titius* must have been of his Acquaintance while he was in high Favour with *Antony*, and could therefore persuade him the more effectually.—*Agrippa's* Success, and the

Beha-

Behaviour of *Cleopatra*, made the Balance now incline to *Octavius's* Side, and staggered the Fidelity of a great many of *Antony's* Friends: for, soon after *Philadelphus* had left him, another of his Favourites, the well known *Dellius*, followed his Example; and the Kings *Deiotarus* and the brave *Amyntas* were likewise so happy as to change to the safest Side. Desertions, even of very illustrious Persons, became frequent; but none gave such Pain to *Antony*, or such Joy to *Cesar*, as that of *Domitius Enobarbus*, the best Man that ever was of his Name. His Reputation was so great, that being named Lieutenant-General for the War, he was pressed to set up for himself by the best of *Antony's* Friends, who were ashamed of *Cleopatra*, and yet would not join his Enemy. He was then in a very uncertain State of Health, which is thought to have been the Reason why he could not venture either to accept, or flatly refuse the Offer made him; and therefore, to rid himself of the Pain of Irresolution, and, perhaps, from the Fear of *Antony's* Resentment, should he discover what had been in agitation, but most certainly provoked beyond measure by *Cleopatra's* Haughtiness, he threw himself into a Boat, tho' at that very time ill of a Fever, and passed happily over to *Octavius*, who received him and all the rest with high Marks of Favour, and prognosticated good Things to himself from these Preludes. *Antony*, highly provoked, gave out, that *Domitius* had left him only because he could not bear the Absence of a Mistress, *Servilia Naïs*, who was in *Italy*; but at the same time, contrary to *Cleopatra's* Advice, he generously sent after him all his Equipage, Friends, and Servants. *Domitius's* Death, which happened a few Days after, seemed to confirm the former of these Opinions, and to shew that *Antony* had published that Story, only to diminish the Infamy of being left by a Man of such Weight and Character*. Tho' he did not live to be of any personal Service to *Octavius*, yet his Example weakened the

Esteem

* Suet. NERO, §. 3.

Esteem of the Party he had abandoned; and was an Inducement to others to do the same. Of this Number was *Rhymetalces* King of *Thracia*, who drew upon himself a severe Reproof from *Cesar*. Being at Supper, one Evening; in *Cesar's* Tent, with several others of the same Quality, he drank till his Tongue became quite ungovernable, and talked of the Merit of his leaving *Antony*, and the Value that *Cesar* ought to set upon his Alliance, till there was no longer any bearing of him: upon which *Octavius*, taking a Goblet in his Hand; drank to another of the royal Company who had been his constant Friend. *For my part, Sir, said he, I love a Treason with all my Heart, but I have no great Opinion of the Traitor* *.

THESE Desertions both exasperated *Antony*; and drove him to Acts of Cruelty. Whether with or without Cause, I will not pretend to say, he ordered *Jamblicus*, Prince of a Tribe of *Arabs*, to be racked to Death; and being informed that *Q. Posthumius*, a Senator, intended to leave him, he barbarously set a Mob of Russians upon him, who tore him in pieces. — Truly to be pitied now; if Vice and Folly deserve Commiseration, *Antony*, by one of those strange Turns which violent Passions frequently take, passed on a sudden from one Extreme to another. He began to suspect even *Cleopatra* of no less a Crime than a Design to poison him; and, full of this Idea, he ordered every Thing that was served up to be tasted before him. The Queen laughed at his Fears; and, to cure him of them, one Day that they were feasting together, and grew pretty warm and merry, each of them being crowned with Garlands, she took off her Chaplet, the Edges of the Flowers of which had been dipped in Poison, and proposed, as a new Frolic, that they should drink their Garlands. The Proposal was immediately agreed to, and the Flowers were stripped off and thrown into the Bowl; which *Antony* was carrying to his Head, when she, clapping her Hand between it and his Mouth, said to him,

VOL. III. Y “ I am

* Εγὼ προδοσίαν φιλοῦμαι, προδοτὰς δ' οὐκ ἵπαινω.

ΠΛΟΥΤ. Αποθγμ.

“ I am the Person, my dear *Antony*, against whom you take this
 “ new Precaution of having Tasters. Think you that, if I
 “ valued Life without you, I should want either Opportunities
 “ or Contrivance to accomplish what you fear?” Then sending
 for a Malefactor, who was under Sentence of Death, she
 made him drink up the Wine, and he expired immediately.*
 —A Jest of this Kind would have made a very disagreeable Im-
 pression on a Man naturally suspicious: but, with *Antony*; it
 served only to renew his former blind Confidence in *Cleopatra*.

At length *Canidius* arrived with the rest of *Antony*'s Legions,
 and, seeing the Danger nearer, changed his Mind, or at least
 his Language, with respect to *Cleopatra*; advising his General
 by all means to send her back, not to trust his Fortunes to a
 Sea-Engagement, but to retire into *Thrace* or *Macedonia*, there
 to decide the Quarrel with his Land-Forces, to which *Dicomes*
 King of the *Getae* was ready to join a great Army. “ It will
 “ not, said *Canidius* to him, be any Disparagement to you to
 “ quit the Sea to *Cesar*, who, in his Wars with *Pompey*, has
 “ gained so great Experience in maritime Affairs. But it will
 “ be renouncing both Sense and Reason for you, who are the
 “ most experienced Land-Officer in the World, to make no
 “ other Use of your well disciplined and stout Troops, but to
 “ disperse them on board several Ships, and render them use-
 “ less in the Defence of a Navy.—What can be more absurd,
 “ than to depend upon the Sea and Winds for a Victory, which
 “ the Valour and Experience of your Soldiers, whom you have
 “ tried in so many Dangers, leave you no Room to doubt of
 “ by Land?”—These solid Reasons would certainly have
 prevailed with *Antony*, if he had still been capable of judging
 for himself; but he saw nothing but by *Cleopatra*'s Eyes, nor
 determined upon any thing but by her Directions.—Dreading
 the Fatigues of Marches and Encampments, and determined at
 all Events not to leave him, she strongly opposed *Canidius*'s Ad-
 vice,

vice, and prevailed on *Antony*, with whom her Words were Oracles, to hazard the Empire and his Life in a Sea-Fight. Even then, says *Plutarch*, she was revolving in her own Mind, not how she might most effectually assist *Antony* to obtain the Victory; but how she might, when all was lost, make her Escape with the greatest Safety.

ANTONY having now, out of a shameful Complaisance for *Cleopatra*, and against his own Opinion, as well as that of all his Officers, determined to put the Event of ALL upon a Sea-Engagement, went often from his Camp to the Place where his Fleet rode at Anchor; sometimes alone, and sometimes attended only by a few particular Friends, not suspecting any Danger. One of *Octavius's* Slaves having observed him, ran immediately to his Master, and told him, that he had seen *Antony* walking without any Distrust, and slenderly attended, from his Camp to the Sea-Side. Upon this *Octavius*, the same Night, ordered a Party of chosen Men to cross the Gulph, which, as I said before, was very narrow at the Entrance, and lie in wait for *Antony* on the Neck of Land which led from his Camp to the Sea. His Orders were executed with such Secrecy, and the whole Affair was so well conducted, that had it not been for the Impatience of some Soldiers, who discovered themselves too soon, *Antony* had been seized, and an End put to the War without shedding a Drop of Blood: for they took the Officer who walked just before him, and it was with the utmost Difficulty that he himself escaped, by running with all his Speed.

As the Number of *Antony's* Mariners was not sufficient for all his Ships; and as he knew the Effeminacy of the *Egyptians*, who, he doubted, would be ready to turn their Backs as soon as the Fight began; he burnt all their Vessels, except sixty, which he left as a Guard for the Queen. He then picked out his best Gallies from three Ranks of Oars to ten, and put on board them twenty thousand legionary Soldiers and two thou-

land Archers.—While they were embarking, an old experienced Centurion, who had fought long under *Antony*, and bore the Marks of many a fierce Encounter, could not endure the Thoughts of being transformed into a Marine; but, as *Antony* passed by, called to him aloud, saying; * *Noble General! When was it that ever this old Body of mine, or this trusty Sword, failed you, that you betake yourself to those vile Logs of Wood for Security? Let the dastardly Egyptians and Phœnicians skulk between Boards at Sea; but give your Legions a fair Field and firm Ground to stand on, where we will either die or gain the Victory.* *Antony* made no Answer; but with a Motion of his Hand and Head, seemed to bid him take Courage, that all would be well; and so passed forwards, having himself no good Opinion of the Posture of his Affairs, as plainly appeared from his Behaviour towards his Pilots, who were for leaving their Sails behind, as being of no Use in an Engagement: but he ordered them to take them all, saying, *We must not let one of the Enemy escape; which was putting a good Face upon a bad Cause.*—*Cesar* left all his Sails behind, being prepared for nothing but Action.

It was a Piece of the highest good Fortune to *Octavius*, that the Contest was, by the ill-fated Counsels of *Gleopatra*, and contrary to the better Opinion of *Antony* himself, who had long wavered in his Plan, turned from a Land-War, to an Engagement by Sea. *Octavius* had neither Troops nor Generals equal to *Antony's*. *Canidius*, *Sossius*, *Ventidius*, and indeed most of the old experienced Commanders, bred under *Julius Cesar*, stuck by *Antony*, whose Auxiliaries were triple the Number of *Octavius's*; and he himself far outstripped him as a General.—On the other Hand, he had no Admiral equal to *Agrippa*; and tho' his Ships were larger, yet neither his Rowers nor Mariners were so expert or trained as *Cesar's*, to whom the Conquest of *Pompey* had partly formed, and partly brought the best
Sea-

Seamen of the Empire.—To these Advantages in favour of *Octavius*, must be added another, of very great Importance to his Cause.—*Antony's* Wildness, and the ruinous Courses he pursued, on one Hand, and *Cesar's* comparative Sobriety and legal Conduct for some time past, on the other, had at last determined the noble and upright *MESSALA* to give the Sanction of his Presence to this Expedition, and accompany *Cesar* to the War.—It was a grand Acquisition, both as a General and a Patriot. *Octavius* was sensible of its great Value; and happening one day to express his high Satisfaction, That tho' he had been his fiercest Enemy at *Philippi*, yet he was now his firmest Friend, he received the celebrated Answer, dictated by superior Virtue, *You will always find me, CESAR, upon the Side of the COMMON-WEALTH.*

ANTONY ranged his Fleet before the Mouth of the *Ambracian* Gulph, near the Shore; giving the Command of the right Wing to *Gallius Publicola*, that of the left to *Sesius*, and trusting the Center to *Marcus Octavius* and *M. Jussius*. He himself had no particular Post, chusing to go about from one Place to another, according as his Presence should be necessary.

CESAR's Fleet was drawn up over against that of *Antony*, but farther out at Sea. His right was commanded by *M. Lurius*, and his left by *L. Aruntius*, both under *Agrippa*, who commanded in chief, and upon whom the whole Action entirely depended. The great *Messala* had also a Command in this Fleet; but it is not certain what that Command was. As to *Octavius* himself, surrounded by a Number of little Boats appointed to carry his Orders, by way of Aids-de-camp, his Post, as well as that of *Antony*, was to watch the Events of the Battle.

THE two Land-Armies, simple Spectators of the Engagement, were drawn up on each Side of the Bay; that of *Antony* commanded by *Canidius*, and that of *Octavius* by *Statilius Taurus*, encouraging the two Fleets which were going to engage.

trusting to the Bulk and Height of their Ships, put their left Wing in motion. *Agrippa* beheld this with great Satisfaction, and ordered his right Wing to fall back, in order to draw the Enemy as far out as possible, that his light Gallies might have an Opportunity of surrounding *Antony's* heavy Ships, whose vast Size, and want of Hands in proportion to their Rates, rendered them unwieldy and unfit for Service.

THE Battle began about two o'Clock in the Afternoon of the second of September *, and lasted till almost Night. It was of a singular Kind.----I have elsewhere observed, that the Sea Engagements among the Ancients were principally dreadful by the furious Shock of the encountering Ships, which ran down and dashed each other to pieces with all the Force and Rapidity that Oars could give them; and for that end they had their Prows plated with Brass and prominent Beaks of Iron. The better Rowers had an Art of sweeping off a Tire of the Enemy's Oars, which disabled the Vessel; and sometimes while the Marines were fighting from the Deck, others were busy in boring Holes 'twixt Wind and Water to sink the Ship. The Unwieldiness and Bulk of *Antony's* Ships rendered the first Sort of Combat impracticable, and made the Action more like a Land Battle, or rather the Attack of a Fort, than an Engagement at Sea: for three or four of *Augustus's* light Gallies would beset one of the Enemy, and one of them try to brush off her Oars, another to bore her Sides, a third to set her on fire, and all of them to board her, as in a general Assault of a fortified Place; while the *Antonians*, like Men defending their Walls, threw Stones and Weights to crush the Besiegers, and cast out Chains with grappling Irons to catch hold of a Vessel, fix her to their Side, and master or sink her. Spears, Darts, and Javelins, were employed on both Sides with equal Rage and Obstinacy. While they were fighting thus, *Agrippa* ordered *Aruntius* to extend his left Wing, and endeavour to hem in the Enemy;

upon

upon which *Publicola* advanced to prevent it: but as by this Motion he left the main Body unguarded, *Agrippa* bore down upon it, and put it in some Disorder. The Fleets had been thus engaged for near two Hours, with as fair a Prospect of Success for *Antony* as for *Octavius*, when, on a sudden, *Cleopatra*, no longer able to bear the Noise and Terror of the Battle, and struck with the thought that she might perhaps be taken prisoner, and would in that Case be carried to *Rome* as a Captive, gave the Signal to her Ships to hoist sail and be gone; and in so doing gave the World to the young *Cesar*: for this was the Loss of the Day, and the Ruin of *Antony*. The *Egyptians* were obliged to sail thro' the Middle of the engaged Fleets, before they could gain the Ocean; by which they disordered their own, and made their Enemies stand a while astonished, at a loss to think what could be the Meaning of this extraordinary Motion. *Antony*, whose Centre was now in Disorder, expected some gallant Action from the Queen, who had brought him into his present Danger. Instead of this, without so much as attempting to assist him, she and her Squadron, favoured with a strong Gale at North-West, steered their Course towards *Peloponnesus*.—There was nothing very surprising in this Behaviour of *Cleopatra*, who, as if she had come to the Engagement only in order to fly, had taken care beforehand to embark all her valuable Effects. But what follows is scarcely credible:—the brave *Antony*, a Soldier bred, and hardened in the Field, forgetting where and what he was, no sooner heard that *Cleopatra* was gone, than abandoning the Men who were fighting and dying in his Cause, he forsook his Admiral, stepped into a Frigate, and, attended only by two Friends, made all the sail he could after his *Egyptian* Mistress.—*A Lover's Soul lives in another's Body*.—*Cleopatra*, seeing him come, ordered the Pavilion of her Galley to be hoisted up. He went on board of it without seeing her, or being seen by her. She was on the Poop, and he went to the Prow, where he remained alone

alone, leaning his Elbows on his Knees, and his Head on both his Hands, as one overwhelmed with Shame and Anger. His abandoned Fleet continued the Fight with great Bravery after they had lost their bewitched Leader. Only a few of them, indeed, knew at first of his having left them: but *Octavius* took care not to let any be long ignorant of it, going himself from Ship to Ship, telling them, that *Antony* was gone, and asking them for whom they fought so obstinately. Still their Attachment to their General, and their Love of Glory, were so strong, that they would not listen to any Terms, till at last the Sea beginning to run very high, and to shatter their Vessels, fatigued with resisting at once the Enemy, Winds, and Waves, they submitted to the Conqueror as Night was coming on. The Number of the Slain did not exceed five thousand; and the Number of Ships taken amounted to three hundred.—It is allowed by all, says *Velleius*, that *Antony's* Soldiers acted the Part of a brave General, and their General that of the most cowardly Soldier.—They were so obstinate, and maintained the Dispute so late, that *Cesar*, tho' he was not far from the Shore, thought proper to lay all Night on board his Ship. In the mean time, he detached *Mecenas* with a Squadron in Pursuit of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*; but he soon returned, and then set out immediately for *Rome*, in order to take upon him his new Office of Prefect of the City, and of all *Italy*.

ANTONY'S Land-Army still remained unconquered, and in a Situation to give *Octavius* a great deal of Trouble. Neither the Officers nor Soldiers of that Army could for some time be brought to think it possible that their General, who had so often seen Fortune in all her Shapes*, and been accustomed to Changes, had abandoned nineteen Legions of invincible Infantry, and twelve thousand of the very best Horse. They therefore imagined he would soon appear again from some Part or other, to put himself at their Head, and give them an Opportunity

of shewing their Fidelity and Zeal for his Interest and Service. But after waiting some Days, keeping in a regular Body tho' quite surrounded on all Sides, they were at length convinced of the Truth of what had seemed absolutely incredible to them, by *Antony's* sending from *Tenarus*, where he had stopped, an Order to *Canidius* to bring him his Legions into *Asia* by the Way of *Macedonia*.—Even then they continued firm, and actually put themselves in readiness to march; rejecting all *Octavius's* Sollicitations, who pressed them to surrender:—till at last, reduced to great Distress, in want of every thing necessary to support Life, and forsaken by *Canidius* and all their chief Officers, who fled privately in the Night, they listened to Terms, and yielded to the Conqueror on the seventh Day after the Battle. From this memorable Victory, which rendered OCTAVIUS sole Master of the whole *Roman Empire*, *Dion Cassius**, *Suctonius*, and after them *Aurelius Victor*, and *Eutropius*, date the Years of his Reign.

NOTHING, one would think, could now hinder *Octavius* from pursuing his vanquished Enemy with all possible Diligence. In this he would have imitated the Example of his Great-Uncle, who, after the Battle of *Pharsalia*, immediately followed *Pompey*, without allowing him to recover himself. But this *Cesar* was far from being so active in War as the Dictator *Julius*. On the contrary, the Praises of *Circumspection*† were his favourite Theme, to enforce which, he had always some proverbial Expression ready; such as the *Greek Adage*, *Hasten slowly*; or a Verse, the Sense of which is, that *A General had better be too cautious, than too rash*; or *Cato's Saying*‡, *That which is well enough done, is quickly enough done*. He was,

doubt-

* Lib. LI. in init.

† Nil minus in perfecto duce, quam festinationem temeritatemque convenire arbitrabatur. Crebro itaque illa jactabat,

Σπεῦδε βραδέως, &c.

* Ασφαλὲς γὰρ ἐστὶ ἀμύνων, ἢ θρασὺς ἐπιεικέστερος.

‡ Sat cito, si sat bene.

doubtless, persuaded on this Occasion, that *Antony* was reduced to so low an Ebb, that a Delay of a few Months could not possibly enable him to retrieve his shattered Fortune; and therefore thought it prudent to turn his Attention to Objects nearer Home, and in themselves of great Importance.

His first Care was to return Thanks to his favourite and tutelary Deity APOLLO, one of whose most celebrated Characters among the *Romans*, particularly in the *Augustan* Age, was that of the *ACTIAN* *. This God had long been worshipped on the Promontory of *Actium*, or *Leucate*, where he had a famous Statue, which stood very near the Place from whence desponding Lovers were to take their Leap †, and so high, that it was visible a good way out at Sea, and served for a Land-Mark to Mari-

* APOLLO was not only supposed to assist *Octavius* in the Battle of *Actium*, but also in that of *Philippi*, against *Brutus*; as we learn from a Passage in *Valerius Maximus*; (which, by the way, shews that there were *Sertes Homericæ* of old, as well as *Sertes Virgilianæ*.) M. Bruti dignus admisso parricidio eventus omine designatus est: siquidem post illud nefarium opus natalem suum celebrans, cum Græcum versum expromere vellet, ad illud potissimum Homericum referendum animo tetendit; “ Ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν ἑταίροις Ἀχῆες ἔσαν ἄνδρες;” qui deus, Philippensi acie, a *Cæsare* & *Antonio* signo datus, in eum tela convertit. Lib. I. c. 5.

As *Octavius* was so particularly obliged to the *Apolls* of *Actium*, he built one Temple to him on the Spot, and another afterwards within the Confines of his own House, on the *Palatine Hill*, at *Rome*. This House was called the *Palatium*, a Name then peculiar to it, but which afterwards became a general Appellation for all royal Houses: and the noble Figure of *Apollo*, which stood in the Temple he built there to the *Actian Apollo*, was from thence called the *Apollo Palatinus*. This Statue was a Work of the famous *Scopas*, as *Pliny* informs us, (Hist. Nat. Lib. XXXVI. C. 5.) and was not so ambiguous as that of the *Apollo* at *Actium*; this in the *Palatium* representing the God solely under his Character of *Lyristes*, that is to say, in his flowing Robe, and as actually playing on his Lyre.

† ——— Quoniam non ignibus æquis

Ureris, Ambracias terra petenda tibi.

Phœbus ab excelso quantum patet adspicit æquor;

Æliacum populi, Leucadiumque vocant.

forced Abdication of *Lepidus*; and justly apprehending a similar Effect, in a now similar Case, from that Boldness with which Soldiers are naturally inspired by a Confidence in their Strength and Numbers; he judged it necessary, in the first place, to divide *Antony's* Army. To this end, he gave the old Soldiers Leave to depart, and incorporated the rest into his own Legions: nor would he keep even these all together; but sent away, as quick as possible, the Veterans into *Italy*, there to expect their promised Rewards, reserving about him only such as had not yet finished their Time of Service.—From these, he had reason to expect Submission. The Hope of a rich Spoil, which they promised themselves in *Egypt*, was a powerful Motive to preserve their Fidelity. But still fearing lest those he had sent into *Italy* should grow impatient at not receiving the Rewards their long Services intitled them to, (which he was not in a Condition to pay them at that time) and sow the Seeds of Discord among the *Italians*, oppressed with grievous Imposts; he wisely ordered all the new Taxes to be taken off, and remitted three Months Arrears, which were then due. These Indulgences were gratefully received, and gained him the Affections of all the People.

MECENAS was already in *Italy*, and *Octavius* had great Confidence in his Abilities: but as this Minister chose to remain in the Order of Knights, he had not that Splendor of Titles which imposes upon the Multitude. *Octavius* therefore took the farther Precaution of sending thither *M. Agrippa*, who, being adorned with the greatest Honours, was more likely to be respected.

THE Fate of the Prisoners taken in this Battle, and that of the several Kings and Nations who had assisted *Antony*, was another important Point, which ought to have been seriously considered—But *Cesar* was not accustomed to end any of his Wars in the manner his Father had done.—*Alexander*, who had betrayed his Brother *Jamblickus* to *Antony*, and been the Cause of his Death, was indeed the only Prince that suffered capitally

on this Occasion. *Octavius* kept him Prisoner till his Triumph, where he was led in Chains, and afterwards beheaded. As for *Jamblicus's* Kingdom, the Victor gave it many Years after to his Son. He deprived the young *Philopator*, *Tarcondemus's* Son, of his Kingdom; but gave it afterwards to the younger Brother, who bore his Father's Name. *Archelani's* Obligations to *Antony*, I suppose, excused his taking part with his Benefactor: for he was pardoned and confirmed in his Kingdom. Of the illustrious Romans, Partizans of *Antony*, *Octavius* pardoned some, at the earnest Request of his Friends and his Mother *Mucia*. Among these were *Q. Sestus*, who, after being a long time concealed by his faithful Friend *Aruntius*, obtained a Pardon, at last, thro' the Intercession of that Friend; *M. Scaurus*, a Brother of *Sextus Pompey*, saved by the Prayers of *Mucia*; and *C. Furnius*, pardoned at the Sollicitation of his Son, of whom *Seneca* has recorded a very memorable Expression on this Occasion. "CESAR," said he, with a fine turned Compliment to OCTAVIUS, "This is the only Cause you ever gave me to complain.—I must now live and die ungrateful."—Another Instance of his being moved by the Force and Merit of the Prayers of a Son interceding for his Father, is thus handed down to us by *Appian*. While he was at *Samas*, soon after this Battle, advancing towards *Syria* and *Egypt*, he held a Council to examine the Causes of some remaining Prisoners who had been engaged in *Antony's* Party. Among these, there was brought before him an old Man, named *Metellus*, oppressed with Years and Infirmary, disfigured with a long Beard and neglected Head of Hair, and very ragged in his Clothing. The Son of this *Metellus* was one of the Judges. Struck with the Appearance of the Prisoner, and examining him narrowly, he at length knew him to be his Father: upon which he ran up to him, and embraced him, weeping bitterly; and then, returning towards the Tribunal, "CESAR," said he, my Father "has been your Enemy, and I your Officer. He deserves to be punished, and I to be rewarded. The Favour I desire of you

“ is, either to save him on my Account, or to order me to be
 “ put to Death with him.” All the Judges were touched with
 Compassion. *Octavius* himself relented, and granted old *Mc-*
tellus his Life and Liberty, tho’ he had reason to look upon him
 as his implacable Enemy.

THESE Acts of Generosity did honour to *Octavius*, and
 gained him the Hearts of many. But still that arrant Flat-
 terer *Velleius* is not the less wrong in pretending *, that the
 Cruelties which he committed in the Beginning of the Trium-
 virate, and after the Battle of *Philippi*, were all forced, and
 that the Blame of them ought not to fall upon him, but upon
 his Collegues. All historical Records bear witness, that he
 was by far the most violent and bloody-minded of the THREE.
 —His different Conduct after the Battle of *Actium* proceeded
 from the Difference of Conjunctures. At the Time of this de-
 cisive Action, all the Heads of the Republican Party were
 taken off, and he had reason to hope that the Partizans of *An-*
tony, who were accustomed to serve one Master, would easily
 submit to the Laws of another, who should better deserve their
 Affection, which he now politicly resolved to endeavour to se-
 cure. I say *politicly*: for all the Actions of his Life, notwith-
 standing the great Benefits that really accrued from them to the
 Public, were artful and designing; and that his Temper was
 naturally cruel to Excess, he proved, immediately after the
 grand Battle of *Actium*, in such a manner, as greatly dimi-
 nished the Merit he might otherwise have claimed from the
 above, and some other Deeds of Humanity.—He pardoned,
 as I said, some of the illustrious *Romans* who had sided with
Antony; but he wreaked his Vengeance upon others of them
 with the utmost Inhumanity. Several of them were slaughtered
 in cold Blood. Among the rest, the young *Curio*, son to *Ce-*
sar’s great Enemy, and afterwards his great Friend, the famous
Curio, who was killed fighting for him in *Africa*, was put to
 Death †: and *Aquileius Florus* the Father, with his Son, of the
 same

*VELL. II. 66.

† Id. ibid. 86.

same Name, were ordered to cast lots for their Lives. The Youth could not bear the Indignity of the Order, nor dispute a Survivance with his aged Father, but hastily stretched out his Neck to the Executioner; and the miserable Parent, unable to endure the Sight, took a Dagger, and in Despair and Agony plunged it into his own Bosom.

THE Adventure of *Marcus* and *Barbula*, as related by *Appian*, is too singular not to be taken notice of. *Barbula*, an old Friend of *Antony's*, and one who had served under him at the Battle of *Philippi*, purchased, after that Battle, one of the proscribed, who had disguised himself like a Slave, in order to save his Life. This pretended Slave, whom that Author calls by the Name of *Marcus*, being employed by his Master in different Offices, acquitted himself with an Address and Probity which spoke him of much higher Rank than that he affected to appear in. *Barbula* endeavoured to get the Secret out of him, by promising, that if he was among the Number of the proscribed, he would cause his Name to be erased out of the fatal List. *Marcus* still concealed his real Quality, and followed his Master to *Rome*. There he was known by one of *Barbula's* Friends; and his Master, in pursuance of his Promise, by his Interest with *M. Agrippa*, obtained a Pardon for *Marcus*, who thereupon attached himself to *Octavius*. Some Years after this happened the Battle of *Actium*, in which *Marcus* and *Barbula* were still on different Sides; the former fighting for *Octavius*, and the latter for *Antony*. After the Battle, the Scene between them was inverted. *Barbula* could not contrive a better Method of saving his Life, than by disguising himself like a Slave. *Marcus* purchased him, pretending he did not know him, and, in his turn, by his Interest with *Octavius*, saved the Person who had before saved him. *Appian* adds, as a farther Circumstance in which their Fortunes resembled each other, that, some time after, they were Companions in the Consulship; that is, by Subrogation; for their Names are not found in the List of the Consuls in ordinary.

B O O K XIII.

ANTONY had not been long on board of *Cleopatra's* Galley, when he observed that he was pursued by some of *Octavius's* light Ships; upon which he tacked about to face his Enemies, most of whom then fell back: but one, more impetuous than the rest, still advancing, shook his Lance at him in a threatening Manner from off the Deck. 'Who art thou, cried the fugitive General to him, and why dost thou thus obstinately pursue me?'——'I am, replied the other, fiercely, EUTYCLE the Lacedemonian, brought hither by Cesar's Fortune to revenge my Father's Death*. However, the *Laconian*, instead of actually attacking *Antony*, turned about and fell upon another Galley, which he took, together with a Vessel richly laden with Plate and Furniture; and sailed away with his Prizes. *Antony* then returned to his former melancholy Posture, and continued so three Days, without seeing *Cleopatra*, till he arrived at the Promontory of *Tænarus*, where the Queen's Women, who were extremely well qualified for an Office of this kind, reconciled them, and Things went on as before. At *Tænarus* he had an Account of the total Defeat of his Fleet: but believing his Legions still held out, he wrote to *Canidius* to retreat with them through *Macedon* into *Asia*, intending to renew the War there, and resolving, in the mean time, to retire into *Africa*.

IN the midst of these Misfortunes, still preserving his wonted Magnificence and Generosity, he singled out one of his largest Ships,

* His Father, by Name LACHARES, had been sentenced to death by *Antony*, for Robberies, and other Crimes.

Ships, laden with a vast Treasure of Plate and Money, and gave it to his Friends, desiring them to share it among them, and take care of themselves. They, for some time, refused it with Tears in their Eyes, and begged to follow him: but he, after comforting them with the utmost Sweetness and good Nature, and thanking them for their Fidelity and Affection, insisted on their not involving themselves farther in his Misfortunes, and sent them away with Letters to *Theophilus*, Governor of *Corinth*, whom he intreated to conceal them till they should be able to make their Peace with *Cesar*. He then went with *Cleopatra* to *Paretonium*, a Town of *Egypt*, the Frontier of *Cyrenaicum*, where they parted; the Queen proceeding to *Alexandria*, and *Antony* remaining behind, continually ruminating on his Misfortunes, without any other Company than *Aristocrates*, the Greek Orator, and his incomparable Friend *Lucilius*;—the same who feigned himself *Brutus* at *Philippi*.

REPEATED Instances of Infidelity and Ingratitude, experienced from *Domitius*, *Dellius*, *Plancus*, *Herod*, and many others, had given *Antony* a Disgust to Mankind, which was now greatly increased by the base Behaviour of *Pinarus Scarpus*.—I have reason to believe that this *Scarpus* had been a very submissive Courtier*.—He was of the *Pinarian* Family, one of *Julius Cesar's* Grand-Nephews, and wrought himself so far into favour as to be made Prefect of *Afric*, the bordering Province with *Egypt*, and be intrusted with the Troops that were designed for its Security in case of Disorder. *Antony* sent to him; and *Scarpus*, not contented to refuse him Admittance, murdered his Messengers; sacrificing at once the Ties of Friendship and
Law

* There is a Medal struck by him (a) with the Head of *Jupiter Ammon*; and instead of the God's Name, ANTO. COS. III. IMP. III. On the Reverse, a Victory with a Garland; and before her ANTONIO. AUG. Behind, SCARPUS. IMP. It has been upon some small Achievement in *Afric* that he was saluted *Imperator*, when the Roman Honours turned cheap.

Law of Nations to his Hopes of Recompence from the Victor, to whose Lieutenant, *Gallus*, he delivered up *Cyrene* and his Troops. Some of the Soldiers, who testified their Displeasure at this Proceeding, met with the same Fate; at which *Antony* was so filled with Rage and Despair, that he rushed to his Sword, and would have put an End to his Life and his Sorrows together, had he not been prevented by *Aristocrates* and the faithful *Lucilius*, who then carried him into *Egypt*.—There he found *Cleopatra*, who plainly foresaw that the Forces of *Egypt* could not withstand the united Power of the *Roman* Empire, busied in the singular and unheard-of Project of dragging her whole Fleet over the Isthmus of *Suez* into the *Red-Sea*, in hopes of thereby saving herself in another World with all her Treasures, which now were immense: for the *Alexandrians*, who had long hated her, having vented their Discontent without Reserve during her Absence, she put several of their principal Men to death, confiscated their Possessions, plundered those she left alive, and even pillaged the Temples.—Some of her Vessels were actually transported from one Sea to the other; but the *Arabians* having burnt them, *Antony*, who arrived at that time, and believed that his Land-Army under *Canidius* was still faithful to him, persuaded her to abandon her Design, which was so full of Difficulties, and endeavour to defend the Avenues of *Egypt* by Sea and Land †.

CLEOPATRA, not yet despairing, and willing to try every Means to extricate herself from the Danger she was in, followed his Advice, and made all Sorts of Preparations for War; hoping at least that she should thereby, at all Events, certainly obtain the better Terms from *Octavius*. She also solicited foreign Assistance from every Prince that she thought would help her; and it was then that, to make up Matters with the King of the *Medes* in particular, she caused *Artabazes* King of *Armenia*, his Enemy, to be put to Death, and even sent him his Head.

In the mean time *Antony*, plunged in Melancholy, chagrined at every thing he saw, having a still more gloomy Prospect before him, and meeting with nothing but reiterated Ingratitude and Infidelity from those who ought to have been most strongly attached to him, quitted the Town and all his Friends, and shut himself up in a small lone House, which he had ordered to be built in Haste upon a Mole in the Sea, near the *Pharos**. There he passed some Time, refusing to see any one, and declaring, “ That he intended to imitate *Timon* the Misanthrope; “ that being ill treated, like that *Athenian*, by the Ingratitude “ and Perfidy of his Friends, he would, like him, renounce all “ Commerce with Mankind.”——But he soon grew weary of this Way of Life, so little suited to his Character, and the same Chagrines which had made him recur to it, made him also abandon it.——*Canidius* arrived at *Alexandria*, to inform him in person of the Revolt of the Army lately under his Command. He likewise received Advice, that *Didius*, whom he had made Governor of *Syria*, had declared against him: that *Herod* had submitted to *Octavius*: and that all the Kings and Princes to whom *Cleopatra* had applied, had refused to lend the least Assistance to the conquered Party. These disagreeable Tidings, coming almost all together, instead of sinking *Antony*, as might naturally enough have been expected, produced a quite contrary Effect. Losing all Hope, he disclaimed all Care, and seeing his Misfortunes too great to be remedied, resolved to make the most of his remaining Time. Accordingly, quitting his Retreat, he returned to *Cleopatra*, and gave himself up anew to Pleasures and Diversions.——It is difficult to tell why he took the Route of *Egypt* rather than to his noble Army under *Canidius*, which he did not think had deserted him, says *Plutarch*†,

* JOSEPHUS, in telling the Fable of *Aristæus*, calls the artificial Bank which joined the *Pharos* to the main Land, ἐπιστρώμενον χῆμα. It had a Bridge, under which the Sea passed, and is described by *Cesar*, or rather *Hirtius*, *De Bell. Alexandrino*.

tarch†, till, after he had built his *Τιμωρέιον*, that general himself brought the News of the Loss of his Troops.—*Whom God has a mind to destroy*, said the Ancients, *He deprives of Understanding*.—*Antony* seems to have been stupefied by a Series of Riot and Misfortunes, and, both in the Sea-Fight at *Actium* and after it, to have acted like a Man that little knèw, or little cared what became of him.

CLEOPATRA's two eldest Sons, *Cesarion* and *Antyllus*, coming just at this time to the proper Age of assuming the *manly* Robe, on which Occasion it was the Custom of the Ancients, both *Greeks* and *Romans*, to celebrate this Advancement of their Children from Infancy to an Age when they began to be accounted a Part of the Republic, favoured his Resolution to return to his former Course of Magnificence and Pleasure, by offering him an Opportunity to treat the *Alexandrians*; which he did for several Days together, with Concerts, Balls, and Entertainments. He thought to strengthen his Interest, by shewing two Successors, who were already in a Condition to supply his Place, and revenge his Cause. But this Precaution was of no service to him, and soon proved fatal to the Youths.

ANTONY and *Cleopatra*, at the Beginning of this Acquaintance, had established a Society, under the Title of *THE INIMITABLE LIFE*. They now abolished it, and formed a new one, which they called, *AN ENGAGEMENT TO DIE TOGETHER*. Their friends subscribed their Names upon a Scroll, as if they were resolved to die with them; and they prepared themselves for Death, by all the Amusements capable of banishing it from their Thoughts, by Pleasures, extravagant Expences, and excessive Intemperance.

CLEOPATRA, however; whilst she gave into every Diversion, was seriously employed in trying Means to procure herself a Death, equally quick and gentle, in case she should at last be reduced to that Extremity. She made Trials of all Sorts of Poisons,

sons and venomous Creatures, upon Criminals; and observing, for she was always present herself at these Experiments, that those which killed suddenly caused violent Pains, and that those which were more gentle in their Effect operated but slowly; she at last, as *Plutarch* informs us*, fixed upon the Asp, whose Sting, or Bite, immediately brings on a lethargic Heaviness, benumbs the Senses, and occasions a speedy Death, without convulsive Agonies. This, therefore, she resolved upon, as her last Resource.—The Woman who had successively commanded the two Lords of the World, CESAR and ANTONY; who had been entertained at *Rome*, by the Dictator, almost as a Goddess; who had received immense and incredible Donations from the Dictator; could not think of being dragged in Chains after the Victor's Chariot, and entering the City, like an humble Captive. She knew the hard Fate of triumphed Monarchs carried to *Rome*.—*Perfes*, *Syphax*, *Jugurtha*, *Aristobulus*, and *Artasdes*, were before her Eyes; rather than undergo whose Treatment, any Extremity was eligible.

OCTAVIUS, after settling at *Samos* those Affairs which seemed to him to require the greatest Dispatch, went to *Athens*, to visit the Seat of Arts and Learning. Here he shewed all manner of Respect to the City, and was himself initiated in the Solemnities of both its Goddesses, MINERVA and CERES: but we have not the Name of the Doctor, or *Hierophant*, who performed the Ceremony.

THESE Initiations were over all *Greece*, whither they had come, either from *Egypt* or *Thrace*, with the famous *Orpheus*. There was a celebrated Order for Sanctity and Miracles in *Samothrace*, whither the *Lacedemonians*, when they were Masters of *Greece*, used to send a General yearly, because it had the Command of *Pontus*.—When *Antalcidas* went thither in that Quality, he was invited to be a Partaker of the Ceremony, and consented: but being asked by the Priest, according to ancient and

* In ANTON.

and modern Manner, What was the worst Thing he ever did in his Life? he replied, “ As for that, whatever it was, you need not inquire; since your God, doubtless, knows it” *.— This I likewise take to be the Temple where *Cesar’s* Father, *Octavius*, consulted the Fate of his Son, and had for Answer, that the Youth whose Fortune he wanted to know would one Day be LORD OF THE WORLD†.

ATHENS was protected by the Fame of its former Atchievements, while a free State, and by the Arts and Learning which still flourished in it. After its Fleets and Armies; which had awed and protected *Greece*, and been the Terror of the *Persian* Empire, were gone, the ingenious and learned Men who resorted to it, Historians and Philosophers, the Distributers of Fame, gave it a Consideration above the most powerful Cities under the Protection of *Rome*.

UPON his Arrival at this famous City, *Octavius*, far from maltreating the People of *Greece*, because they had assisted his Enemy, relieved their Misery by distributing among them the Provisions which remained after the War:— an Assistance which came very opportunely; for this Country had been terribly plundered, not only of Riches, Men, and Cattle, but even of Food.—We may judge of the Manner in which it had been harrassed, from the Account which *Plutarch* gives, from his Great-Uncle, with regard to the Town of *Chersonesus*, all the Inhabitants of which, he says, had been obliged to carry upon their Shoulders a certain Measure of Grain as far as *Anticyrus* on the Gulph of *Corinth*, and were even driven along with Whips. They had performed this once, and were ready to set out the second Time, when the News of *Antony’s* Defeat arrived. This was the saving of that unfortunate Town.—*Antony’s* Soldiers and Superintendants fled, and the Inhabitants shared the Corn.

FROM

* ΠΛΟΥΤ. Αποφθέρμ. Λάκωνικα.

† SUTTON. Octav. §. 94.

FROM *Athens* *Octavius* passed into *Asia*, and was preparing to advance, when he received Advice, by repeated Couriers from *Agrippa*, that his Veterans at home threatened a Revolt, to prevent which his Presence was absolutely necessary.—It was then Winter; and *Octavius* had taken possession of the Consulship for the fourth Time, in which he chose for his Colleague *Marcus Crassus*, Son of the famous *CRASSUS*, and, if we may believe *Dion*, formerly attached to the Party of *Sextus Pompey*, and afterwards to that of *Antony*.

OCTAVIUS immediately set sail, notwithstanding the Dangers of the Seas in that tempestuous Season. He was twice overtaken by a Storm, in which he lost several of his Ships. That which he was in himself was shattered, and her Rudder broke to pieces. However, he arrived safe at *Brindisi*, where he was met by all the Senators, Knights, and Magistrates, excepting two Pretors, and two Tribunes of the People, who were ordered by a Decree to remain in the City, to keep it quiet; Innumerable Crowds of the People flocked to see their Master, the Conqueror of so many Enemies, and the last that remained of such a Number of Competitors.—The Mutineers were disconcerted by his Arrival, and a single Look of his, says *Tacitus**, spread Terror among those Legions to which he owed the Victory of *Actium*. However, as their Demands were reasonably founded, he partly complied with them; distributing Money, and allotting Lands to the oldest of the Soldiers: tho' neither the Circumstances of the Times, nor the Condition of his Finances allowed him to discharge all that was due to them. But in the mean time, to make them sensible of his good Intentions, he exposed to public Sale all his own Effects, and those of his principal Friends, who readily offered their Assistance.—We may readily suppose that nobody had the boldness to purchase any thing: and this was what *Octavius* trusted to.—

By

* Annal. I. 42.

By this specious Conduct he shut the Mouths of the Murmurers, and reduced them to wait with Patience till he should be able to pay them all he had promised ; which he afterwards did, by means of the Treasures he brought from *Egypt* when he conquered that Country.

THESE Transactions took him up no more than thirty Days, at the End of which he returned to *Asia* with all Speed, to find his Enemy, and put the last hand to his Victory by completing the Destruction of *Antony*. *Dion* says that he wanted in this Voyage to avoid the Promontories of *Peloponnesus*, near which he had before been overtaken by a Storm, and that, to this end, his Ships were transported over the Isthmus of *Corinth*:—They must have been very light indeed, if such an Operation could be executed easily.—But however that may have been, *Octavius* soon got back to *Asia*, from whence he advanced towards *Egypt* with his victorious Troops.

THE Issue of the *Asian* War had already produced great Alterations in these Countries, and in all the Eastern Parts of the *Roman* Empire. They had now been governed by *Antony* for near twelve Years ; during which time, tho' he had often fleeced them very severely, and done many extravagant Things, yet the noble, open Manner in which he treated the chief Men of those Parts, and the splendid Use which he made of the vast Sums he had extorted from them, made them ready to forgive, and almost admire him.—The large Assistance they had given him when he was preparing for the War, was now like to cost them dear : Wherefore all the Princes depending upon the *Roman* Power went to wait on the Conqueror at *Rhodes*, and make their Peace with him. Among these, none could have less hope of Pardon than *Herod*, King of *Judea*.—His extraordinary Behaviour at this Juncture, and the high Place he held even to his Death in *Cesar's* Friendship, make it proper to resume his Story.

HEROD had received the Kingdom of *Judea* from *Antony*, whose Party he now forsook.—But he forsook it neither as a Traitor, nor a Coward: for, cruel as he was, his eminent Qualities had justly merited him the surname of the GREAT. He abandoned *Antony*, when he saw that *Antony* himself abandoned all care of his own Interest*.——*Herod* was not at the Battle of *Actium*, being then engaged in a War in *Arabia*, which the ambitious *Cleopatra* had set him upon, in hopes of his conquering that Country; after which she intended to get rid of him, and to possess herself of that Conquest, with his Kingdom of *Judea*, of both which *Antony* had made her a Present†. But *Herod* escaped her Snarcs, and returned victorious.——He had assisted *Antony* with Men, Money, and Provisions; and given him excellent Counsel, had he but had Resolution to follow it: for he advised him, in his Letters, to send away *Cleopatra*, if he intended to win the Battle; and, in case he lost it, to retire into *Egypt*, and defend the Avenues to that Country. On his Return from *Arabia*, he went to *Antony*, and exhorted him not yet to despair; at the same time, plainly telling him, that he had but one Way left to retrieve his Affairs, which was by getting rid of *Cleopatra*, who was the Cause of his Misfortunes, and who would not fail to sacrifice him to *Cesar*: That he must therefore prevent her Designs, and, by her Death, secure to himself the Kingdom of *Egypt*, where, with the Troops he still had left, he might stop the Victor's Progress, and perhaps re-establish his Fortune.——*Herod* had a double View in giving this good Advice: that of serving a Friend, whom he esteemed; and that of being revenged on *Cleopatra* for her Intention to procure his Death in the *Arabian* War, and for her Endeavours to strip him of his Dominions. But *Antony*, unable to bear the Thought of parting

* PLUT. in Anton:

† JOSEPH. Antiq. Lib. XV. c. 10. & de Bell. Judaic. L. I. c. 15.

parting with his dear *Cleopatra*, rejected every Measure of which that was made a Condition : Upon which *Herod*, plainly seeing that there could no longer be any Safety for him in the Party he had hitherto espoused, went to *Octavius* at *Rhodes*.——He appeared before him without a Diadem, but with all the other Marks of Royalty ; and spoke to him like a King who came to offer him his Friendship, rather than as a Supplicant who begged his Favour. Frankly acknowledging his Attachment to *Antony*, with all that he had done, and wished to do for him ; “ *Cesar*,” said he *, “ it was *Antony* “ who made me King of the *Jews* ; and I confess that I have “ employed in his Service that Fortune which I received from “ him. I will even own to you, that if the War against the “ *Arabians* had not hindered me, you would have seen me in “ Arms, fighting against you. However, I assisted him both “ with Troops and Provisions to the utmost of my Power. “ Since his Misfortune at *Actium*, I have not abandoned my “ Benefactor, to whom, being no longer able to be an useful “ Ally, I have discharged the Duty of a faithful Counsellor, “ by representing to him, that the only Way to retrieve his “ Affairs was to put *Cleopatra* to Death ; in which case I “ offered him my Wealth, my strong Places, my Troops, and “ my Person, to help him to carry on the War against you.— “ But *Cleopatra’s* Charms have made *Antony* deaf to all my “ Counsels ; and God, who has been pleased to give you the “ Victory, has hindered him from hearkening to my salutary “ Advice. I am therefore conquered with *Antony*, and my “ Throne is overturned together with his Fortune.—I present “ myself before you, without any other Hope than in my Vir- “ tue ; expecting, however, that you will consider what Friend “ I am, and not whom I have served.”——*Octavius*, pleased with this Speech, bid *Herod* resume his Diadem, granted him his Friendship, and confirmed him in the Possession of his

B b 2

Kingdom.

* JOSEPH. Antiq. XV. 10. & de Bell. Jud. I. 15.

Kingdom, to which he shortly after added the States of *Zenodorus*.

AFTER thus obtaining Pardon for himself, *Herod* ventured to ask it for another. *Alexas*, or *Alexander* of *Laodicea* in *Syria*, had held a distinguished Rank at the Court of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*. No one of the *Greeks* was more powerful in his Time; tho' he had not advanced himself by the fairest Means. He had been one of *Cleopatra's* Tools to captivate *Antony*, and destroy whatever good Sentiments Reason might sometimes suggest to him in Favour of *Octavia*. *Antony*, who confided greatly in his Zeal and Talents, sent him from *Alexandria* to *Herod*, to try to keep that Prince stedfast in his Interest. But in vain do the Great expect Fidelity from the Ministers of their Pleasures. *Alexas* betrayed *Antony*, and remained with *Herod*. He even presumed so far upon the Protection of the *Jewish* Monarch, as to appear before *Octavius*: but his Expectations were soon disappointed. His crimes were of a Nature not to be forgiven. *Octavius* ordered him to be loaded with Chains, and sent to his native City of *Laodicea*, where he was put to Death in the Sight of all his Countrymen*.

HEROD returned with Speed to his Dominions, in order to be ready to receive *Octavius*, who was to pass through *Judea* in his way to *Egypt*. He received him magnificently at *Ptolemais*, where he treated him, and an hundred and fifty of his Friends, in a most splendid Manner, and ordered Wine and Meat to be distributed to all the Soldiers. After this, he made *Octavius* a Present of eight hundred Talents; and sent Carriages with a Quantity of Water sufficient for the Use of the whole Army, to an arid Desert which the Troops were obliged to cross before they entered *Egypt*. These Things gave the *Romans* an high Idea of *Herod*, whose Soul, said they, was much greater than his Kingdom.

WHILE

WHILE the Flames of Love were fanned by gawdy Expectations, *Cleopatra* had expressed the utmost Affection for *Antony*: But she never had such a Regard for him as was Proof against the Temptations of Vanity and Ambition:—Much less did his Adversity awaken in her Sentiments of real Tenderness: Could she have found any way to save herself without him, or even at his Expence, she certainly would have done it. In this View, she flattered herself with Hopes of making an Impression on *Octavius*. Though older than him, her Charms were not yet faded. She was not forty; and with the Dexterity she had acquired in the Art of Pleasing, after having captivated the Son of *Pompey*, the Great *Cesar*; and *Antony*, she did not despair of adding to those Conquests that of her young Conqueror:—But she attacked a Man as artful as herself; thoroughly guarded against the Artifices of her Sex, who never could make him do a Thing contrary to his Interest: He saw through her Wiles, and dissembled with her in Return; intending to make Use of her to get rid of *Antony*; and afterwards to seize on her Kingdom, her Treasures, and her Person. This mutually double Design must not be lost Sight of in their future Proceedings.

OCTAVIUS entered *Egypt* on the Side of *Syria*, while *Cornelius Gallus*, who seems to have superseded *Scarpus* in his Command in *Lybia* and *Cyrene*, entered it on the other. In this Situation, *Antony* and *Cleopatra* tried to appease *Octavius*, but without Success. They sent three different Embassies to him, and even went so far as to offer to resign all, and lead a private Life in *Athens*, or any other Place, which he should appoint; only desiring that the Kingdom of *Egypt* should be given to *Cleopatra's* children: Though *Cleopatra* joined her Ambassadors with *Antony's*, yet she gave them Instructions to treat separately for herself, and sent privately by them to *Octavius* a Sceptre, a Crown, and a Chair of Gold, as Tokens that she resigned all her Authority to him. *Octavius* accepted

Cleopatra's

Cleopatra's Presents, and answered her Ambassadors, in public, That if the Queen of Egypt would lay down her Arms, and resign her Kingdom, he should then consider whether she ought to be treated with Rigour or Mercy: but privately he promised her Impunity, and even her Kingdom, in case she would kill *Antony* *. As for *Antony's* Ambassadors, he would not so much as see them, though they carried him a great Quantity of Gold, and delivered up to him, as a Present from their Master, *Q. Turulius*, a Senator, one of *Cesar's* Murderers, and *Antony's* most intimate Friends. *Octavius* received the Gold, and put *Turulius* to Death; but abated nothing of his Rigour against *Antony*, to whom he gave only discouraging or ambiguous Answers. *Cleopatra* too, on her Side, imposed upon *Antony*, and did all she could to deceive *Octavius*. *Antony* alone acted with Sincerity, and went so far as to offer to kill himself, provided the Queen might be spared:—While she, at that very Time, was listening to Propositions for betraying him, and even of putting him to Death.

WHEN I say that *Antony* acted with Sincerity, I mean only with Regard to *Cleopatra*; for his Conduct to *Octavius* was full of Treachery, if it be true, as *Dion Cassius* says, that the Ambassadors whom he sent to negotiate with him, carried large Sums destined to debauch his Troops, or even to bribe Villains to assassinate him.

CLEOPATRA's Intelligence with *Octavius* appeared by her Reception of his Freed-man *Thyrusus*, who had been artfully sent to persuade her, that her Charms had made a great Impression upon *Cesar*. The Queen of Egypt, who wished for nothing so much, listened attentively to his Discourse, and had such long and frequent Interviews with *Thyrusus*, that *Antony*, whose open Heart scarce knew what Suspicion was, at length, grew uneasy, seized the Negotiator, ordered him to be severely whipped, and then sent him back to his Master. Reflecting, however,

on

on what he had done, he sent a Letter of Excuse the next Day to *Octavius*, telling him, that his Temper being soured and easily exasperated, thro' his Misfortunes, he could not suffer the Insolence of a Freed-man, who affected to affront him : " But," added he, " if you are offended, it is in your Power to be revenged. I deliver to you *Hipparchus*, whom you may treat in the same manner as I have treated *Thyrusus*."—This Revenge would have been singular enough, and entirely in Favour of *Antony* ; for *Hipparchus* had deserted his Party and gone over to the fortunate Side.

CLEOPATRA, by so much the more capable of counterfeiting outward Appearances, as she felt nothing within, was alarmed at *Antony's* Suspicions, and spared neither Caresses, nor Marks of Deference and Submission to remove them. Her Birth-day and that of *Antony* happened to be near one another, and fell about the Time I am now speaking of. She let her own pass unnoticed : but when *Antony's* came, she celebrated it with such extraordinary Magnificence and extravagant Profusion, that Numbers who came thither poor, were enriched for the rest of their Lives.

IN the mean time, the Operations of the War went on, though somewhat slowly. *Gallus*, with the Legions which *Scarpus* had delivered up to him, took possession of *Paretonium*, the Key of *Egypt* on the West Side, as *Pelusium* was on the East. *Antony*, whose Forces were still considerable both by Sea and Land, wanted to recover that important Place, and therefore marched against it ; fondly imagining, that as soon as he should shew himself to *Gallus's* Legions, who had formerly served under him, their Affection for their old General would be revived. But, fatally unfortunate in all his Enterprizes, as soon as he approached the Walls, and began to exhort the Troops to return to their first Oath, *Gallus* ordered all the Trumpets to sound, in order to hinder *Antony* from being heard, and then sallied out upon him and gained a small Advantage.

vantage.——To add to his Misfortunes, his Fleet entered the Port of *Paratonium*, which *Gallus* had left open on purpose, but with Chains stretched below the Water, which, being raised up by the help of Machines as soon as the Vessels were got in, blocked up the Mouth of the Harbour. The Fleet, thus caught, was presently attacked on all Sides, from the Sea, the Shore, and the Town. *Antony* lost a great many Vessels in this unequal Engagement, some being sunk, and others burnt, so that he saved but very few.

A SET of Men, of mean Station, but whose Zeal and Fidelity does not the less deserve to be commended, might have been of Service to him at this Time, had not his unhappy Expedition against *Paratonium* deprived him of their Assistance. A Company of Gladiators, trained up at *Cyzicum* by his Orders, with a View to the Games he purposed to give after defeating *Octavius*, for he had made no Doubt of obtaining the Victory at *Actium*, marched through all *Asia*, in spite of the Opposition they met with from those Kings and Princes who had deserted *Antony*, and arrived in *Syria*; where *Didius*, another Deserter of the same Cause, stopped their Passage, though he could not overcome them. From thence they informed *Antony* of their Situation, and intreated him to come and put himself at their Head.——But he preferred marching to *Paratonium*, and, unaccountably, neglected even to send an Answer to these brave Fellows, who, wearied with Delays, and looking upon his Silence as a Refusal of their Offer, at last came to an Agreement with *Didius*, upon Condition that they should not be obliged to fight any more in the Amphitheatre, but should remain in *Daphne*, one of the Suburbs of *Antioch*, till *Octavius* should give Orders concerning them. They were afterwards separated, and incorporated in different Legions, in order to disperse and destroy them.——A Treatment ill suited to their generous Behaviour.

OCTAVIUS, in the mean Time, arrived before *Pelusium*,
near

near the Spot where *Damieta* now stands, whose Strength, enforced by a numerous Garrison, might have stopped him a long while. But *Seleucus*, then Governor of the Place, immediately gave it up, in consequence of private Orders from *Cleopatra*, who, having lost all Hopes of Safety from *Antony*, and flattering herself with being beloved by *Octavius*, wanted to make a Merit to the Conqueror of her Treachery towards him whose Misfortunes she had occasioned. This Event gave *Antony* strong Suspicions of Treachery, notwithstanding all his Blindness: but such was his Infatuation still, that the artful Queen soon dissipated them, by delivering up to him the Wife and Children of *Seleucus*.

FROM *Pelusium*, *Octavius* advanced towards the City of *Alexandria*, situated on the Western Mouth of the *Nile*, and encamped near the *Hippodrome*; depending on his Intelligence with *Cleopatra*, as much as upon his Army. Two Days after *Cesar* had invested the Place, *Antony* made a vigorous Sally at the Head of his Cavalry, ruined the Works of the Besiegers, and beat them back to their Camp. But this was a last Effort of expiring Virtue:—For instead of improving his Advantage, and thinking seriously of defending himself by observing *Cleopatra's* Actions, he flew to her immediately after the Battle, threw himself at her Feet, with his Armour on, and kissed her Hands. The Palace resounded with Acclamations, as if the Siege had been raised; and *Cleopatra*, who fought only to amuse *Antony*, ordered a magnificent Entertainment, at which they spent the Remainder of the Day and all the ensuing Night. *Antony* perceiving in the Hall an Officer who had distinguished himself greatly in the Engagement, beckoned to him, and made him sit down by him; whilst *Cleopatra*, to gain him to her Interest, made him a Present of a Head-Piece and Breast-Plate of Gold, finely wrought; after which she sent him that very Night, to *Cesar*, to let him know what Steps she intended next to take. These were, to deliver up her Fleet, and with it *Antony*, if she

could make him fall into the Snare. To this End, she pretended a great Desire that her Ships, on board of which she had put none but *Alexandrians* and *Phenicians*, should try their Fortune against those of the Enemy. *Antony*, who knew no Will but her's, consented to the Proposal, and at Day-break of the first of *August* drew up his Land-Forces on the neighbouring Hills, from thence to view the Combat. The Fleet sailed out of the Port in good Order:—but how great was his Astonishment when he saw the *Egyptian* Vessels salute those of *Octavius*, and return with them into the Harbour. At the same time his Cavalry deserted him. He then tried an Engagement with his Infantry, but was defeated: upon which he flew back to *Alexandria*, vowing revenge on *Cleopatra*, by whom he had been thus basely betrayed.

Just before the Battle, *Antony* had sent a Message to *Octavius*, challenging him to end the War by a single Combat, but was answered coldly, that if he sought for Death, there were others Methods enough to procure it.

WHILST *Antony* was advancing against his Enemy, the treacherous Queen, apprehending the Consequences of his just Resentment, especially during the first Transports of his Wrath, retired to a magnificent Tomb, which she had built for herself, amidst the other Monuments of the Kings of *Egypt*. She had before sent thither most of her valuable Effects, particularly her Gold and Jewels, with Quantities of Perfumes, aromatic Woods, Torches, and other Combustibles, of which a Pile was made, as if she had intended to burn herself with her Riches. She now shut herself up in this Place, the Door of which was strongly defended with Bolts and iron Bars, and caused *Antony* to be told, that, preferring an honourable Death to a shameful Captivity, she had ended her Days amidst the Remains of her Ancestors. If *Dion Cassius* be right in thinking she did this in order to rid *Octavius* of his Rival, as well knowing that he loved her to such Excess as not to be able to survive

survive her, it must be owned that this Perfidy was still more atrocious than all she had done before.—Certain it is, that *Antony*, always too credulous, especially when the Character or Welfare of *Cleopatra* was concerned, instantly passed from the most violent Anger, to as great Melancholy and Despair; and, struck with the Idea of her Death, resolved to kill himself. He retired immediately into his Chamber, put off his Armour, and, full of his former Passion, which a Moment's Reflection on *Cleopatra's* Behaviour might have cured him off, sent for one of his most faithful Slaves; named *Eros*, from whom he had some time before extorted a Promise to kill him, whenever Fortune should drive him to this last Extremity. He now called upon him to keep his Word. The Slave took up a Sword, as if he was going to stab his Master, but plunged it into his own Bosom.—*I commend thee*, *Eros*, cried *Antony*, seeing him fall at his Feet; *instead of doing that Office, which your Regard for me would not permit you to perform: you shew me the Example*.—He then drew his Sword, ran it into his Side, and fell back upon a Couch. The Wound was not immediately mortal; and the Blood stopped after he had lain some time upon his Back.

HE was in this Situation, racked with Anxiety of Mind and Pain of Body, when *Diomedes*, one of the Queen's Secretaries, came from her to propose his being removed to her Tomb; for she had been instantly informed of his rash Action.—Indignation would have filled the Breast of any other Man, at finding by this Message how fatally he had been deceived with regard to *Cleopatra's* Death: but *Antony* expressed only Joy at hearing that she was still alive, and earnestly begged to be carried to her.—The Difficulty was how to get him into her Tomb; for she would not by any means suffer the Door to be opened, for fear of being surprized by some of *Octavius's* Party. She therefore went to a Window, and threw down Cords, with which she and two of her Women, the only Persons she

had taken with her, drew him up. Never was a more moving Sight.—*Antony*, covered with Gore, and in the Agonies of approaching Death, was suspended in the Air, stretching his Hands towards *Cleopatra*, and frequently in Danger of falling; whilst a Number of Spectators, anxious and trembling, encouraged *Cleopatra*, whose utmost Strength was exerted, 'till at length, with the Help of her two Attendants, she hoisted him up to the Window, took him in her Arms, and carried him to her Bed.—I do not know that this Picture, which is drawn by *Plutarch*, has been executed by any great Painter: nor could I readily name a Subject in all History better calculated to display the Skill of an able Master.

CLEOPATRA, who but a few Hours before, did not shudder at the Thought of offering *Antony's* Head to *Cesar*, in order to preserve her Kingdom, could not now behold him in the Agonies of Death, without being penetrated with Grief. Embracing him with all the Tenderness of real Affection, and bathing him with Tears, she called him her dear Lord, her Prince, her Husband, and uttered the most mournful Expressions, while she cut off his Hair, according to the Superstition of the Pagans, who imagined that Ceremony gave Ease to such as died a violent Death *. *Antony*, lifting up his Eyes, begged

* So *VIRGIL*, in his high-wrought Description of the Death of *Dido*.

Tum Juno omnipotens, longum miserata dolorem,

Difficilemque obitus, Irim demisit Olympo,

Quæ luctantem animam nexosque resolverat artus.

Nam, quia nec Fato, merita nec Morte peribat,

Sed misera ante diem, subitoque accensa furore,

Nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem

Abstulerat, Stygieque caput damnaverat Orco.

Ergo Iris croceis per cælum rufida pennis,

Mille trahens varios adverso sole colores,

Devolat, et supra caput adstitit: Hunc ego Diis

Sacrum jussa fero, teque isto corpore solvo.

Sic ait, et dextra crinem secut: omnis et una

Dilabfus calor, atque in ventos vita recessit.

begged of her to be comforted, assured her that he died happy since he died in her Arms, and that he thought it no Ignominy for a *Roman*, as he was, to be conquered by a *Roman*. Then, exhorting her to save her Life and Kingdom, if she could do it with Honour, and advising her to beware of the Traitors of her own Court, as well as of *Cesar's* Attendants, *Proculeius* alone excepted, in whom she might safely confide, he expired in her Arms.

SUCH was the End of ANTONY, in the fifty-fifth Year of his Age; justly esteemed the greatest General of his time, till, captivated by *Cleopatra*, he suffered his Courage to be enervated by the Pleasures of her Court, and after losing all his former Glory, lost at last his Life, through a weak and shameful Despair. His good Qualities were great; but his Vices greater. He was naturally open, humane, and liberal: but these principles of Virtue, not being supported by a sound, firm, and enlightened Reason, were often overpowered by the Violence of his Passions, so far as to make him give way to the most odious Cruelty, and sometimes degenerated even into Weakness. Born to be governed by Women, he was a flagrant Instance of the Insatiation, Slavery, and endless Disasters, which a foolish Love for the *underserving* of that Sex never fails to produce.—His natural Character was almost such another as that of a modern General, (*A——r*) who displayed his in his Government of *Minorca*. Only *Antony*, tho' rude among the *Romans*, was more polished both by Letters and Conversation.—But both were Soldiers, both rapacious, both Swearers, both Drinkers, and both abandoned to Lewdness.—It is no small Compliment to the Modern, to compare him to *M. Antony*.

ANTONY was scarcely dead when *Proculeius* arrived; for while the wounded General was carrying from his Chamber to *Cleopatra's* Tomb, one of his Guards, named *Derceteus*, catching up the Sword with which he had stabbed himself,

ran to *Octavius*, told him what passed, and produced the fatal Steel tinged with his Rival's Blood. *Octavius* shed Tears; but still less sincere, I doubt, than even those of his Great-uncle *Julius*, after the Death of *Pompey*. He affected to bewail the melancholy Fate of a Brother-in-Law, and a Collegue, with whom he had been connected in the Management of so many great and important Affairs; and, in order to justify himself, he assembled his Friends, and read to them the Letters which had passed between him and *Antony*; desiring them to observe how reasonable his Proposals had always been, whilst *Antony's* Answers were full of Pride and Haughtiness. After this farce was ended, he sent *Proculeius* to *Cleopatra*, with orders to try every means to get her into his Power, especially by assuring her, that she had nothing to fear from him, for that he would take care of her and her Children.—The Truth is, that he was afraid of losing the Treasures she had conveyed to her Tomb, and greatly wished to adorn his Triumph with a Captive of her Distinction.

CLEOPATRA would not confer with *Proculeius*, except through the Bars of the Gate, which was well secured. She demanded the Crown of *Egypt* for her Children: but *Proculeius* advised her to trust to the Victor's Generosity. In the mean time, he took particular Notice of every Thing about the Place; and while *Gallus*, who came with a second Message from *Octavius*, purposely spun out the Conversation with *Cleopatra* at the Gate; one on the outside and the other within, *Proculeius* and two Soldiers, with the Help of a Ladder, got in at the Window through which *Antony* had been conveyed. He immediately ran to the Gate; and one of *Cleopatra's* Women crying out, "Unfortunate Princess, you are taken alive!" She turned about, and seeing *Proculeius*, attempted to stab herself with a Poniard which hung at her Girdle. *Proculeius* caught hold of her Arm, wrested the Dagger from her, and examined her Cloaths to see that she had no other Weapons,

or any Poison, concealed about her; telling her, that she was unjust both to herself and to his Master, in wanting to deprive him of the Opportunity of shewing his Clemency, and in endeavouring to make the most gentle of all Conquerors pass for an implacable Enemy, unworthy to be trusted.—*Octavius*, being informed that *Cleopatra* was taken, ordered *Epaphroditus* to carry her to the Palace, and there to watch her very carefully, without losing sight of her a Moment, lest she should kill herself: but in every other respect, to shew her the greatest Deference, and do all he could to soften her Captivity.

CESAR's Behaviour now fully verified the ancient Maxim, which the great Master of Life recommends as an Oracle:

By Converse with the Knowing Princes become Wise *.

AT his Entry into *Alexandria*, he did such an Honour to a learned Man, as has few Parallels in History. He entered the City, holding *Arcius* by the Hand, and when the *Alexandrians* were expecting every thing that was dreadful in Victory and Revenge, he mounted the Tribunal, without quitting his hold of the Philosopher, and told them in his sententious Way, that he was sensible what they deserved from him; but that he pardoned them, and would spare their City; first, because of its Beauty; next, out of respect for the Memory of *Alexander*, its Founder †; and lastly, for the sake of *AREIUS*, their Fellow-Citizen, and his Friend ‡.—Such was his Regard for Men of Learning, who are in fact the Heralds of the Great,

* ΣΟΦΟΙ ΤΡΑΝΝΟΙ ΣΟΦΩΝ ΣΤΗΝΟΤΕΙΑΙ.

ΠΛΑΤΩΝ *Osay*. Where he quotes this Line as from *Euripides*; while it is still extant in a Tragedy of *Sophocles*, called the *Locrian Ajax*.—What a handle of Triumph to a little Critic! But either the Verse may have been in both Places, of which we have many Instances; or it may have been a Slip of a Great Man's Memory, no way derogatory to his Superior Knowledge.

† JULIAN's Superstitious Fondness for *Serapis* has made him substitute that God, instead of this Hero, as the Founder of *Alexandria*.

‡ PLUT. *Apothegm*.

Great, the means by which their Actions are consigned to Immortality.—His Esteem for Philosophy made him think it an Honour to himself to have a Philosopher's Head on the Reverse of his Medals. *M. Spanheim* * gives a fine Head of *PLATO*, which, he says, is still extant on the Reverse of a Greek Medal of *Augustus*.

THE Conqueror now redoubled his Complaisance to the captive Queen, sending regularly to inquire after her Health, and desiring to know wherein he could be of Service. To which she, well knowing what Value to set upon these Compliments, answered, that she only desired leave to bury her deceased *Antony*. Several *Asiatic* Monarchs, who had received either their Dominions, or other great Favours, from that General, had already begged leave to pay their last Duty to their Benefactor, by performing his funeral Rites. But *Octavius* reserved this Consolation for the Queen of *Egypt*, who caused his Body to be embalmed with the richest Spices of the East, and erected to him a magnificent Mausoleum among the Tombs of her royal Ancestors.

THE Series of Grief which *Cleopatra* had undergone, added to the Contusions she had given herself upon her Breast; brought on a Fever, which she resolved to make a Pretence of to starve herself to Death, under Colour of observing a Regimen necessary for her Disorder. Her Physician, *Olympus*, from whom *Plutarch* had this Particular, was in the Secret. But *Octavius*, having discovered her Design, sent her Word, that her Children should suffer for it, if she neglected the Means of recovering her Health. Unable to resist this Menace, she submitted to a proper Treatment, and was cured.

OCTAVIUS then sent to desire leave to wait on her; a Ceremony by which he hoped the better to mask his real Design. He was introduced into her Chamber, where she was lying upon a Couch, with nothing on her but a loose Robe.

As

* In JULIAN, p. 7.

As soon as he entered, she rose up hastily, and threw herself at his Feet. Her Misfortunes had emaciated her, and, in some Measure, soured her Countenance : Her Hair was dishevelled, her Voice trembling, her Complexion pale, and her Eyes cast down ; the Marks of the Blows she had given herself were still visible on her Bosom, and her whole outward Form plainly spoke the deplorable Condition of her Mind. Yet her natural Beauty, and the noble Sprightliness of her Looks, had not entirely forsaken her ; but even through these disadvantageous external Appearances, alluring Charms might still be discovered in all her Motions. *Octavius* desired her to resume her Seat, and sat down by her.

CLEOPATRA had prepared herself for this Interview, which she greatly desired, and now resolved to make the best Use of, to sound the Conqueror. Apologies, Intreaties, and Allurements were recurred to, but equally in vain. She began with attempting to justify herself, and to throw the Cause of the War entirely upon *Antony*, whom, she said, she was forced to obey : but *Octavius* easily refuted those Excuses, and shewed her that she was wrong in every Article. She then submitted to implore his Clemency :—but, a Moment after, changing her Tone and Subject, she shewed the young *Cesar* several Portraits of his Great-Uncle, which she had hung up in her Chamber, and read to him several tender Letters which she had received from that Dictator ; frequently interrupting the Discourse with mournful Complaints, and Reflections on herself. *Of what Service*, cried she, *can those Letters be to me, which that Great Man honoured me with ? Why could not I die with him ?* Then, recovering herself, and addressing *Octavius*, *Oh*, said she, *I find him again in you : He revives for me in your Person.* *Octavius* was no Stranger to this Language : but he remained so firm against every Attack, that *Cleopatra* was obliged to return to Affairs of Business.

AFTER thanking him for the Compliments, which *Proc-*

leius had made her in his Name, and which he himself had been pleased to confirm, she told him, that, in return, she would deliver to him all the riches of the Kings of *Egypt*; and with these Words she presented him an Inventory of her Treasure, which gave rise to a singular Scene: for *Seleucus*, one of her Stewards, having alledged that the Inventory was not just, and that she had secreted certain Jewels, which he mentioned, she flew into a violent Passion, started from her Couch, and catching him by the Hair, gave him several Blows on the Face. *Octavius* smiled at this Sally, and desired her to desist: *What, Sir*, said she, *whilst you do me the Honour of visiting me in this melancholy Situation, is it not provoking that one of my Slaves should dare to affront me in your Presence? And even if what he says were true; can it be supposed that I should keep for myself, those Ornaments which no longer suit my Fortune? Or could I be blamed for preserving some Presents to offer to Livia and Octavia, in order, by their Means, to obtain Indulgence from you?* *Octavius*, pleased with this Speech, because it looked as if she did not think of destroying herself, bid her keep what she had reserved, and assured her, that he should endeavour to oblige her in every other thing, even beyond what she herself could hope.

It is very plain, that *Cleopatra* hoped, at this Interview, to work *Cesar* first to Pity, and then to Love.—Every part of her Dress, Appearance, and Behaviour, tended to one of these two.—Her Fury against her own Servant shewed the most outrageous Temper; and she appears tossed in a Whirl of Passions throughout the whole Visit.—Indeed her Fate depended upon the Success of her Wiles, and she immediately read it in *Cesar's* Eyes. He endeavoured to dissemble in his Words; assured her of the kindest Treatment, becoming her royal State, and the Splendor of her Family; and pressed her to take care of her Health, and to command him in every Thing she desired.—But while he spoke, she observed that he

never

never once raised his Eyes from the Ground, nor looked her in the Face.—Perhaps he thought it the surest Way of *ordering his Looks*, to shew neither Anger nor Love :—Or rather, conscious Guilt, and a formed Design to deceive, produced this Effect ; which was a certain Evidence to the Queen, that she was undone, and could not make the least Impression upon his Heart.

CLEOPATRA kept a Correspondence with *Dolabella*, a young Roman of high Birth, and attached to *Octavius*, but who, out of Compassion, or perhaps a stronger Motive, interested himself in her Misfortunes. He privately informed her, according to their Agreement, that *Octavius* was preparing to return to *Italy* by Land, through *Syria*, and that she was to be sent off in three Days, with her Children.

Upon this, she desired leave of *Octavius* to offer Libations on *Antony's* Tomb ; which being granted, she repaired thither with her two faithful Attendants, embraced his Coffin, bathed it with her Tears, and invoked his Spirit to witness that she would soon rejoin him. She then returned home, bathed, and ordered a great Dinner to be prepared, during which a Peasant brought her a covered Basket. The Guards set about her under Pretence of Honour, but in reality to watch all her Motions, asking what it was, he opened it, took out the Leaves at the Top, and shewed them some Figs. They admired their Size and Beauty, and let him pass, not suspecting that he carried any Thing else.

As soon as she had finished her Dinner, she gave *Epaphroditus* a Letter, sealed, to deliver to *Cesar* ; then ordered every one to leave her, except her two Women, who immediately shut the Doors of her Apartment. *Octavius*, upon opening the Letter, found in it nothing but lamentable Intreaties, *Cleopatra* requesting, as the greatest Favour, to be buried beside *Antony*. Easily apprehending what this signified, he at first thought of going to her himself ; but a Moment after, judged

it more proper to send some of those who were about him, to examine what had passed. They ran with all Speed, and found the Guards quiet at their Posts, not in the least suspecting that any Accident had happened: but upon their entering the Chamber, they saw *Cleopatra* lying dead upon a gilded Bed, arrayed in her royal Robes. Of the two Women, who waited upon her, *Iras* lay dead at her Mistress's Feet, and the other, *Charmion*, already staggering, and hardly able to support herself, was putting the Diadem on *Cleopatra's* Head. *This is finely done*, *Charmion*! cried one of those who came in, with great Emotion. *Yes*, replied she, *it is finely done, and worthy a Princess descended from so many Kings*. On pronouncing these Words, she fell down and expired.

CLEOPATRA died at the age of thirty-nine, after having reigned twenty-two Years; during fourteen of which, partaking in *Antony's* good Fortune, she saw all the Kings and Princes of the East glory in being allowed servilely to cringe before her. Ambition, the Motive of all her Actions, made her vainly hope to triumph over the whole *Roman Empire*, and reign in the Capitol*.—Impelled by that fatal Passion, she had made War upon her eldest Brother, poisoned a second, and ordered her Sister *Arfinoe* to be murdered. The Abuse, which she made of *Antony's* Confidence, during the many Years they lived together, and his extreme Indulgence towards her, is an atrocious Piece of Ingratitude, which she crowned with

* ———— dūm Capitolio:

Regina dementes ruinas,
Fusus & Imperio parabat.

Says *HORACE*, in the last (a); but not least beautiful, of six Odes, which he composed upon the ending of the War between *Octavius* and *Antony*. The Poet seems here to triumph with the Conqueror: Though we may observe in this, as well as in all the other Odes of his writing, on the Subject of the Civil Wars, which had desolated the Republic for many Years, a constant Tenderness and Care for the Person of *Antony*.—All the Indignation of the Poet falls upon *Cleopatra*.

(a) *LIR*, I. Od. 37.

with the blackest Perfidy, by betraying to an Enemy the Person whom she feigned to love more than her Life.—And, that she might partake of every Kind of Shame, she had the Mortification to see her Advances to *Octavius* rejected, and those Efforts by which she tried to kindle in him a Passion, in which, till that Time, she had always triumphed, repulsed with Contempt. Her Haughtiness attended her even to her last Moments, which she chose to accelerate, rather than submit to adorn the Triumph of her Conqueror*.——With her fell the *Egyptian* Monarchy, which had subsisted two hundred and ninety four Years, under thirteen Kings of the Family of the *Lagidae*.——She was buried near *Antony*, according to her Desire, and after the Manner of the *Egyptians*: her own Subjects being charged to direct her Funeral with a Magnificence becoming so great a Queen, at the Expence of *Octavius*, who likewise finished the Tomb which she and *Antony* had begun to build for themselves, and ordered an honourable Sepulture for the two faithful Women, who had accompanied her to her Death.

How wild soever *Cleopatra's* Conduct might be; yet her high Spirit and Capacity, her Grandeur and extensive Territories, made the famous *Zenobia*, the Queen of the East, boast that she was descended from the *Ptolomies* and *Cleopatra*, and lay Claim to their wide Dominion.

THOUGH *Octavius*, now without any Sort of Rival, and incontestably Master of the *Roman* Empire, shewed, in general, a Clemency suitable to his high Fortune, yet he exercised such Rigours, as he thought necessary for his Security. Among these

* *Deliberatâ Morte ferocior:*

Sævis Liburnis scilicet invidens,

Privata deduci superbo

Non humilis Mulier triumphos.

HOR. ib.

Where, by the way, the Poet artfully mentions these vessels, because they were particularly serviceable in gaining the Victory, in Compliment to his Patron *Mæcenat*, who commanded that Squadron.

these was the Execution of *Antyllus*, (so called as a Descendant from *Hercules*) the eldest of *Antony's* Sons by *Fulvia*. The unfortunate Youth was delivered up by his Preceptor *Theodore*. Neither the Statue of *Julius Cesar*, which he clasped in his Arms ; nor his being betrothed to *Julia*, by the Treaty concluded at *Tarentum*, could save him. The Wretch who betrayed him, when he ought to have preserved his Life, even at the Expence of his own, soon brought upon himself, by a fresh Crime, the Punishment due to his Perfidy : for while the Soldiers were preparing to behead *Antyllus*, *Theodore* stole from him a valuable Jewel, which hung at his Neck ; Search was made for it, and the Thief denied it : but he was presently convicted of the Fact, and crucified.

CLEOPATRA, a little before her Death, thinking to save her Son *Cesarion*, whom she had by the Dictator *Cesar*, intrusted him to the Care of one *Rhodon*, with Orders to carry him to the King of *Ethiopia*. But the base Traitor, in Hopes of a Reward, brought him back to *Octavius*. A Council was assembled, to deliberate upon the Fate of this unfortunate Youth, when *Areius*, who had the Honour to sit as a Member, being asked his Opinion, answered, alluding to part of a Line of *Homer*,

Away with many Chiefs—One Head is best.*

THOUGH this Answer has more the Air of a Courtier than of a Patriot, yet it was sound Advice at Bottom ; as in the low State to which Vice and Venality had reduced the Republic, there was now little Prospect of its ever recovering its Liberty, and many Chiefs of opposite Factions would only have served to rend the miserable Remains by new Struggles for personal Power.—Though, indeed, there was no great Occasion

* HOMER says, (Il. II. l. 204.) Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκλισίην, But *Areius* turned it in this Manner to *Octavius*,

Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκλισίην ἓς καίσαρος ἑσθ'.

Occasion for very cogent Reasons to induce *Octavius* to make away with a Man, who disputed with him the Quality of *Cesar's* Son.—*Cesar* was therefore put to death.

The Statues which had been erected to *Antony* were thrown down after his Death*, by Virtue of a Decree of the Senate, passed when *Cicero's* Son presided as Consul. A very singular Circumstance, and which was remarked by all the World as a Kind of Consolation to the Manes of *Cicero*, whose Son gave the last blow of Infamy and Vengeance to his Enemy and Murderer. For the same Decree ordered, that whatever had been enacted in Favour of *Antony* should be abolished; that his Birth-Day should be ranked among the unfortunate Days; and that none of his Family should ever after bear the Name of *Marcus*†.—I must here observe, that *Octavius* seems to have desired to wash off the Reproach of his Ingratitude towards *Cicero*, by the Regard which he shewed to his Son.—Young *Cicero*, after the Battle of *Philippi*, retired at first to *Sicily*, to *Sextus Pompey*. It is probable that he returned to *Rome* after the Battle of *Miseno*; and thus being in a Situation to receive *Octavius's* Favours, he was first made Augur, and afterwards advanced to the Consulship, which he held from the thirteenth of *September*, to the first of *November*, in the Year I am now speaking of‡.

THE Statues of *Cleopatra* would not have been more respected than those of *Antony*, if her generous Friend, *Archibius*, had not preserved them from being destroyed, by giving *Octavius* a thousand Talents; about two hundred and twenty-five thousand Pounds of our Money.

ANTONY left seven Children by three different Wives. He had by *Fulvia*, *Antyllus*, and *Julius Antonius*; by *Octavia*, two Daughters, both named *Antonia*; by *Gleopatra*, two Sons, *Ptolomey* and *Alexander*, and one Daughter, named *Cleopatra* after

* VELL. Lib. II. c. 86.
Civ. Lib. IV. DIO. & PLIN.

† PLUT. in Cic. APPIAN. de Bell.

‡ U. C. DCCXXIII.

after her Mother. We have already seen the melancholy Fate of *Antyllus*. As to the rest, *Octavia*, who continued always faithful to the Memory of an ingrateful Husband, took them under her Care, and educated them with her own Children; performing the Office of a Mother to them all. She even made *Julius Antonius* her Son-in-Law, by giving him in Marriage *Marcella*, whom she had by her first Husband, *Marcellus*. *Octavius*, who spared him, perhaps because he liked his Name better, or thought his Temper less dangerous, than that of his elder Brother, gave him his Father's forfeited Estate.—*Cleopatra*, surnamed *Selene*, or *the Moon*, had, for her Portion, Part of the Kingdom of *Cyrene*, and was married to the younger *JUBA*, the most amiable and most learned King of his Time. We are not told what became of *Ptolomy* and *Alexander*, any farther than that the Conqueror spared their Lives.—The eldest of *Antony's* Daughters by *Octavia* married *Domitius Ahenobarbus*; and the other, distinguished by the Name of the Younger *Antonia*, but still more so by her Beauty and Virtue, became the Wife of *Drusus* and the Mother of *Germanicus*.—By these Alliances, *Antony's* Posterity arrived at the sovereign Power in *Rome*; *Caligula* his Great-Grand-Son, *Claudius* his Grandson, and *Nero*, who descended from him both by his Father and Mother, being successively Emperors, and his Descendants. For *Domitius*, the Father of this last, was *Antony's* Grand-Son; and *Agrippina*, his Mother, was *Antony's* Great-Grand-Daughter.

THE *JUBA*, Second of the Name, who married *CLEOPATRA SELENE*, was son of *Juba I.* and Grandson of *Hiempsal*, both Kings of *Numidia*.—The elder *Juba* had espoused the Cause of the Great *Pompey*; but, after the Death of that Assertor of Liberty, he was defeated by the Dictator *Julius*, who reduced his Kingdom into a Province dependant on the *Romans*, in the Year DCCVIII. The Historian *Sallust* was the first Governor of it. The dethroned Monarch, unable

Vol. III, p. 216





to brook his Disgrace, prevailed on *Petreibus*, the Companion of his Misfortunes, to put an End to his Sufferings and Life *.—The younger *Juba*, then an Infant, was made one of the Ornaments of the Victor's Triumph at *Rome*, where he was educated; and attached himself to *Octavius*, who, upon his marrying *Gleopatra*, gave him the two *Mauritanias*, and Part of *Getulia*.—By this means, he continued the Posterity of *Masiniſſa*.—*Ptolomy*, whom the Wretch *Caligula* put to death, was their Son.

JUBA was a great Naturalist, and extremely curious; but, I ſuſpect, a little credulous, as *Pliny* †, who has borrowed largely from him, and who ſays that his Knowledge rendered him ſtill more illuſtrious than his Crown, mentions his aſſerting in a Letter to *Caius Ceſar*, that a dead Man was brought to Life by the Virtue of an Herb which grows in *Arabia*.—A Country, it would ſeem, always productive of Miracles.—He likewiſe ſays, that *Semiramis* was fond of a Horſe, and that her Paſſion roſe to the Height of *Pariſphae's* for her Bull.—The Plant *Euphorbium* is ſaid to have been firſt diſcovered, and ſo named, by him, from his Phyſician *Euphorbius*.—Certain it is, that he was a moſt amiable, and very learned, Prince.—Both *Pliny* ‡ and *Athenæus* § mention ſeveral Works of his writing.

OCTAVIUS's Clemency, upon the taking of *Alexandria*, was not confined to *Antony's* Family alone. Moſt of the ſurviving *Romans*, who had followed that unfortunate Chief, were pardoned; Hiſtory mentioning only three of them, *Caffius* of *Parma*, *Canidius*, and the Senator *Ovinius*, who were puniſhed with Death.

L. Naſidius, *Sentius Saturninus*, *Minutius Thermus*, *C. Antiftius Vetus*, and the other Champions of Liberty, had ſtuck

VOL. III.

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* SUTTON. in Cæſ. FLORUS, Lib. IV. c. 2. PLUT. in Pomp. & Cæſ. DION. Lib. XLIII. & ſeq.

† Lib. XXV. c. 7.

‡ Ubi

ſupra, & Lib. V. c. 1.

§ Lib. III. IV. & VII.

by *S. Pompey* after his Defeat, and accompanied him in his Flight to *Asia*: but finding him inconstant, and wildly bent on making War without Men or Ships, they abandoned him, and went over to *Antony*. Even *Libo*, his Father-in-Law, and *Fannius Cepio* his Favourite, forsook him.—All these had either left *Antony* before the Rupture, or made their Peace with *Octavius* after it; except the brave *CASSIUS OF PARMA*, who had retired to *Athens*, where he still disdained to become a Suppliant to *Cesar*, and held Life too cheap to purchase it by a Meanness:—Though, indeed, his Quality of one of *Cesar's* Murderers would have barred the Way to Forgiveness, had he sought it.—Whether *VARIUS* had any particular Pique against *Cassius*, I cannot tell: Both being learned Men, and of different Parties, they may have drawn their Pens, as well as their Swords, against one another, and so improved the Party-Spirit into a personal Enmity.—*Varius* was now pitched upon to execute, methinks, the unpleasant Office of cutting off *Cassius's* Head; and as his Writings, which were very numerous, though *Horace* * gives us no very favourable Idea of his Talents in this Way, were supposed to be full of the *Roman* Spirit, Love of Liberty, and Detestation of the Usurper, it was thought ingenious to use them, and the Boxes which contained them, as Materials for a Funeral Pile to their Author.—If *Varius* took pleasure in overseeing this Execution, he has been sufficiently punished by a Stain fixed on his Memory, as if he had stolen from *Cassius's* Papers, a Sketch of that Tragedy on which his Reputation as a Poet came principally to depend.

CANIDIUS deserved his Fate, as a Traitor to his late Master, and a Tool to *Cleopatra*. His Behaviour in his last Moments.

* ——— Etrusci

Quale fuit Cassi rapido ferventius anni

Ingenium; capis quem fama est esse librisque

Ambustum propriis.

Moments was even cowardly.—*Ovinus* was a fawning, worthless Sycophant to *Cleopatra*, and debased the Senatorial Dignity, with which he was invested, so far as to accept the Place of Keeper of her Wardrobe; an Office which was looked upon as servile among the *Romans*.

THE Great *Pompey* had generously destroyed *Sertorius's* Papers; and the Dictator *Cesar* had magnanimously imitated him in that Respect, after his Victory over *Metellus Scipio*; to remove from those who had been connected with the unfortunate Party, all Fears of being called to an After-Account.—*Octavius* wanted to have the Honour of so glorious an Action, whilst he had not the Spirit to deserve it. He declared, that he had burnt all *Antony's* Papers: but at the same Time, with his usual Artifice and Cunning, he carefully preserved the greatest Part of them, and made no Scruple to use them afterwards to serve his Ends *.

HIS Conduct was more sincere with regard to the Foreigners he found at *Alexandria*, among whom were Sons and Daughters of most of the Kings and Princes in Alliance with, or dependent on, *Antony*, who had kept the former as Hostages, and the latter to gratify his brutal Passions. The Conqueror treated them all with great Gentleness, sending some of them back, making suitable Marriages between others, and detaining several; but without using them harshly. *Jotapa*, who had been intended for one of *Antony's* Sons, was conducted honourably to the King of the *Medes*, her Father, who had courted *Octavius's* Friendship for some Time. But *Artaxias*, King of *Armenia*, could not obtain the Liberty of his Sons, because he had massacred the *Romans* who remained in his Country.

WHILST *Octavius* was at *Alexandria*, he visited the Tomb of *Alexander* the Great. *Dion* says he even saw his Body, and that the Tip of the Nose, on which he laid his Finger, was

instantly reduced to Dust.—The Testimonies of Veneration which he shewed to the Ashes of that Conqueror *, the Flowers which he strewed upon his Monument, and the Crown with which he adorned it, are Circumstances much more worthy of Remembrance.—The *Alexandrians* wanted likewise to shew him the Tombs of the *Ptolomies*: but he refused it, telling them, that he was curious to see a *King*, and not *Dead Bodies*.—His Answer to them, when they proposed his visiting *Apis*, was still more solid and judicious. *I am accustomed, said he, to honour the Gods, and not an Ox.*

EGYPT, now a conquered Country, and a *Roman Province*, afforded *Octavius* such immense Riches as enabled him not only to discharge all he owed to his Soldiers, and to give those who followed him in this last Expedition a Gratuity of an hundred and fifty *Denarii* (about six Pounds) a Man, by way of Compensation for the Plunder of *Alexandria*, which he would not allow them to ransack; but also to repay what he had borrowed for supporting the War, with magnificent Rewards to the *Roman* Senators and Knights who had assisted him. The vast Treasures of the *Ptolomies* had been greatly augmented by *Cleopatra*, whose rapacious Hand spared not even what was most sacred in the Temples. The Reproach of these Sacrileges fell upon her, whilst *Octavius* enjoyed the Profit of them: to which was added a prodigious Sum paid by the *Egyptians*, as an Acknowledgement for their Pardon.—A manifest Proof how much *Rome* was enriched by the Conquest of *Egypt*, resulted from her Commerce. The Funds doubled their Value, and the Interest of Money fell from twelve to four *per Cent.*—Part of this Effect must, indeed, be attributed to the general Peace and Tranquility which was now established.

THE Acquisition of *Egypt* was an Object of infinite Importance; not so much for the immense Wealth which it conveyed

veyed to the Capital, as that it became the Granary of *Rome*, and chief Means of its Subsistence during at least four Months of the Year. The Head of the Empire was greatly increased, like our own Metropolis: but the Body, Thanks to Heaven, was very unlike *Britain*; being in a starving Condition, laid waste by the Civil War. The public Domain, destined for the Nourishment of the *Romans*, had been squandered by *Julius Cæsar*, *Antony*, and *Octavius* himself.—*Campania* was divided;—*Sicily* dissipated by Grants to Favourites; and the Farms of *Italy* were turned into Groves of Pleasure, while her Fertile Fields lay waste for want of Hands to till them *.—In a little Time, *ROME* came to depend upon *Alexandria* for Bread; and the Arrival of a Fleet from that Port was like a Visit from Heaven †.

CESAR, who foresaw this Dependance, and intended to make *Egypt* likewise a Prop of his Power, sequestrated it from the other Provinces, and devised a peculiar Policy by which it should be governed:—In the first Place, it was to have no other Prefect, than a Procurator or Steward.—No regular Magistrate, Pretor, or Pro-Consul was to be entrusted with it, or enter it with Ensigns of Dignity.—No Senator was so much as to set his Foot in that Province, without express Permission of the Emperor. This afterwards gave *Tiberius* a Handle to reflect severely upon the noble *Germanicus* ‡, who, without other Design, than indulging a refined Curiosity, and viewing its rare Antiquities, had made a Progress through *Egypt* in a very popular Manner.

WE have a beautiful Account of this Country in the younger *Pliny's* Panegyric upon the excellent *Trajan*.—"EGYPT,"
 "says he, used to boast its Production of Grain without the
 "Assistance of Showers from Heaven. For being constantly
 "overflowed by its own River, and watered by no other
 "Fountain than its propitious Stream, it was clad with such
 never—

* TACIT.

† SENEC. Epist. 78.

‡ TACIT. Hist. Lib. II.

“ never-failing Crops, as to contend with the most fruitful
 “ Spots of the Universe. But this very Country, by an unex-
 “ expected Drought, became, not only less productive, but
 “ totally barren. The languid *Nile* lay groveling within his
 “ Banks, and those happy Fields he used to overflow were
 “ covered with parched Dust. It was then that *Egypt* wished
 “ for Clouds in vain, and in vain looked up to the scorching
 “ Sky. The Parent of their Plenty was himself shrunk up,
 “ and left Famine and Death to inhabit wherever he did not
 “ come. Under this Calamity, *Egypt* implored the Assistance
 “ of our Prince, and felt her Miseries no longer than he
 “ had Time to send her Relief. It was anciently taken
 “ for granted, that *Rome* could not be nourished or supported,
 “ but by the Stores of *Egypt*; and that insolent airy Nation
 “ used to boast, that the *Romans*, their Conquerors, must de-
 “ pend upon them for Food; that their living or starving
 “ must proceed from their River, and pass through *Egyptian*
 “ Hands. But now we have refunded them their Wealth,
 “ and the *Nile* has found a new Employment, in importing
 “ those Stores he used to send abroad. Let then the *Egyptians*
 “ know, that, instead of providing for our Sustenance, they
 “ only pay their Taxes. That their Subjection is convenient,
 “ but not necessary for the *Roman* People. Let the *Nile* hence-
 “ forth, if he thinks fit, keep within his Banks, and roll
 “ down a scanty Stream all the Year round: It is of no Con-
 “ sequence to *Rome*; nor even to *Egypt* herself, save that her
 “ empty Ships, such as they used to be in their Return, will
 “ sail from the *Tyber* laden and full.”

WHAT *Tacitus* * calls the *Arts of Augustus* were in nothing
 more apparent than in the Government of *Egypt*.—Sensible
 of the Advantages with which a Governor of that Country,
 rich, inexhaustible, difficult of Access, and full of a fickle and
 mutinous People, might, especially if of an ancient Family,
 dispute

dispute the supreme Power, even with the Chief of *Rome*; he considered who, among all his Friends, was the fittest Person to discharge the mighty Trust; and at last pitched upon the celebrated CORNELIUS GALLUS.—His Spirit, Experience, and Address, rendered him capable of moving in so high a Sphere.—His Services deserved it; and his Birth and Rank (he being but a *Roman* Knight) removed all Fear of his making a bad Use of his Power. *Alexander* had formerly been struck with similar Apprehensions, and had taken Precautions against the Danger, by dividing the Authority among several Persons *.——To prevent the Effect † of the restless and seditious Spirit of the People, *Octavius* would not allow them either Senate or public Council in *Alexandria*, though almost all the Towns in the Empire enjoyed this Prerogative. Nor did he establish in *Egypt* the same general Form of Government as the *Romans* introduced into their new Conquests, which had always some Thing of the republican Turn. This country was governed according to the monarchical System ‡, and the *Roman* Prefects represented its ancient Kings. These Regulations were passed into a Law, and settled as a Maxim of State §.

SEVERE as these Measures might seem to be, *Egypt* enjoyed under the *Roman* Government a Happiness to which she had, till then, been a Stranger. Her last Kings had been a Set of Monsters, cruel, tyrannical, Contemners of the Laws, and negligent of the Welfare of their Subjects. In Spite of all its natural Advantages, the Country was very unhappy. The Canals for conveying the Waters of the Nile, so necessary for fertilizing the Soil, and so beneficial for the inland Trade of the Kingdom, were quite choaked up with Mud. *Octavius* made his Troops cleanse them, and cut new ones; by which the Air was purified, Commerce revived, and *Alexandria*, the general

* ARRIAN. Lib. III.

† DIO.

‡ STRABO.

§ TACIT. Annal. II. 59.

general Magazine of all Nations, the Chain which connected the East with the West, was rendered the second City of the Universe ; a Rank which she held ever after, till the Building of *Constantinople*.

TOWARDS the End of the fine Season he left *Egypt*, crossed *Syria*, and went into *Asia*, to pass the Winter there ; in order to establish Tranquillity, as well as his own Authority, in those vast Countries, which had not yet formally submitted to his Laws. To make them immediately sensible of the Difference between his Government and that of *Antony*, he replaced in their Temples, the Statues, which his Rival had taken from them, to satisfy *Cleopatra's* Avarice ; a Restitution, which the Attachment of the *Greeks* to their Religion, and their Love for the Arts, rendered extremely agreeable to them.

WHILST *Octavius* was busied in ending the grand Dispute, and settling the Consequences of the *Alexandrian* Victory ; *Phraates*, King of the *Parthians*, elated by the Success of his Arms against *Antony*, gave such a loose to his Pride and Cruelty, that his Subjects expelled him, and set up *Tiridates* in his Stead. The dethroned King had recourse to the *Scythians*, who lent him Troops, with which he returned into his Kingdom, where a Civil War ensued. Both Parties requested *Octavius's* Assistance : but he knew his own Interest too well, not to be pleased at seeing the Forces of a powerful Empire, the only Rival to that of *Rome*, destroy each other by their intestine Feuds. He therefore answered, that he was too much taken up with his own Affairs, to be able then to attend to theirs. *Phraates* afterwards overcame *Tiridates*, who thereupon fled into *Syria*, with one of his Enemy's Sons, whom he had taken Prisoner. Both Princes still applied to *Cesar* ; *Tiridates* pressing him to re-establish him upon the Throne, and promising in that case, to become his Vassal ; and *Phraates* demanding of him to deliver up *Tiridates* his rebellious Slave, and to send back his Son. But *Octavius*, listening to neither

of their Demands, promised *Tiridates* a sure Refuge in *Syria*, and resolved to take with him *Phraates's* Son, as an Hostage to *Rome*, whither he was preparing to return.

It would have been in very great Danger there, if the watchful *Meccenas* had not prevented it. *Paulus Emilius Lepidus*, an impetuous Youth, had formed a Conspiracy to assassinate him at his Arrival.—He saw in him the Destroyer of all his Relations and Supporters, and intended to revenge, by his Death, his Father, the Triumvir, whom he had stripped of his Possessions; his Uncle, *M. Brutus*, whom he reduced to kill himself; and, according to *Dio* *, his once Father-in-Law, *M. Antony*, a recent Victim of the Conqueror's Ambition.—We have no full Account of this Conspiracy, nor can I say who were the Persons concerned in it.—As to this Daughter of *Antony*, who, *Dio* says, was married to young *Lepidus* soon after the Death of the Dictator *Cesar*, she is no where else mentioned in History, and must have died before the Time I am now speaking of; for we do not find her among the Children which *Antony* left at his Death; and the Wife of *Lepidus*, when he conspired, was his own Cousin, the young *Servilia*.—*Meccenas* got Scent of the Plot, but took no Notice of it till he had full Proof against *Lepidus*, who was then seized, convicted, and put to Death.—His Wife *Servilia* resolved to follow him to the Grave: whereupon her Friends, perceiving her Design, took from her every Instrument with which they thought she could hurt herself, and watched her very closely; but she choked herself by swallowing live Coals out of a Chafing-Dish †.—This is the Source of the Mistake concerning the celebrated *Porcia*, *Cato's* Daughter and *Brutus's* Wife.

THE Conspirator's Mother, *Junia*, Sister of *Brutus*, was included in the criminal Process, and *Meccenas* wanted to send her to *Octavius* to be judged by him; or, at least, demanded sufficient Bail for her Appearance whenever she should be called

* Lib. XLIV.

† VELL. PATERC. Lib. II. §. 88.

upon.—Here is a remarkable Instance of the Instability of Human Affairs.—The Consul before whom the Prosecution was carried on, and who was to determine it finally, was one who had been proscribed. *Appian** calls him *Balbinus*.—Old *Lepidus*, one of the three Authors of the Proscription, was obliged to implore the Protection of this very Consul, having fallen into such Discredit, that he could not find any Person to be Security for his Wife. He frequently waited before *Balbinus's* Door, without gaining Admittance; and when he wanted to approach the Tribunal, the Lictors pushed him back. At last, forcing his way in, and addressing himself to *Balbinus*; *The Prosecutors of my Wife and Son*, said he, *acknowledge my Innocence, and do not even accuse me of being an Accomplice with either of them.*—*As to you, it was not I who proscribed you; though I now see above me several whom I did proscribe.*—*Consider the Changes of Fortune to which all Mankind is subject.*—*Behold Lepidus, now a Supplicant before you.*—*Touched with this Sight, either accept me as Security for my Wife, or send me with her, bound, to Cesar.* The Consul was so moved by this Speech, that he excused *Junia* from giving Bail.

THE Senate did not wait for the entire Defeat and Death of *Antony* to decree his Conqueror Honours, which might have been premature. Immediately after the Battle of *Actium*, an Order was published for his triumphing over *Cleopatra*; and it was farther resolved, that two triumphal Arches should be erected for him; one at *Brindisi*; and the other in the Forum at *Rome*; that the Prows of the Ships taken at *Actium* should be consecrated in the Temple erected to *Julius Cesar*; that Games should be celebrated every five Years in Honour of *Octavius*; that his Birth-day, and that on which the News of his Victory arrived at *Rome*, should be kept as Festivals; and that the Vestals, the Senators, and all the Citizens of *Rome*, with their Wives

Wives and Children, should go out to receive him at his Return. The Crowns and Statues decreed him, were innumerable.—The Death of his Rival became a Motive of farther Homage to his good Fortune. A new Triumph was decreed him on Account of his Conquest of *Egypt*; for it was particularly observed, as a Point of Delicacy and Decency, in the Titles of the Triumphs, not to mention either *Antony*, or the *Romans* who had followed him. The Senate likewise ordered, that the Day on which *Alexandria* was taken should be celebrated as a Festival, and serve as an Epoch from which the *Egyptians* should date their Years.—The *Tribunician* Power, which had never been given to any Person who was not actually a Tribune, was also offered him, with the extraordinary Prerogative of extending it a Mile beyond the Walls of the City, within the Circuit of which the Authority of other Tribunes had always been confined; but he refused it: And, though offered again afterwards, would not accept it, till he abdicated his eleventh Consulship, as I shall have Occasion to observe. He was, however, in some Measure, acknowledged Chief of the Republic, by an Order that his Name should be added to those of the Senate and People, in the Prayers and Vows which were offered up for the Safety of the State; and, on the first of *January*, his Collegue in his now fifth Consulship, with the whole Senate, swore to observe his Decrees:—A Homage paid only by Subjects to their Sovereign.—Among other Distinctions, he was allowed to encrease the Number of the Priests as much as he pleased; a Right which both he and his Successors made such ample Use of, that the Number of those in *Rome*, cloathed in sacerdotal Robes became so great, that, *Dio* says, it would have been difficult to keep a Register of them all.

THE Spirit of Flattery seldom knows any Bounds.—Not content with heaping on him all the Honours a Mortal could receive, the *Romans* already associated him with their Gods,

ordering his Name to be inserted with theirs in the Hymns which were sung at the most solemn Festivals, and, as *Horace* informs us, in one of his Odes, written several Years after the Time I now speak of, but alluding to it in some Parts, enjoining Libations to him, as a tutelar Deity of the Empire, at the End of all their public or private Feasts *.——*Octavius* accepted most of these, and some other Honours; tho' he declined the Tribunician Power, for the present, as I said before, and declared absolutely that he did not desire the whole Number of the Citizens should go out to meet him at his Entry into *Rome*. Not only the Titles which had Power annexed to them, but even those which were merely honorary, pleased him in several Respects. His Vanity was flattered by so many Testimonies of Veneration, and he knew that whatever heightens the Majesty of the Law-giver in the Eyes of the People, disposes them the more readily to obey him.

THE Attention of Mankind was now fixed upon him, and the Happiness and Misery, both of Nations and of Individuals, already depended on his Will. This made him the Subject of all Conversations, and the minutest Things about his Person and Family, Things that would have remained in perpetual Obscurity without the *Philippic*, the *Ælian*, and the *Alexandrian* Victories, were canvassed with extreme Curiosity. He was now too great and good to be the Son of a meer Man: But his Mother *Atia* going once to a Feast of *Apollo* at *Midnight*,

* Quisque — — — alteris (a).

Te mensis adhibet Deum :

Te multa prece, te prosequitur mero.

Defuso pateris ; & Laribus tui

Miscet numen, uti Græcia Castoris

Et magni memor Herculis.

Lib. IV. Od. 5.

(a) The *Romans* used two Tables in their Entertainments: the first for Meat, the second for Fruits; at which last they sung Hymns, and performed their Libations.

night, ordered her Chair to be set down in the Temple, until the other Matrons should assemble; and happening to fall asleep, a great Snake immediately crept into the Chair, and in a little Time came out again. *Alia*, when she awaked, before she would enter upon the sacred Ceremony, purified herself, as if she had just risen from her Husband's Embraces, and found a Mark of a Snake upon her Body, as if it had been painted, which could never be rubbed out: for which reason, from that Time forward, she discontinued going to the public Baths with the other Ladies.—She proved with Child, and bore *Augustus* in the tenth Month after. His Father *Octavius* was detained, by his Wife's being in Labour, from going at the usual Hour to the Senate, then busied about *Catiline's* Conspiracy: but coming late, and the cause of it being known, *P. Nigidius Figulus*, the great *Tuscan* Haruspex and Astrologer, asked him the Hour and Minute of the Birth, and after a little Pause, assured the Father, that the LORD OF THE WORLD was born. The same Thing was afterwards confirmed to him by the Priests of *Bacchus*, as I hinted before, when he was leading his Army through *Thrace*. He went to consult the Oracle among the Barbarians, in the Grove of *Liber Pater*, concerning his Son; and pouring Wine upon the Altar, according to the Form of their Ceremonies, such a Flame arose from it, as mounted over the Top of the Temple, and blazed toward Heaven; an Omen which never happened before but to *Alexander the Great only*, when he was doing Sacrifice at the same Altar.—The Night following, *Octavius* dreamed he saw his Son of a larger Stature than that of Men, holding a Thunder-bolt and Sceptre in his Hands, arrayed like omnipotent Jove, with a radiated Crown upon his Head, and drawn in a laurelled Chariot by twelve Horses whiter than Snow.—The uncommon Fortune which attended this Son made these Things pass current with many: For if there be any one very extraordinary Thing, about a Person, there is a

great.

great Propensity among the Bulk of Mankind to believe many more.—Nor is it important to which Side the wonderful Quality leans; to great Grandeur, or great Humility. An half-naked Hermit, with a long Beard, a Girdle of Ropes, and a Pilgrim's Staff, commands as much Admiration as a private Man that rises to a Diadem.—The old crooked King, *Lewis* the XI. believed sincerely that his *bon Homme, Franc Martotilo* *, whom he brought from *Patole* in *Calabria*, could, by his Prayers, save him from Death:—And the Man who had lost the Use of his Arm, believed there was such Virtue in *Vespasian's* Foot, that if he would but tread upon his Arm, it would become whole; and was cured accordingly. †.—Under *Augustus*, many People, it is true, doubted of supernatural Conceptions: but many likewise believed them; and the discreet Courtiers talked of the Emperor's Mother *Atia*, as *Dionysius* the *Halicarnassian* does of *Romulus's* Mother *Ilia's* Pregnancy by the God *Mars*. “What Opinion, says he, “we ought to entertain concerning such Stories; whether we “should despise them as mere Human Transactions ascribed “to God, who is incapable of any Operation unworthy of his “pure, incorruptible, and blessed Nature; or whether we “ought to receive these Traditions, as believing that the “Essences of every Kind of Being in the Universe are diffused throughout the Whole, and that there is an intermediate Nature betwixt the mortal and immortal Species, “which the *Genii* or Spirits invest, and which, mixing sometimes with Gods, and sometimes with Men, begets the “Heroic Race; I have not Time to enquire at Present, and “remit the Curious to what Philosophers have said upon the “Subject ‡.”

A STORY

* See PHILIP DE COMINES.

† TACIT. Hist. Lib. IV.

‡ Οπως μεν ουν χριη περι των τιωνδε δοξης εχειν, πλεον καταφρονειν ως ανθρωπων διειρηματων εις θεους αναφερομενων, μηδεν αν τα δευ λεβηρημα της ατ-

A STORY commonly received at *Romé*, about the Birth of *Scipio Africanus*, would pave the Way for the Supernatural Conception of *Octavius*, and is thus told by two of his learned Courtiers, *Appian* and *Hyginus* *. The Mother of *Scipio Africanus* had been so long barren, that her Husband despaired of having Issue by her. But happening to sleep apart from him one Night, a huge Snake was seen stretched on her Bed the next Morning. Amidst the Cries and Terror of the People, who first beheld it, the Creature disappeared; and, upon the strictest Search, could not be found in the House. This Accident her Husband related to the Aruspices, as a Prodigy; and after consulting the Gods by Sacrifice, they answered, That Children were portended to his Family. Accordingly, shortly after, the Lady was found to be with Child, and brought forth, in the tenth Month, this *Scipio*, who conquered *Hannibal*, and broke the Power of *Carthage* in the second *Punic* war †.

OCTAVIUS artfully permitted the Story about his Mother *Atia*'s having conceived him, not of her Husband but of the God *Apollo*, who retired from her Bed in the Form of a Snake, to be propagated through the Empire. It was not inculcated by his Friends or Ministers, and far less refuted;—but suffered to take its Chance, and operate where it might on the Belief of the People. I make no Doubt, but he and his Favourite *Mecenas* have had several Sneers in private at the loving Snake his Father, whom yet they treated with Decency in public; without breaking through the thin Veil which covers Propriety of Conduct in tender Points, and thereby constitutes both

δαρτε καὶ μακαρίας φύσεως ἀνδρῶν ὑπομενοῖσθαι ἢ καὶ ταύτας παραδέχεσθαι τὰς ἰσορίας, ὡς ἀνακεκαρμένῃς τῆς ἀπάτης οὐσίας τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖν καὶ τὸ διηγεῖσθαι ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως, ἣν τὸ δαίμονων εὖλον ἐπέχει, τότε μὲν ἀνθρώποις τοῖς δὲ θεοῖς σπινθιλιζόμενον, ἥρῳον οὐκ ἔχον, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι διασκοπεῖν, ἀρκεῖ τε ὡς φιλοσοφοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέχθαι.

ΔΙΟΝΤΣ. Ἀλικαρν., Ἀρχαιολ. βιβ. Α.

* De Vitâ & Rebus illustrium Virorum.

† A. GELL. Lib. VII. §. 1.

both Prudence and Good-Manners.—The Persuasion would help to fill the Multitude with Admiration of their God-begotten Prince, and consequently to keep them, and the distant Provinces, which it would soon pervade, in their Duty of Obedience.—It is shrewdly observed by the acute *Lucian*, that the Story of *Olympia's* Affair with *Jupiter Ammon* was of great Service to her Son towards carrying on his own.—In the same Manner, *CESAR*, without affirming that he was the Child of *Apollo*, seemed to encourage the Opinion that he was, by affecting a particular Veneration for, not to say Imitation of, that God; and, by appropriating the Ground Right of several Houses contiguous to his own, which had been bought up to enlarge it, to the Erection of a most magnificent Temple to his supposed Parent Deity*.

HE certainly was much obliged to his Mother *ATIA*, a Lady of Spirit and Prudence, who had given him an excellent Education; and the Tincture he retained † both of her Language, which was very pure, and her polite Manners, proved no small Ornament to him in the Course of his Government.

To the Desire of imprinting in the Minds of the People a high Idea of his extraordinary Merit, and thereby fit them the better for implicit Obedience, may be imputed his Suffering the Provincials to erect Temples to his Father and to him. He himself had, indeed, first raised a Temple to *JULIUS* in *Rome*; and at the Time I am now speaking of, he consented that the People of *Asia* should build one to him at *Ephesus*, and the *Bythinians* another at *Nice*, to pay Honours to him
in

* VELL. PATERC.

† Genus eloquendi secutus est elegans & temperatum.

SUETON. Octav. 86.

Ac non solum studia moreſque, ſed remiſſiones etiam Luſuſque Puerorum, Sanctitate quādam ac Verecundiā temperabat. Sic Corneliam Græcherum, ſic Aureliam Ceſaris, ſic ATIAM Auguſti Matrem præſuiſſe Educationibus ac produxiſſe Principes Liberos accepimus.

F. QUINCTIL. de Orat. Dialog.

in the same Manner as was done at *Rome*; to corroborate which the *Romans* established in those Provinces were ordered to perform their religious Worship in these Temples, with the Natives of the Country.—Though the deceased *Cesar* could reap no Advantage from any Homage of this Kind, it in some Measure reflected on his Son, who represented him; and, going only a single Step farther, the *Asiatics* and *Bythynians*, after building Temples to *Julius*, erected others to *OCTAVIUS*, in the Towns of *Pergamus* and *Nicomedia*. The City of *Rome*, which had been long worshipped as a Goddess *, was associated with him, by his Order, in these divine Honours. The Odium which might otherwise have resulted therefrom, was by that means taken off; though indeed the same Honours had been paid to simple Pro-Consuls †. He was more reserved with Regard to *Rome*, where he never suffered any Place to be consecrated for his Worship.—In the Provinces, the Contagion of Flattery, than which none is more infectious, spread so widely, that, in a short Time, nothing was seen but Temples, Solemn Games, and Sacerdotal Colleges, erected in Honour of the MASTER OF THE UNIVERSE ‡; and these Temples were generally more beautiful and ornamented than those of the antient Divinities, whom a modern and visible God eclipsed. The most magnificent of all was reared to *Octavius*, under the Title of *The Protector and Patron of Sailors*, by the *Alexandrians*, a People exquisite at Flattery. It stood opposite to the Haven, and was a majestic Structure, full of Donatives, Statues, Pictures, and resplendent with Silver and Gold. Without, it was adorned with Courts, Porticos, Libraries, Walks, Terrasses, Groves, and Arbours, finished with the greatest Art, and at a vast Expence §. PLEASING as these Distinctions were, they flattered *Octavius* less than two other Decrees of the Senate, the Objects of

VOL. III. G g which

* LIV. XLIII. 6.

† SUET. Aug. § 52.

‡ PHILO. ad Caium.

§ PHILO. Jud. πρὸς Περσέ.

which were very uncommon, and such as did him singular Honour, even for the Delight he took in them.

THE first of these ordered the Temple of JANUS to be shut, as a Token of Universal Peace: for a few Disturbances raised by the *Trevians* in Gaul, and the *Cantabrians* in Spain, did not deserve the Name of a War.—The Romans were highly delighted with this Ceremony, which had never been performed but twice since the Foundation of the City; the first Time in the Reign of *Numa*; and the second, after the first Punic War. *Octavius* might therefore well be fond of the rare Honour of shutting the *Gates of War*, as *Virgil* calls them*: —Besides which, he was sensible that the Glory of restoring Peace to the Universe far excelled the Splendor of the greatest Conquests.

THE other Decree renewed, after a long Interval, a pacific Ceremony called the *Augur of Safety*, which, *Dio* tells us, was a Kind of Divination; by which the Romans pretended to inform themselves whether the Gods approved of their requesting the Safety and Happiness of the Nation: for they did not think it lawful even to put up that Petition, unless they had previously the Permission of Heaven. The first Magistrate in Rome consulted *Aruspices* with this Intent†, and the Day on which he performed this religious Office; must be a Day of entire Peace, on which there was neither any Body of Troops setting out for War, nor an Enemy's Army in the Field, nor any military Preparations going on, nor Apprehensions of a Battle. This Ceremony had been performed for the last Time thirty-four Years before, in the Consulship of *Cicero*, when *Pompey* happily terminated the War against *Mithridates*. Not a Day had passed since, on which it was possible to perform the *Augur of Safety*, by Reason of the continual Wars, either foreign or domestic. This shews why *Octavius* was glad of an

* *ÆN.* Lib. I. v. 29. & Lib. VII. v. 607.
Maximum Prætozem.

† *FESTUS, in voc.*

an Opportunity to renew it. He was accordingly declared, not only verbally, but by a public Inscription *, dated in his fifth Consulship, *THE SAVIOUR OF THE REPUBLIC*.——And in some Sense he was so;—but from what, or from whom?——From the Rapine, Barbarity, and Desolation, committed by *his own*, and *Antony's*, Ruffians, partly by their exprefs Command, partly by their Permission, over all the Provinces of the Empire:——From those Assassins who had helped him to cut the Throats of the best and worthiest of Men, to trample on the Laws and Liberty of his Country, and wallow in Debauchery and Blood.

THESE Evils were, however, ended *now*, and he returned to *Rome* a quite different Man. He entered the City in Triumph, and was received as the Guardian of the State, amidst the repeated Acclamations of all the People.——No Man knew better how to improve this Disposition.——He had been taught by many sad Examples, among which his Father's Fate occurred strongly to him, that the *Romans* would not be insulted with Impunity; and he well knew, that, notwithstanding all the Massacres he had committed, either in the Field or in the City, there still were Men, even of his own Party, who would not stand tamely, and see their Country destroyed.——Instead of violating the Laws, as before, he therefore took them under his Protection *now*; when it was indeed his Interest that they should be observed.——Easy of Access, and affable in Conversation, he wore a Countenance in Public, in which the Smiles and Graces strove to outshine each other. Mildness had the Ascendant, even where his Interest dissuaded it; and the Welfare of the Empire, of which he had in a manner the Tutition, without assuming any invidious or illegal Title, became the principal Object of his Care.

G. g 2

THIS

* SENATUS-POPULUSQUE. ROMANUS. IMP. CÆSARI. DIVI. JULI. F. COS. QUINCT. COS. DESIG. SEXT. IMP. SEPT. REPUBLICA. CONSERVATA.

SIGON. Comm. in Fastos.

This Behaviour met with the Acknowledgement it deserved. A Garland of Grass; a Reward which was never given but to the Man who, by his Conduct or Valour, had rescued the Army or City from impending Ruin, was decreed him by the Senate.—Its value may be judged of, by the Example of *L. Siccus Dentatus*, who had fought and conquered in one hundred and thirty Battles, had received fourteen Civic Crowns, and but one of Grass.—The great *L. Sylla* received such a one from his Army.

THREE Triumphs awaited the Conqueror's Return. The first was over the *Dalmatians*, *Pannonians*, *Japydæ*, and other neighbouring Nations, to which were joined in the Title of the Triumph, the *Morini*, a People of *Gaul*, and the *Suevi*, of *Germany*; whom his Lieutenant *Carinas* had subdued. The second was for the Victory at *Actium*; and the third for the Conquest of *Egypt*.

WE have no very accurate Description of these Triumphs: But there can be no Doubt of their having been extremely magnificent; as every Part of the then known World contributed to embellish them. With the Spoils of the vanquished, were carried Crowns and other Gifts, which the Allies of the *Romans* were accustomed to offer on such Occasions, as a Tribute of Acknowledgement and Congratulation. These were followed by the Triumphal-Chariot of *Octavius*; whose Victory was greatly enhanced by his Youth; for he was then only entering into his thirty-fifth Year. The State Horses were mounted, that on the right by *Marcellus*, Nephew to *Octavius*, and designed by him for his Successor, in case he should not have Heirs of his own; and that on the left by *Tiberius*, the Son of *Livia*, then about fourteen Years of Age. After the Chariot marched the Consul *Potitus*, who had been elected in the Place of *Apuleius*; then all the Magistrates, with the Ornaments of their Dignity, and all the Senators who had followed *Octavius* in the Wars, and contributed to his Victory, clothed:

cloathed in their proper Robes. The Troops, distributed into Legions and Cohorts, closed the Procession. Those Officers and Soldiers, who had received Military Rewards, of whom the Number was great, carried the Signals of their Valour, the Glory of which reflected upon their General. *Agrippa* shone above all the rest by his Sea-green Standard, which *Octavius* had given him as a Proof and Monument of his Share in the Victory at *Actium*.

CLEOPATRA was intended to have been the principal Ornament of the Triumph over *Egypt*, which was the most magnificent of all. The Spoils of that Kingdom were pompously displayed, and, to supply the Want of her Person, a Picture was carried, in which she was represented lying on a Bed, with an Asp fixed to her Arm. Her Children, *Alexander* and *Cleopatra*, were led Captives. Their Brother *Ptolomy* died probably after the taking of *Alexandria*.

Among the other Captives led in Triumph on this Occasion, was *Adiatarix*, Prince of *Heraclea*, (now *Elegri*) in *Pontus*, with his Wife and three Sons.—He had received his Dignity from *Antony*, and, a little before this War, had fallen upon and murdered in the Night, the *Romans*, who, as Colonists, inhabited a large Part of that City. He pretended *Antony's* Orders, or, at least, his Permission, for this Barbarity.—After the Triumph, a very rare Instance of Magnanimity appeared among the Brothers. *Cesar* ordered that the Father and the eldest Son, *Dytentus*, should lose their Heads.—As the Soldiers were leading them to Execution, the second Brother told them they were mistaken, for that he was the eldest. The other contradicted him, and a glorious Struggle ensued, which of them should die for the other. Neither would yield, until the miserable Parent interposed; and persuaded the elder to give up the Honour to his Brother, whose Years, he said, rendered him least fit to protect his disconsolate Mother, and her youngest Boy; and accordingly the second actually submitted:

tended it to the Children in that of *Marcellus**. The Soldiers, to the Number of one hundred and twenty thousand, received each of them a thousand *Sesterces*, (about 71.) ; and upon sending them to the Colonies, he gave large Sums to the Towns and Countries where they were settled. This Favour was not confined to *Italy* alone, but extended also to the Provinces, which had never before experienced such Kindness.

THESE Liberalities were a powerful Allurement ; and the happy Tranquillity, which was now restored after so many Troubles and Misfortunes, disposed all Ranks of Men to love the Author of the public Felicity, and to prefer his Government to a tumultuous Liberty, the Source of ambitious Projects for the Great, and of Calamities for the People.

OCTAVIUS's Triumphs were celebrated in the Month of *August* †, and lasted three Days ; after which *Carrinas* and *Autronius Pætus* triumphed, the former over the *Morini* and the *Suevi*, and the latter over *Africa*.—*Autronius*'s Exploits must not have been very inconsiderable, though we have not the Particulars of them, since *Octavius*, whose Lieutenant he was, did not comprehend him at all in his Triumph.—As to those of *Carrinas*, they adorned the Triumph of his General, before they procured the same Honour to himself.—*Dio* observes that his Father had been proscribed by *Sylla*, and that consequently the Son was excluded from all Offices and Honours by the Laws of the same Dictator. He nevertheless obtained every Thing that a *Roman* could desire ; the Consulship, and a Triumph.—A farther Example of the Inconstancy of Fortune, whose various Changes produce desirable, as well as adverse Events.

THE whole Month of *August* was spent in Feasts and Rejoicings. *Octavius*, after his Triumphs, dedicated a Temple to *Minerva*, another in Honour of his adoptive Father, and a grand Building, which he called the *Palace of JULIUS*, designed

* LAPIS ANCYR.

† In the Year of *Rome*, DCCXXIII.

designed for the Assemblies of the Senate. In this Palace, he consecrated a Statue of *Victory*, which still remained in the Time of *Dio*, according to whom his Intention was to signify by this Monument, that he had obtained the Right of Supreme Command by Victory and Arms. The Temple of *Minerva*, that of *Julius Cæsar*, and several others, were enriched with precious Ornaments brought from *Egypt*. Among these, a golden Statue of *Cleopatra* was erected in the Temple of *Venus*, and the Image of this Goddess was decorated with a Pair of Ear-Rings, made of a Pearl of Immense Value cut in two, Fellow to that which *Cleopatra* dissolved in Vinegar, and swallowed, in one of her mad Frolics with *Antony*.—But the greatest Part of the Riches which were the Fruits of his Victory, *Octavius* placed in the Capitol. *Dio* says he even caused a Decree to be passed in the Senate, by which all the Treasures formerly amassed there were ordered to be removed as prophane and polluted, (but I cannot imagine in what Respect) in order to make Room for his more valuable Offerings. I am apt to think this was also the Time when he made the prodigious Gift mentioned by *Suetonius* *, of sixteen thousand Pound Weight of Gold, and to the Value of one hundred and fifty Millions of Sesterces (898,538 l.) in Jewels, offered at once to *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

To stamp the greater Solemnity on the Dedication of the Temple of *Julius Cæsar*, he treated the People with all Kinds of Games and Shews; Horse and Chariot Races in the *Circus*; Combats of Gladiators, in which one *Q. Vintilius*, a Senator, was fool-hardy enough to lose his Honour, and hazard his Life; Chaces of wild Beasts brought from foreign Countries, among which a Rhinoceros and a Sea-Horse are particularly mentioned; and, last of all, Combats between the *Suevi* and *Daci*, the former made Prisoners by *Carrinas*, and the latter taken at *Actium* among *Antony's* Auxiliaries.

To these various Shows and Diversions, *Octavius* added one of which he himself was particularly fond, and which is elegantly described by *Virgil* *. It was called *The Trojan Game*, and consisted of Horse-Courses, performed by the Children of the prime Nobility. They were divided into different Squadrons, according to their Age; and, at the Games I now speak of, *Tiberius* commanded the first Squadron †. — *Octavius* was pleased with this Exercise, as *Cesar* had been before, because it encouraged the Opinion that the *Julian* Family was descended from *Æneas*; though, in Fact, it is justly doubted whether that *Trojan* Prince ever was in *Italy* ‡. On this is founded an essential Difference between the two greatest Poets of Antiquity. — *HOMER*'s Tale, however embellished in its *Circumstances*, is founded on strict historical Truth. — The Genealogies of his Heroes, and his Accounts of their Families, are all consistent Facts. — No Incongruity, or clashing of Times, Persons, or Places, through the *Iliad* or *Odyssæy*. The antient Authors quote his Verses as *Proofs* of Facts with respect to the exact History of ancient *Asia* and *Greece*. It is astonishing what vast Pains *VIRGIL* has taken to imitate him in this Particular, how close he follows him, and labours incessantly to adapt his own Story to the Truth of History. But having planned out the *Æneid* to raise the Honour of the *Romans* above the *Grecians*, and to flatter the *Cesarean* Family; the Crookedness, if I may so express it, of that Intention, has warped his whole Poem, and forced him to depart from historical Truth. Thus, to make the *Romans* of *Trojan* Descent, he brings *Eneas* into *Italy*; and to account for the Ruin of *Carthage*, he, in Hatred of the *Carthaginians*, makes him debauch its Foundress, who did not live till Ages after the *Trojan* War. — But *HOMER* has a famous Prophecy concerning *Eneas*. — That Almighty *JOVE* now hated the Race of *Priam*, and
that

* *ÆN.* Lib. V. v. 548.† *SUET.* Tib. 6.‡ See *BOCHART*'s Dissertation.

that thenceforth *Æneas* should reign over the Trojans, and after him his Children's Children, and their Posterity.—As *Homer* lived long after the Time of *Æneas*, we can scarce suppose that he would keep to Truth through all the Rest of his Poem, and depart from it on this sole Point, a Point which he must have thoroughly known, as the State both of *Troy*, *Greece*, and the Islands was constantly in his View, while he was singing their Fates, and the Atchievements performed by preceding Generations in these Fields of Fame.—We must therefore necessarily suppose that the Arrival of the Son of *Achilles*, and the Descent of the *Alban* Kings from a *Dardan* Stock, is mere Fiction: Or, if there were any Mixture of *Trojan* Blood among the Founders of *Rome*;—If the *JULIAN* Family came indeed originally from that Nation:—That it must have been by some later Migration; and consequently the Stories so circumstantially related by *Dionysius of Halicarnassius*, and other Historians, of *Æneas's* Progress and Adventures, are at best apocryphal and traditionary.

DURING all the Time of the Games, the Senators kept open Tables, to which every one that passed by was invited, in the same Manner as was practised on other Occasions of public Festivals.—The Joy of these Feasts was however somewhat disturbed, though they were not interrupted, by an Indisposition of *Octavius*, whose Health was always very delicate. He desired that the Shews might continue, though he was not able to be present at them, and appointed others to preside in his Stead.

Nor content with these temporary Rejoicings, he resolved to transmit to Posterity more lasting Monuments of a Victory, which had rendered him Master of the World.—To this End, he enlarged and embellished the Temple of *APOLLO* on the Promontory of *Ætium*, and increased the Splendor of the Games which had been celebrated there from Time immemorial, in Honour of that God; at the same Time ordering,

probably to prevent their being abused, the common Consequence of too frequent Repetitions, that, instead of being performed every third Year, as they had used to be, they should from thenceforth be celebrated only once in five Years. He inclosed with Walls the Camp he had occupied there, and formed it into a Town, which he called *Nicopolis*, the *City of Victory*. To people it, Inhabitants were transported thither from *Ambracia*, and some other neighbouring Places, which had been almost ruined by the Wars between the *Macedonians* and the *Romans* in that Country. He granted the *Nicopolitans* great Privileges, and among others that of sharing in the Council of the *Amphyctions*, an ancient and respectable Tribunal, where all *Greece* was represented by twelve Deputies of the principal States. This Town became afterwards very flourishing, and was improving daily at the Time when *Strabo* wrote. The Spot where *Octavius's* Tent had been pitched was distinguished from the Rest of the Town, being surrounded with a Wall of Hewn-Stone, adorned with Prows of Ships taken in the Engagement, and consecrated by the famous Statue of the *Ætian Apollo*, mentioned before*, which stood in the open Air, without any Covering.—In *Egypt*, where the grand Contest had been finally decided, he built a second *Nicopolis*, upon the Ground where he fought against *Antony* before *Alexandria*, and there instituted Games like those at *Actium*.

OCTAVIUS was now arrived at the Height of his Wishes.—The Methods by which he had attained them were considered in very different Lights, even by the discerning Part of his Contemporaries; of whose Sentiments, on both Sides, at the Time of his Funeral, *Tacitus* has given us the following View†. “ His Admirers said, That his filial Piety to his
“ Father *Cesar*, and the Necessity of the Republic, where the
“ Laws no longer governed, had forced him into a Civil War,
“ which,

* Vol. III. p. 179.

† ANNAL. Lib. I. 9 & 10.

“ which, whatever be the first Cause, can never be begun or
 “ carried on by just and gentle Means: that, to be revenged
 “ on the Murderers of his Father, he had indeed made many
 “ great Sacrifices to *Antony*, and many to *Lepidus*: but that,
 “ when *Lepidus* was sunk in Sloth, and *Antony* lost in Sensua-
 “ lity, he found that the Government of one Person was the
 “ only Remedy for the Misfortunes of his Country, fatigued
 “ and worn out by Discords which could not be reconciled.”
 But others, who were less disposed to judge favourably of
Octavius, alledged on the contrary, “ That the Desire of re-
 “ venging his Father, and rectifying the Disorders of the State,
 “ were mere Pretences; that the Ambition of Reigning was
 “ his real Motive; that, with this Spirit, he had inticed a Body
 “ of Veterans into his Service, by Bribery; and, though but a
 “ private Youth, without any Character of Public Authority,
 “ levied an Army. That, with this Spirit, he had debauched
 “ and bought the *Roman* Legions under the Consuls, while he
 “ was falsely feigning a Coalition with *Pompey’s* republican
 “ Party: that, soon after, when he had surreptitiously procured
 “ from the Senate, or rather usurped, the Honours and Autho-
 “ rity of the Pretorship; and when *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, the
 “ two Consuls, were slain, he seized both their Armies; that
 “ it was doubted whether the Consuls fell by the Enemy, or
 “ whether *Pansa* was not killed by pouring Poison into his
 “ Wounds, and *Hirtius* murdered by his own Soldiers; and
 “ whether the young *Cesar* was not the Contriver of this bloody
 “ Treason. That he had extorted the Consulship by Terror, in
 “ spite of the Senate; and turned against the Commonwealth
 “ the very Arms, with which the Commonwealth had entrusted
 “ him for her Defence against *Antony*. That his cruel Proscrip-
 “ tions, and the Massacrè of so many Citizens; his seizing from
 “ the Public, and distributing to his own Creatures, so many
 “ Lands and Possessions, a Violation of Property, not so much
 “ as pretended to be justified even by those who gained by it,
 “ could

“ could certainly admit of no Kind of Excuse. That his sacrificing the Lives of *Brutus* and *Cassius* to the Manes of the Dictator, might be forgiven him, though it would have been more to his Honour to have let the public Good prevail over his personal Enmities ; but that he had betrayed the young *Pompey* by an insidious Peace, and *Lepidus* by a false Shew of Friendship.— That his Conduct had been the same with regard to *Antony*, whom he had deceived, first by the Treacheries of *Tarentum* and *Brundisium*, and then by the Marriage of his Sister *Octavia* ; a fraudulent Alliance, which, at last, cost him his Life.”

WIDELY different as these two Opinions are, there is Truth in both ; especially in the last, which speaks *Octavius's* real Design in arming against his Country.—He had now subdued it, and was become sole Master of the whole *Roman* Empire ; whilst his artful Management, and the Appearances of Moderation which he put on, seemed to promise him Security in his Usurpation : for he had absolutely gained the two most numerous Bodies in the Empire. The Soldiers he had bribed with immense Donatives, both of Money and Lands ; their Possession of which depended on his continuing in Power. The common People he cajoled with public Shews, Entertainments, Distributions of Corn, and a *Form* of their old Privileges. It was no longer the same impatient, independent Race, that had struggled with the Patricians for their Share of Power, and with all Nations for Conquest.—It was an idle, venal, prating Crew, that loved to saunter in the Forum, and frequent the Theatres ; to talk about Players, Racers, Gladiators ; or canvass the Conduct of a Leader, at Home, without ever making a Campaign themselves. Such a Multitude was easily soothed by the artful *Cesar*. Nor did it, in Reality, make a great Difference to such dastardly Creatures how they were governed, whether by legal Magistrates, or illegal Usurpers.—Give them but their Shews in the Theatre and Circus, and monthly Supply

Supply of Provisions, it was all one to the degenerate Mob.— But there was a third Body in the State, which deeply felt the Change; being stript of the most glorious Rights which Birth and Rank bestow upon Men. These were the young Nobility, the *Merits* of whose Ancestors had, besides the general Privilege of being born FREE, acquired an acknowledged Claim to the first Honours at Home, and the consequent Commands of Kings and Kingdoms abroad. They now found themselves quite sunk and depressed; in effect little better than Slaves.—No Access to Power or Places but through the Pleasure of one Man, formerly their *Equal*, now their LORD:—No Respect abroad; no Clientships of Princes or Provinces; no Laurels to be gathered in distant Climes, but by the arbitrary Direction of an arrogant Master.—Men like these might justly make *Octavius* tremble, when he reflected on the Steps by which he had attained his exorbitant Power. The Fate of his Uncle JULIUS, killed in the Midst of the Senate, by the very Persons whom he thought most devoted to him, might well be continually present to his Mind, and make him fear the Rise of another BRUTUS, who, to restore LIBERTY to his Country, would think it a meritorious Act to stab him on a Throne:—For, he was now revolving in his own Mind, whether he should not even declare himself the KING of those whose TYRANT he had been from the very Beginning of the *Triumvirate*. These Apprehensions of Danger, which his *natural* Propensity to *Fear* was far from lessening, abated for a while the Fire of his Ambition, and made him resolve to set about artfully obtaining the Sanction of the Nation for a Continuance of the Power which he had hitherto most unjustly exercised. His first Pretence for taking Arms, to revenge the Murder of his Uncle and adoptive Father, was now at an End. *Antony's* Attempts to rival him, which were alledged afterwards as a Reason for continuing in Arms, could no longer be pleaded, since *Antony* was dead; and all the Terms fixed for the Duration of the

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Triumvirate had long been expired *. For at least three Years past *Octavius* had exercised the supreme Power, in virtue only of the Consular Magistracy, in which he had taken Care to be continued. But now, with that refined Cunning which directed all his Actions, he resolved to *seign* a Desire to abdicate the Authority of Government, as a Step by which he should remove all Imputation of Insincerity, and of which he knew Creatures were numerous enough to prevent the actual Execution.

To give this Farce the greater Air of Sincerity, he began with privately consulting his two chief Ministers, and most intimate Friends, *Agrippa* and *Mecenas*; desiring them to give him their candid Opinion, whether he should restore the Common-wealth to its ancient State, or retain the sovereign Power. — Wild and preposterous! to talk of restoring the ancient Common-wealth, after he himself had destroyed the genuine *Romans*, and extinguished their Spirit. It was like first murdering a brave Man, mangling his Corpse, and then trying to bring him to Life. The real Revival of the ancient Spirit and Manners would soon have sent him and his Court to keep Company with *Tarquin the Proud*, or *Julius the Usurper*. Forms, therefore, the Shew and Phantom of the old Republic, were all that could be recalled; nor could even they be preserved but for a while: For never did a Crew of more sawning obsequious Slaves disgrace a Nation, than this Man left to his Tyrant Successor, for a Senate.

THE long Speeches which *Dio* † puts into the Mouths of *Agrippa* and *Mecenas* at this Consultation about laying down the Government, are undoubtedly feigned ‡ by that malevolent Writer. The Truth is that *AGRIPPA*, sensible of that Glory only which is acquired by great Actions, openly declared for a
generous

* Suet. §. XXVIII.

† Lib. XLII.

‡ Such was also the Opinion of the learned *Dissert.* Excus. ad Tac. Annal. Lib. III.

generous Abdication. He set before *Octavius* all the Dangers which attended a Domination insupportable to a free People ; to Men educated in a Common-wealth ; and, after instancing the Examples of *Sylla* and *Julius*, exhorted him to shew the Universe, by restoring LIBERTY to his Country, that the only Motive for his taking up Arms had really been to revenge his Father's Death.

BUT MECENAS, without expatiating much on the brilliant Parts of a Crown, took *Octavius* by his Foible, *FEAR*, and represented to him, That he had done too much to go back ; that, after so much Bloodshed, there could be no Safety for him but on the Throne ; and, that if he divested himself of the sovereign Power, he would immediately be attacked and pursued by the Children and Friends of the many illustrious Persons, whom the Misfortune of the Times had forced him to sacrifice to his Safety.

THE Abbé de *St. Real* observes, that each of these Ministers spoke according to his own particular Interest. *Aprippa*, a brave Warrior, of consular Dignity, and judged worthy of triumphal Honours, would have held the first Place in a Republic.—*Mecenas*, a Man of Letters, an elegant Writer, and an experienced Courtier, could not expect to shine, or make a great Figure, but under the Protection of a Prince, who should place an entire Confidence in him.—This Observation, somewhat malicious, is not supported by any ancient Authority ; and its Author may, perhaps, not be the fittest Person to give it Weight. Though very sensible in many Things, he is apt to be too bold in his Criticisms, is fond of Paradoxes, and apparently inclined to praise whatever cotemporary Historians have thought blameable, and to blame what they have praised.

OCTAVIUS had taken his Resolution before he consulted his Ministers, whom he thanked equally for this new Proof of their Zeal and Fidelity in speaking their Minds so freely. He then declared in favour of *Mecenas's* Advice, modelled in such

Manner as might screen him from the Charge of Violence and Usurpation.—The Story of his having Recourse to *Virgil*, in his State of Irresolution, whether to keep or resign his Power, is probably feigned; in order to do Honour to the Poet. Had it been told of *Varius*, a Man of Business and Activity, as well as Learning, it would have been more plausible. That *Cesar* admired *Virgil's* sublime Versification, and loved his Modesty, I make no doubt; but he had lived too far from *Affairs*, and was too much a *Bard* to be an Oracle in Politics, and consulted on the most tender and weighty Point that could possibly be started in the Course of a great Monarch's Life.—The Man who refused a forfeited Estate offered him by the Prince, who has placed *MARCUS* as supreme Judge in Heaven, to give Laws to the Just; and determine the Rewards and Punishment of Good and Bad; could scarce advise *Octavius* to enslave his native Country.

THE Rest of *Octavius's* fifth Consulship, and the whole of his sixth, were spent in fitting the Minds of Men, and the Circumstances of Things, for the intended Change. Games and Shews of all Sorts, Gifts and Generosities to the People, public Buildings for the Ornament of the City, were Arts which he began to practise some Years before, and continued in these, to make his Government be the better relished. The restoring of the Senate to its ancient Lustre, by clearing it of a Number of unworthy and unqualified Members, who had crept in during the Confusion of the Civil Wars, and were a Disgrace to the Majesty of that august Body, now became a particular Object of his Care: nor could he take a Step more pleasing to judicious Men, or better calculated either for the public Welfare, or his own private Advantage: For whilst he was thus forming a good Council, able to assist him in the Fatigues of Government, his real Design still remaining secret, he might seem to act in Consequence of a Desire to abdicate his Power, and to put the Republic in a Situation to do without him.

IN fact, a thorough Reformation of the Senate was greatly wanted. The Dictator *Cæsar* first lessened its Dignity, by admitting into it, without Distinction of Birth, Rank, or hardly of Country, Men whose sole Merit often was their having served him in the Execution of his wicked Deeds. The Evil increased under the Consulate of *Mark Antony*, who would sell a Seat in the Senate to any Purchaser that offered *; and as he pretended to act in Consequence of certain written Instructions, found among *Julius's* Papers after his Death, the Senators thus made were called out of Derision, *Charonites* †, or Senators of *Pluto's* Creation, because they owed their Elevation to a dead Man. The first lawless Triumvirate carried this Abuse, as well as every other, to an enormous Height: For, instead of three hundred, at which the Number of Senators had been fixed from the Days of the Elder *Tarquinius* to those of *Sylla*; they amounted to above fifteen hundred in the Times of this last and of *Julius Cæsar*, and now exceeded a Thousand; the rest having perished in the Wars. *Octavius* would gladly have reduced them to their original Number: but as that could not be attempted without too much Difficulty and Danger, he resolved to bring them down only to six hundred, agreeable to the last Law made in this Respect. Upwards of four hundred were consequently to be divested of their Dignities: a Task neither easy nor safe, especially just at the Close of a Civil War, when the Minds of Men were yet in a Ferment, accustomed to Intrigues, Conspiracies, Murders, and ready to recur instantly to the most violent Extremities.—— However, such was the Importance of this Reformation, that it even outweighed *Octavius's* Fears; and he himself, assisted by the noble-minded *Agrippa*, who was ever ready to help him to preserve the Power he had not been able to prevail on him to resign, drew up a new List of such as were most proper to be continued Members of the first Assembly in the World.——

I i 2 He

He proceeded in this Work, not as Cenſor, for, I know not why, he never took upon him that Office, but as Superintendent and Reformer of the Laws and Manners; a Title firſt invented for the Dictator *Ceſar*.

THE great Difficulty was how to make this Regulation paſs with thoſe that were to be excluded;—how to correct its Bitterneſs by proper Palliatives. This required all *Octavius's* Art, with the Help of which he happily ſucceeded. An Exhortation to the Senators in general, without pointing at any in particular, requeſting that ſuch among them as were conſcious of the Impropriety of their ſitting at the Head of the Nation, would do themſelves Juſtice, immediately produced fifty voluntary Reſignations. Theſe were highly commended, and this firſt Succeſs enabled him, either by Authority or by preſſing Solicitations, to make an hundred and forty more follow their Example. Some honorary Privileges of the ſenatorial Dignity were continued to them all; but with a Diſtinction in Favour of thoſe who had modeſtly reſigned without any Sort of Compulſion.

I do not know whether *Octavius* carried this Reformation any farther now. *Dion* ſays nothing more, unleſs it be, that he forced one *Q. Statilius* to give up the Office of Tribune of the People. Probably the Fear of making too great a Number of Malecontents at a Time, when it was eſſentially his Intereſt to be well with every one, might ſtop him for the preſent: but he reſumed the ſame Deſign twelve Years after, and then completed it. His extraordinary Precautions while this Affair was in Agitation, ſhew how great he thought the Danger: for he never went to the Senate-houſe, during the whole Time, but with a Coat of Mail under his uſual Garment, and accompanied by ten of the ſtrongeſt, and moſt truſty Senators, who formed a Guard around his Perſon whiſt he preſided. His Name was placed at the Head of the Liſt of Senators, and he took the Title of PRINCE OF THE SENATE: a Title without

Functions;

Functions ; but pleasing, as it called to Mind some Idea of the ancient Republic, of which he affected to preserve a Resemblance, whilst he was destroying the Reality.

No Man ever followed more closely than the artful *Octavius* a System of Conduct once judged suitable to his Interest. His present Aim being to keep up all the outward Appearances of the republican Forms, whilst he in fact settled himself more and more in a monarchical Authority, he took particular Care in his sixth Consulship, which he entered on in the Beginning of the Year of Rome, DCCXXIV, to imitate in many Things a Consul of the old Commonwealth. He shared the Fasces with his Colleague *Agrippa*, and took the usual Oath at the Expiration of his Office ; in which he afterwards continued himself the five following Years, that he might have a legal Title to be at the Head of the Republic.

ONE Part of his secret Plan was to advance *Agrippa* so that he might be a Support to him. With this View he married him to his Niece *Marcella*, Sister to young *Marcellus*. History does not say whether *Agrippa* was a Widower, or whether, to contract this Alliance, he repudiated *Pomponia*, by whom he had a Daughter, married to *Tiberius*.

IT seems indeed as if both *Meccenas* and *Agrippa* married in the Year 723. *Meccenas* to his first and only Wife, and *Agrippa* to his second ; which last Event may account for the jocose Conclusion of one of *Horace's* Odes *, addressed to that great and grave Minister. — *Cornelius Gallus* had surely not offended *Octavius* when he made him Governor of *Egypt*. Therefore *Agrippa* had not then divorced *Atticus's* Daughter, and her Gallant, *Q. Cecilius Epirota*, had not been received into *Gallus's* Family, which was the chief Crime laid to his Charge. — Now *Atticus* died on the last day of *February*, 722 ; and *Cesar* had contracted his Son-in-Law *Tiberius* to *Agrippa's* Daughter, *Atticus's* Grand-Child, at least a Year or two before

Atticus's

* Lib. I. Carm. 6.

Atticus's Death : She must therefore have been a mere Infant at that Time ; for *Agrippa* was not married to his first Wife till after the Peace of *Brindisi* in 716, by Means of *Antony*, then Husband to *Octavia* ; and if she brought him a Daughter the first Year, the Bride could be scarce a Year old when the Marriage Contract was passed, and the Bridegroom must have been about seven or eight, if born, as is generally thought, on the 14th of *November*, 712.—This Marriage was, (which rarely happens in such Cases,) afterwards consummated. *Vipsania* bore him a Son. They were mutually happy,—when political Reasons tore them asunder, and *Tiberius*, upon *Agrippa's* Death, was forced to marry *JULIA*.

EVERY Part of *Octavius's* Conduct now tended visibly to the public Good. His sixth Consulship was distinguished by signal Acts of Prudence, Wisdom, and Generosity. Many Senators, whose Fortunes were not answerable to their Rank, Merit, and distinguished Birth, were liberally assisted by the Young *Cesar*, who, by this Means, preserved to the Republic one of its considerable Magistracies, the *Curule Edility*, for which there had been but few Candidates of late, and sometimes none at all.—It was excessively expensive, on Account of the Games and Shews, with which the Ediles were in a Manner obliged to treat the People, in order to gain their Favour : but as that Favour was no longer of any Service towards making a Fortune, or obtaining Promotion in the State, since the Alterations in the Government ; an Office so burthensome, and no way advantageous, was generally declined ; insomuch that, more than once, *Rome* being without Ediles, the Pretors had been obliged to officiate in their Stead. The public Treasure, which had hitherto been kept by the *Questors*, from whose Youth great Inconveniencies had often resulted (for the *Questorship* was the first Office through which the *Roman* Youth passed, in order to attain higher Dignities,) was now put into the more proper Hands of two ancient Pretors, under whom

the *Questors* were, probably, continued in Places of considerable Honour, though of less important Trust. But this just Care of the Finances of the State never degenerated into private Hardship or Oppression:—On the contrary, *Octavius* remitted all the Debts then due to the public Treasury, and even burnt the Vouchers for them. To crown the whole, he magnanimously confessed the iniquitous Tyranny of the Triumvirate, and, by one Edict, annulled and abolished all the Acts of those unhappy Times, all that himself and his Collegues in the Triumvirate had done and ordained unto the Time of his Sixth Consulship, which he intended to make the *Æra* of the Renewal of the Laws, of good Order, and of public Happiness.

HAVING thus made the *Romans* sensible how much a well-regulated Monarchy was preferable to a turbulent Liberty, and shewn them how much the Happiness of the State depended on his Government; he thought he might safely venture on such farther Steps as were necessary to give a legal Sanction to the Authority he had usurped, and hitherto maintained by Force. He wished to owe it to the unanimous Consent of those over whom it was to be exercised; and therefore, secure as he now was of the Affections of the People, he resolved to trust the Issue of his grand Design to a public Declaration of his pretended Desire to resign the supreme Power. This he put in Execution in the very Beginning of his seventh Consulship, which the illustrious *Agrippa* was again his Collegue.

On the seventh of *January* in the Year of *Rome*, DCCXXV, having communicated his Design to some of the Senators on whom he could most depend, he went to the Senate-house, and formally declared that he abdicated the supreme Power, and restored it to the Senate and *Roman People*, to whom it of right belonged. He read, to this purpose, as was his Custom, a Speech, certainly not like that which *Dion* gives him, full of haughty Arrogance, frivolous Vanity, and an Affectation
of

of pompous Expressions, ill suiting the Character of *Octavius*, who always aimed at Solidity, and despised empty Sounds.—The more he was sensible that the Step he was taking might be suspected, the more he endeavoured to appear sincere. He spoke the Language of a Man who really intended to abdicate; exhorted the Senators to make a proper Use of the Power, which he restored to them; and ended with wishing and foretelling Prosperity to their Government.—Those, who were in the Secret, applauded; the rest were greatly embarrassed. The Clear-sighted saw through the Mystery, but dared not speak. Of those who thought *Octavius* meant what he said, some were pleased, and glad to think they were going to be freed from the Yoke of Servitude: Others, whose Fortune depended on the Family of the *Cæsars*, or who, weary of Troubles and civil Discord, wished only for Peace and public Tranquility, all Hopes of which centered in *Octavius*, were really afflicted to think of his Resigning, lest their Country should be re-plunged into those Miseries from which he alone had been able to deliver it.

AMIDST this Diversity of Opinions, all agreed in pressing him earnestly to desist from a Resolution so fatal to the public Repose.—Many Arguments were not necessary:—He soon yielded; but, at the same Time, annexed to his Consent certain Restrictions, which, while they added a Shew of Modesty, were no way prejudicial to his well-combined ambitious Plan.

DECLARING then, that out of Deference to the Will of the Senate, so strongly urged, he undertook the general Direction of the Affairs of the Republic, he added, that his Intention was not to bear singly all the Weight of Government, but to share the Provinces with the Senate and People; so that some should be under their immediate Direction, and the rest under his. In this Division, he expressed a Readiness to take to his Share, such as were most liable to Tumults and Seditions, and the

the Frontiers exposed to Incursions from foreign Enemies; leaving to the Senators those whose peaceful State would let them enjoy the Sweetness of Command, without its Uneasinesses and Alarms.—A specious Pretence to have all the Forces of the Empire at his Disposal; whilst the Senate, having the Care only of unarmed Countries, would be without Troops, and consequently not able to give him any Umbrage.—All the Provinces were split into a great many more Prefectures and Governments than had been formerly, when they were under the Consular Jurisdiction.—It was also safer for him, that no great Man should have the Command of such rich Countries, as the Proconsuls and Pretors had before.—To his own Provinces he sent Governors of what Quality, and with what Powers, he pleased; but those of the People were intrusted to none but Men of the Pretorian or Consular Dignity. These last were only Civil Magistrates, whilst the former, though called no more than Pro-Pretors, were invested with a military Authority.—The Provinces in the Department of the Senate were, *Africa*, that is to say, the Country around *Carthage* and *Utica*; *Numidia*; *Asia* properly called, comprehending the ancient Kingdom of *Pergamus*; *Greece*, then more commonly called *Achaia*; *Dalmatia*; *Macedonia*; *Sicily*; *Crete* and *Cyrene*; *Bythia* and *Pontus*; *Sardinia* and *Corfica*; and in *Spain*, *Bætica*: The Governors or Prefects of these Provinces were appointed in the old Course, after a gradual Rise through the Dignities and Magistracies of the Commonwealth. *Octavius* reserved to himself the Rest of *Spain*, divided into two Provinces, *Tarragon* and *Lusitania*; all *Gaul*, comprehending the *Narbonnese* and *Celtic*, which then began to be called the *Lyonnese*; *Aquitania*; *Belgia*; and the Upper and Lower *Germany*, that is to say the Country on the left of the *Rhine*, from about *Basle* down to the Mouth of that River. *Cælo-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Cilicia*, *Egypt*, and the Island of *Cyprus*, fell also to his Lot in the East. To all these *Cæsar* named his

own Governors or Lieutenants, and often exchanged one or more of them with the People, as suited his Views or Conveniency.

ITALY is not mentioned in this Account, because it was not considered as a Province, but as the Queen and Mistress of all the Provinces, and continued to be governed as before. All its Inhabitants were Citizens of *Rome*; and each People, each Town, had its Magistracy, who, in Affairs of more than ordinary Moment, had Recourse to the Senate and Magistrates of *Rome*, or to the Head of the Empire. Nor are the Countries not immediately under the Domination of the Republic included here: For the whole Empire comprehended several Cities and Nations which were free; and Kings, such as *Herod* in *Judea*, and *Juba* in *Mauritania*. These Kings and Nations were not reputed Subjects, though they were dependent on the *Romans*, and lived under their Protection. In succeeding Times, all these Countries were by Degrees reduced into Provinces, and usurped by the Emperors.

SUCH was *Octavius's* first artful Reserve, with respect to the unbounded Power now given him by the Senate. To this he added, but still with the same Intent, another Limitation, equally calculated to blind those who did not know him thoroughly. He would not accept the Power of Government for more than ten Years; and protested, with his usual Sincerity, that if he should be so happy as to restore the Affairs of the Republic in a shorter Time, he would not wait the Expiration of that Term to resign.—But these were only Promises; little regarded by *Cesar*, when his Interest was at Stake. At the End of the ten Years, he found Means to be continued in the supreme Authority, sometimes for five, sometimes for ten Years more, and, in that Manner, kept it all his Life.—His Successors, who came to the Empire without any Limitation of Time, retained some Marks of these decennial Renewals, by celebrating solemn Feasts every ten Years, as for a Continuation of the Sovereignty in their Persons.

THE Division of the Provinces between *Octavius* and the Senate was settled on the 13th of *January*, and on the 17th, he received the Appellation of *AUGUSTUS*.—*Plancus*, undoubtedly in Concert with him, first proposed it, and the Senate solemnly conferred it on him.—He was not sorry to take a new Name, which, at the same Time that it was a Title of great Distinction, implying something sacred, and, as it were, allied to the Deity, was neither odious, nor favoured of Tyranny, and might Help to obliterate the Remembrance of the past Deeds of *OCTAVIUS*. He once thought of *Romulus*, as a Name proper to create Respect for him, as for a second Founder of *Rome*.—But *Romulus* was a *despotic KING*, who had drawn upon himself the Anger and Revenge of the Senate:—Ideas which it was by no Means advisable to awake. The highest Title he ever took to himself was that of *PRINCE*, which, in the Commonwealth, signified the Man, who, by his Merit, and other Circumstances, had the greatest Influence upon the public Affairs; the *first* or *prime* Man of the Community*.—This name was legal, or rather customary; the greatest and truest Friends to their Country having borne it one after another†.

THE old *Roman* Spirit, quashed by *Marius* and *Sylla*, mangled by *Crassus*, *Pompey*, and *Cesar*, and extinguished by *Lepidus*, *Antony*, and *Octavius*, was now quite effaced, and the Affairs of the Empire assumed a new Face.—Though a Series of Injustice, Cruelty and Oppression, had silenced the Laws, and overpowered the Struggles of expiring Liberty; yet the RIGHTS of the Senate and People still remained, ready to assert their Claims whenever that Violence should cease.—But now, to such Lengths had the artful *Octavius* led them by

K k 2

Degrees,

* *Cuncta, nomine PRINCIPIS, sub imperium accepit.* TACIT. Lib. I.

† When young, and during the Time of his being Collegue with *Antony*, he struck several Medals with the bare Inscription, *DIVI F.* wanting to be known as *Julius's* Son, rather than under any other Designation; and commonly put it after his Name, before his other Titles.

Degrees, they themselves voluntarily sealed the Ruin of the COMMONWEALTH, and finally rivetted the Chains he had long been preparing for them.—The Edict of the 7th of *January*, by which the Senate divested itself of the Administration of the supreme Power, and transferred it to the USURPER, crowned his Wishes, by giving him the long-desired Sanction of an universal Consent, and ended the Existence of the ROMAN REPUBLIC. For, though Historians are silent on this Head, there is no Room to doubt, but that this Decree of the Senate was confirmed by the Suffrages of the People, solemnly assembled. *Octavius* was too wary and circumspect to omit so essential a Formality; and, indeed, I am strongly of Opinion, that the famous *Royal Law*, by which the whole Power of the Senate and People was transferred to the Emperors, was first passed on this very Occasion *.

BOOK

* It is not, indeed, expressly said by any Author, that this *Lex Regia*, or *Royal Law*, mentioned in *Justinian's Digest* (a), was passed in a solemn Assembly of the People.—*Gravina* (b) has recorded a considerable Fragment of the Act by which all the Powers that *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, and *Claudius* enjoyed, were given to *Vespasian*; and many of the Learned have thought that this Act, which was renewed on every Occasion of a new Emperor, is the *Royal Law* in question. But, as the People had scarce any Kind of Share in the Administration after *Tiberius*, it is much more likely, that the Act by which the Empire was conferred on *Vespasian*, was only a Decree of the Senate. I allow it to be true, that no ancient Record remains to prove that the People conferred the supreme Authority on *Augustus*: but the Fact ought not to be rejected for that Reason, and the Conjecture on which I build surpasses a bare Probability. What sets it beyond all Doubt, is, that when *Augustus*, three Years before his Death, raised *Tiberius* to an Equality of Power with himself, *Velleius* says expressly (c), that this was done by the Authority of the SENATE AND ROMAN PEOPLE, and *Suetonius* (d) mentions a Law passed on that Occasion by the Consuls.

Ulricus Huber is certainly wrong in pretending (e) that the Supreme Power *de facto* was given to *Augustus* immediately after his Return from conquering *Antony*.

- (a) Præf. I. Dig. §. 7. & Lege quod Principi, I. Digest. de Constit. Princ.
 (b) De Imperio Romano. (c) Lib. II. c. 3. (d) Tib. §. 21.
 (e) Digestiones Justinianæ. Lib. I. c. 25. 27.

B O O K XIV.

*R*OME, and the dependent Provinces, had been long in a tumultuous, fluctuating, and exhausted State, agitated and torn by Ambition and its Attendants, and uncertain who, at last, would be their Master.—This grand Point was now determined, and the Eyes of the World were once more fixed upon a *CESAR*.—Weary of the cruel and inhuman Struggle, Men were glad to think of Tranquillity and Peace on any Terms.—But what was, in some Respects, happy for the People of those Times, may, perhaps, prove tiresome to the Readers of their History. The Subject is now quite varied. No more grand Preparations for Wars, Shocks of Parties or Passions, or interesting Stories of Dangers and Escapes: No more glorious Struggles for Liberty and Laws, nor generous Sacrifices for the public Weal. The Uniformity of an absolute Government, Court Stories and Intrigues, Suspensions, Accusations, Trials, and other Concomitants of peaceful Times in a new-modelled State, will be the principal Topics of the ensuing Part of these *Memoirs*.—Though the old Spirit does not yet so intirely and suddenly vanish, but that the Remains of it may still, sometimes, afford Entertainment.—It is not instantly that a Nation, once haughty and imperious, is brought to implicit Humility and Obedience.

JULIUS CESAR's Rebellion against his Country, and the Rapine and Forfeitures which followed his Success, gave the first Shock to the Laws, and made Property precarious through the Empire. But the ensuing Tyranny of the Triumvirs, the horrid Proscription, and the final Disaster at *Philippi*, annihilated

lated Justice, and substituted the Sword of the Veterans in the Place of the Twelve Tables, and the Pretor's Curule Chair. Violence had reigned over the World for upwards of fifteen Years : the Ideas of Right and Wrong seemed to be effaced, and every Tool of the Triumvirs,—every bold Russian in their Legions, possessed what he could by Murder, Rapine, Cozenage, and Extortion from his Betters. These Scenes of Misery were spread through every Province ; and there was scarce a private Family in the Empire, but felt the universal Scourge, and had Reason to curse the Day on which JULIUS and his three Disciples were born.—But now, Law and Right began to resume their Authority :—Property became again stable and secure.

MANY ingenious Men, particularly *Italians, Spaniards, French*, and other Foreigners, who have been brought up under Monkish Tutors, JESUITS and *Friers*, talk wildly of the *Roman Affairs* (for of the *Greek* they know little,) for no other Reason than that they have drawn their Notions of them from strange Sources. They are generally taught a Compend of the *Roman History*, compiled by some reverend Scribe, and peep into some of the *Roman Authors*, especially Poets ; after which they are hurried away, for their greater Advantage, to the more edifying and instructive Study of the *Latin Fathers* and modern Casuists.—Thus you shall find a Man of Sense in Business, who would be ashamed to quote any but the most approved Authors of his own or neighbouring Nations, gravely producing Scraps of such judicious and important Persons, as *Tertullian, Augustin, and Arnobius*, to support their Opinion about ROMAN AFFAIRS.—Such is the squint-eyed Direction of Gentlemen's Studies, when committed to the Popish Clergy.—They want, by all Means, to turn the Attention of Men from Life and Nature, and especially from great and magnanimous Life, and its Perfection LIBERTY.

The learned Abbé Vertot makes the whole Life of *Augustus* proceed

proceed upon an uniform Plan of Politics, laid down long before hand, just after *Cesar's* Death, when he was but eighteen, and steadily pursued by him through the rest of his Life.—That to this Plan he owed his Grandeur, and to no Contingencies, or Series of Events, which contributed to his Exaltation.—But this is pure Illusion,—a fine Dream, built upon the Result of a thousand unforeseen Events, not one of which it was in the Youth's Power to hinder or procure.

AFTER the Battle of *Actium*, and the Reduction of *Alexandria*, *Mecenas's* chief View was to preserve the Life of the Conqueror, and render his Government durable, by making it mild, and raising his Reputation above the rest of Mankind. For the first, he had Spies in all Corners, to pry into every Assembly, and watch the Motions of the People; and for the second, he had Orators, Poets, and Historians; whilst *Augustus*, dreading his Father's Fate, trembled at the Thought of the Ides of *March*.—Every Heir of a noble Family might be a second *BRUTUS*; and, in Effect, *Antony*, more bold and less selfish, had often reproached him, That it was *his* Fault alone that the Republic was not restored.

UPON his Return, therefore, from completing his Conquest of *Antony*, and in settling the Affairs of the Empire, instead of appearing more haughty and assuming than before, he took the same Step as the *Norman* Conqueror did after his Victory, which was to take a solemn Oath to govern according to the established Laws.

GREAT States, as well as private Men, are apt to run from one Extreme to another.—The Hypocrisy and Preciseness affected by the Faction which wrested the Government out of the Hands of the Parliament in 1642, and the Mischiefs which ensued, had almost thrown this Nation into Irreligion and Slavery after the Restoration.—Just so the Cruelty and Violence under which the *Romans* had groaned during the Course of a long and dreadful civil War, made them willing to bear with

with *any* Diminution of their Privileges, and sit down contented with *any* Sort of Government, rather than be again plunged into the same Misery.

IN this Spirit, they by Degrees gave away what remained of their Liberty, if any Thing yet remained beyond the bare Name, in complimenting the new MONARCH, (for such *AUGUSTUS* was now become in *Fact*, though he artfully avoided being called such) with every Title of Distinction, whether merely honorary, or accompanied with real and extraordinary Power.—He was declared IMPERATOR (from whence our Word *Emperor*); not in either of the limited Senses in which it had been used in the Time of the Republic, when it denoted only a General of an Army, or, at most, a victorious Chief; but as *Generalissimo* of all the Forces of the Empire, and Head of all other Commanders, who were only his Lieutenants. A Power which no Citizen had ever enjoyed, at least so fully, while the Commonwealth subsisted. *Pompey* came the nearest to it, when, in the War against the Pirates, he received the Command of all the maritime Forces of the *Romans*, and of all the Seas; to which was afterwards added, in the War with *Mithridates*, the Command of all the Armies in the East. *Augustus* might, indeed, have instanced this, to shew that the Dignity conferred on him was not absolutely new and unprecedented; to which he might likewise have added, that the Power he was now invested with, of governing distant Provinces and Armies by only sending his Orders to them, had been exercised, particularly in Regard to *Spain*, by the same Patriot, who, without quitting *Rome*, or at least *Italy*, had governed that great Province, and all the Legions in it, as Pro-Consul and Commander in chief, by his Lieutenants, *Afranius*, *Petreibus*, and *Varro*.

THE EMPEROR was absolute in all military Affairs. He alone could make War or Peace, and levy Men and Money. The Sword was in his Hand, and he swayed it over every Individual

Vol. III. p. 264



dividual in the Empire. This Title, to which such vast Privileges were annexed, soon came to be considered as a particular and special Mark that the sovereign Power was vested in *Augustus* and his Successors; but, being quite military, it shewed that the Origin of this new Government was founded in Force of Arms. The Soldiery were too sensible of this; and too soon availed themselves of it, to commit the most enormous Crimes. "Thus," says one of the most illustrious of the Prelates of *France**, "as the Republic had its unavoidable Weakness in the Jealousy between the People and the Senate; so the Dominion of the *Cæsars* had its Foible, in the Licentiousness of the Soldiery who made them *Cæsars*."

—*Augustus* endeavoured to remedy this Evil, by seeming to make the Army subordinate to the Laws: for his receiving from the Senate the Right of commanding *their* Armies was an Acknowledgment that the civil Power was superior to the military.—But the Reality appeared through this flimsy Disguise.

THE General of an Army used to have at his Command one *Pretorian* Cohort, made up of his Friends, young Volunteers of noble Families, and trusty Persons noted for their Bravery and Attachment to the Consul or Pretor, whose Guard they were, and about whose Person they fought:—but they never dared to set their Foot in *Rome* without Permission of the Senate. It was during the civil Wars, when all Order was overthrown, that they were first quartered in the City;—and the Generals (military Tyrants) increased the *Pretorian* Cohorts, so far, that *Augustus* had no less than nine of them in *Rome*, as Props of his illegal Power. To these Ruffians, who proved afterwards the Pest and Ruin of the *Roman* Empire, the Senate now officiously ordered double Pay, to encourage them the more zealously and faithfully to watch over the Safety of their PRINCE.

The conscript Fathers likewise ordered, that the Gate of his Palace should be constantly adorned with a Laurel, and over that a civic Crown; as a public Acknowledgement of Gratitude towards the Conqueror of the Enemies of the State, and the Preserver of its Citizens *.

ONE of the Months of the Year had already received a new Name, in Honour of the Dictator JULIUS. The same Distinction was now decreed in Favour of AUGUSTUS, whose Name it was resolved to give to the Month of *September*, in which he was born: But he preferred the preceding Month, for the Reasons mentioned in the Deliberations of the Senate, thus recorded by *Macrobias*. AS IT WAS IN THE MONTH HITHERTO CALLED *SEXTILIS*, THAT THE EMPEROR CESAR AUGUSTUS TOOK POSSESSION OF HIS FIRST CONSULSHIP, THAT HE CELEBRATED THREE TRIUMPHS, THAT HE RECEIVED THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE OF THE LEGIONS, WHICH OCCUPIED THE JANICULUM, THAT HE REDUCED EGYPT UNDER THE POWER OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE, THAT HE PUT AN END TO ALL CIVIL WARS; IT APPEARS, THAT THIS MONTH IS, AND HAS BEEN, A MOST HAPPY MONTH TO THIS EMPIRE. THE SENATE THEREFORE ORDAINS; THAT THIS MONTH SHALL HENCEFORTH BE CALLED AUGUST.—With what abject Meanness does the Senate here gloss over that daring Deed of *Octavius*, when, after raising the Siege of *Mutina*, he traiterously turned against his Country those very Arms with which SHE had intrusted him to oppose the Inroachments of *M. Antony*, and wickedly forced his Way into her Capital!—With this fatal Event, began the lawless Power of the young *USURPER*.

AMIDST this Profusion of Honour and Respect, quite conformable to the then Situation of Minds, one *Sextus Pacuvius*, Tribune

* There are still extant some Coins of *Augustus*, with the double Symbol of the Laurel and Civic Crowns, and the Legend OB CIVEIS SERVATOS.

Tribune of the People, rendered himself remarkable by an egregious Piece of Flattery. He declared, in a full Assembly of the Senate, that he was determined to devote himself to *Augustus* after the Manner of the *Spaniards*, *Celts*, and *Germans*, and exhorted the rest of the Senators to do the same. By this Custom, a great Number of Clients attached their Fate to that of some great Man, and bound themselves by Oath to live and die with him. *Augustus* put a Stop to the Tribune's Proposal, but could not hinder him from running to an Assembly of the People, whom he harangued to the same Effect; after which, going from Street to Street, he compelled those he met to devote themselves with him to *Augustus*. He offered Sacrifices, and made public Rejoicings on this Occasion, and declared, in an Assembly of the People, that he constituted *Augustus* his Heir in equal Shares with his Son: As he had not any Thing, the Object of his Liberality was rather to receive than give. Nor was he disappointed in his Expectation; for *Augustus* rewarded his Adulation, and thereby shewed that it was not quite so disagreeable to him as he would have had it thought.

IN Times of Liberty a Man depends upon *himself*. It is then that each *makes* his own Fortune. It is then that a Man's Talents, his Eloquence, his superior Spirit, his Capacity in the Cabinet or Field, his Constancy, Integrity, and a thousand Virtues, have both Incentives and Room to display themselves, and operate for his and his Country's Glory. Upon *these* he depends: From *these* he hopes for honest Fame, Protection from Injuries in Life, and an honourable Memory.—But the fatal Reverse was come. Men, instead of founding their Hopes upon their *own*, now useless, Virtues, were taught to hang them upon the Will of another. Their eyes were turned upon their *Master* and his *Minions*. From *them* they were taught to expect Protection to their Persons and Families; and by *their* good Pleasure were Honours, Commands, Provinces,

and Power to be distributed.—This Turn given to the Attention of Men, from themselves, and the Laws, to the Will and Pleasure of another, produced *Modern Roman* Politeness; that is, Fawning, Falshood, and Diffimulation.

THE civil Wars which ensued immediately after *Julius Cesar's* Conquest of *Gaul*, had hindered the *Romans* from establishing in that Country the same Order as reigned in their other Provinces. *Augustus*, having now acquired a legal Title to command, went thither *, numbered the People, took an Account of their Possessions, regulated the Tribute they were to pay, extended the Boundaries of *Aquitaine* from the *Pyrenean* Mountains and the *Garonne*, which limited them before, to the *Loire*, and published, in a general Assembly of the States, held at *Narbonne* †, the Laws, by which they were to be governed. The *Gauls* were at Peace when *Augustus* arrived among them, but had been at War a short Time before, as appears by *Messala's* Triumph this Year. He had chastised some of them; not yet accustomed to the Yoke, near *Adour*, and the *Pyrenean* Hills; but as we have no particular Account of his Exploits, they might, perhaps, not be considerable: For *Augustus* was ready enough to grant the Honours of a Triumph to his Lieutenants ‡.

HIS Design in going to *Gaul* was said to be, to cross over from thence to *Britain*; but Things seeming to take a peaceable Turn on this Side, the intended Expedition was dropped, he marched towards *Spain*, and at *Tarraçona*, now *Arragon*, took Possession of his eighth Consulship §, in which *Statilius Taurus* was his Collegue.

CESAR had spent the Fire of his Youth in the civil Wars; and well it might be extinguished, as he had been engaged in no less than seven of them, besides his Expedition into *Dalmatia*. 1. *Mutina* against *Antony*. 2. *Sicily* against *Sextus Pompey*,

* A. U. DCCXXV.

† SUET. in Aug. XXXVIII.

‡ STRABO, L. IV.

§ A. U. DCCXXVI.

Pompey, when *Salvidienus Rufus* was beaten. 3. *Philippi*. 4. *Perusium*. 5. *Sicily*, when his Fleet was wrecked. 6. *Sicily*, when he beat *Pompey*. And 7. *Actium*, which required two Campaigns. The whole of these Wars took up twelve Years.

—When he returned from *Alexandria*, he was a little settled, grew cautious, was unwilling to risk much, and therefore chose rather to employ the Troops in thoroughly conquering the old Provinces, especially such as lay nearest to *Italy*, than in far distant and dangerous Searches of new Laurels, like his adoptive Father *Julius*.—This brought a convenient domestic Caution into all his Counsels, and moderated his Designs and Enterprizes. *Britain* was talked of, as a Conquest which would add to his Glory; and *Horace*, the Echo of the Court Language, has painted it out as a Field of Laurels to *Cesar*:—But *this Cesar* never attempted it.

A BRITON, who, at present, has more Cause to love his Country than any other *European*, may wonder that the *Romans* should be so indifferent about our Island as they were for a long while; and particularly that *Augustus* should not endeavour to complete the Conquest begun by his Father.—But how must it humble his Pride, if he be one of those, whom a noble Writer calls *Patriots of the Soil*, to hear that the *Romans* made so little Account of it, that, when they could easily have conquered it, they despised the Acquisition, and chose to content themselves with a small annual Tribute, rather than have the whole Produce of the Island; at the Expence of keeping in it one Legion, and a few Cohorts; that is, about six or eight thousand Men.—To say the Truth, it was not very valuable at that Time; being almost uncultivated, and not a Town on the whole Island. What the then Inhabitants called a Town, was a large Part of a Wood surrounded with Stakes, and great Trees laid between, in the Area of which they built Hovels for themselves and their Cattle, to shelter them for some short Space, till they moved for grazing
to

to another Quarter. *Julius Cesar* had made two Descents into *Britain*; but was obliged to return quickly to *Gaul*; first, by the News of fresh Comminotions among the newly conquered Tribes, and, what touched him nearer, some Disgust among that Part of his Troops which he had left behind: Afterwards, he was forced back by the Loss of a considerable Part of his Fleet, destroyed by a high Tide and Storm at the full of the Moon, which dashed to Pieces forty of his Ships.—He went thither principally to have the Honour of being the *first* who attempted an unknown Country, and to raise his Name in *Rome*, as the Man who had extended the Limits of the Empire beyond the Ocean, as in fact he did *.—Another Motive was more particular. He was fond of Jewels, and all Sorts of curious Toys, which he frequently gave to his favourite Ladies. Pearls were then the great Mode, and there was a Fishery of them in *Britain*; partly on which Account he was said to have visited this Island. He used to weigh them with his own Hand, and, as was related before, made a Present of one of them to his beloved *Servilia*, worth, or, to say better, valued at *Sexagies HS*—near 50,000 l. Let his Motive have been what it will, he came twice to *Britain*, and fought both Times with his usual Fortune. But as he was in Pursuit of greater Designs than the Conquest of such naked Barbarians as we then were, he hastened away, and may be rather said to have shewn *Britain* to the *Romans*, than to have conquered it.

AMBITION is the genial Vice of great Minds. To it we owe the Brightest Actions that illustrate the Records of Time.—But this Passion acquires double Strength in the Breast of a Man who has risen from a low Origin to an exalted Station; especially if he owes his Rise to his own Courage and superior Abilities.

* Eone nomine, Imperator unice
Fuisti in ultimâ Occidentis Insulâ?

CATULL; ad Cæsarem.

Abilities. Such a Person must have an Unusual Share of Self-Denial, if he does not think that the same Talents and Address which at first brought him out of his primitive Obscurity and raised him above his Peers, may still raise him higher, and, with a proper Improvement of the Opportunities afforded by a tottering State, enable him to mount the Pinnacle of Power.—Fortune has given so much:—Why may she not give more?—Why not all?—Her Wheel is in perpetual Motion, carrying Crowns and Kingdoms now aloft, and anon precipitating them into the Dust.—What hinders me from mounting the revolving Orb, as well as another?—And no Matter, if I but gain the Top, whether I safely stand, or have a glorious Fall.

SUCH were the Sentiments of CORNELIUS GALLUS, if we believe *Dion Cassius*, and some other Writers, who say, that this first Prefect of *Egypt*, after harrassing and oppressing the People under his Government, and quelling several Insurrections, particularly a Rebellion of the rich Province of *Thebais*, whose Capital, the famous *THEBES*, with its hundred Gates, he plundered and destroyed; was so intoxicated with Prosperity, that he caused his own Exploits to be engraved on the Pyramids, and Statues to be erected to him all over the Country; to which is added, that when heated with Wine and Rioting, he frequently took very unbecoming Liberties in speaking of his Benefactor *Augustus*, and, at length went so far as even to conspire against him.—But as we are no where told who else was concerned in this Conspiracy, how far it was carried, how detected, for what End intended, or any Circumstances whatever relating to it; the whole of this Story appears to me a malevolent Fiction.—*Indiscretion* over his Bottle seems to have been his deepest Guilt. Had there been any Thing more, the unfortunate *OVID*, while humbly suing for his own Pardon, would not have dared to say, That talk-

ing intemperately in his Wine was the Cause of his Ruin*.——Some unguarded, and probably too haughty, Expressions, have been picked up by a false Friend, and carried to the Prince. Yet this very Man (if the Piece which bears his Name be really of his Composition) has elegantly exposed that common Frailty, and warned others against what afterwards proved his Ruin.——He had a curious Cup, whose Engraving represented *Tantalus* pursuing in vain the flying Liquor; upon which he made his Poem.

WHILE *Gallus* was Governor of *Egypt*, where the great Paper Manufactory was, near *Memphis*, he gave Orders for making a particular Sort, which was called *Charta Corneliana*, from his Name. The largest and best was called *Augusta Regia*, in Honour of *Augustus* †, who, among other Things, might be offended at this small Piece of Rivalship.

GALLUS was recalled, and *Petronius* sent in his Stead. This last, having disoblged the *Alexandrian* Mob, was attacked by several Thousands of them, who rushed upon him with Sticks, Stones, and whatever came to hand: but he, with only the Handful of Soldiers he used to keep about his Person, stood their Shock, killed some of them, and dispersed the Rest.——*Egypt* and the East were so unwarlike, that *Elius Gallus*, who succeeded *Petronius*, was likely to conquer all *Arabia Felix*, when he marched against that Country with a Part of the Roman Garrisons in *Egypt*, had he not been betrayed by *Syllæus*.

WHEN *Gallus* returned to *Rome*, one *Elius* (some call him *Valerius*) *Largus*, who had been his Intimate, became his Accuser; and, for the Crimes he was charged with, *Augustus* forbid him the Court, and banished him from all the Provinces of his

* Nec fuit opprobrio celebrasse Lyconida GALLO,
Sed linguam nimio, non tenuisse mero.

† TRIST. Lib. II. El. 1. v. 445.

‡ ISID. Orig. Lib. VI. c. 10. De Cantis.

his Department. His Friends immediately forsook him; Accusations were multiplied, and the Senate, taking Cognizance of the Affair with far greater Severity than the Emperor had done, condemned *Gallus* to Banishment, with Forfeiture of his whole Estate.—Unable to bear this Ignominy, he killed himself. *Augustus* seemed greatly afflicted, and a very fine Saying is attributed to him on this Occasion, if it was sincere: “ I am the only one, said he, that is not allowed to be angry with my Friends to what Degree I please *.”——*Gallus* was about forty Years of Age, when he perished. He had been intimate with *Augustus*, and, I doubt not, disliked his Usurpation, and despised all the great Men in *Rome*; for allowing him to be their Master.

LET us consider Things in their genuine Light.—*Cornelius Gallus* had the same Title, in Point of Law to be *Prince* even in *Rome*; that is, the FIRST Man in the Empire, as *Caius Octavius*. Murder and Violence had raised the latter,—who had no more RIGHT to command than any other *Roman*. *GALLUS* saw him unequal in his Passions, fearful beyond Measure, at other Times rash and daring, and mischievous in both †. He saw him envious and suspicious; depending upon Accidents, and regulating his Conduct by the Turns of Chance; slight therefore in his Friendships, and abandoned in his Morals. He knew that the Barbarities committed by him under the most shocking Circumstances in the Triumvirate, as they had made his Name terrible, so they had rendered it odious to the best of the *Romans*; and perhaps did not know, being absent in *Egypt*, that a total Change of Manners

VOL. III.

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and

* Conquestus est, quod sibi soli non liceret Amicis, quatenus vellet, irasci.

SUET. Aug. LXVI.

† Οκλαβιανὸν ἐπεισέρχεται, πολλὰ ἀμεβων ὄσπερ οἱ χαμαιλέοντες χρώματα· καὶ νῦν μὲν ὠχρίων, αὐτίς δὲ ἐρυθρὸν γεινόμενος; Ἠρακλέας καὶ Ζοφῶδης καὶ συνιεφίς ἀνέβη δ' αὐτίς εἰς ἀφροδίτην καὶ χάριτας—καὶ ὁ Σελευκὸς, βαβαί! ἐφί, τὲ παρδοαμὲ τέλει θηρίου! Τίπολ' ἄρα δεινὸν ἡμᾶς ἐρᾶσεται?

ΙΟΥΛ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΣ.

liarity of the greatest Men. Though his Genius inclined him to Elegy, yet his fertile Muse produced Works in various Sorts of Verse. His Compositions were marked by a peculiar SWEETNESS, such as we admire in the divine *Petrarch*; and that *Sweetness* was peculiarly fitted to his Subjects. His first Essays, written in the Height of Youth and Pleasure, were addressed to the Queen of Love; and his beautiful little Treatise, intitled *The Loves of the Heroes*, was inscribed to *Gallus* *. —But his later Productions were funeral Elegies on the amiable *Arcté*, and afterwards an Encomium on her Virtues——He must have been an happy Man, since this loved Mistress was his Wife; and his Fondness for her Memory could inspire Sentiments admired by Posterity. He lived to a great Age, having reached the Reign of *Tiberius* †, who was so delighted with his Verses, that he collected all his Performances, as superior to the Productions of any of the then modern Poets, and set up his Statue, with those of *Rhianus* and *Euphorion*, two Writers of the same Class, in his Library.

WHEN we view *Horace* and *Virgil*, *Tibullus* and *Ovid*, as POETS, they appear elegant, ingenious, and sublime. Yet they are but Imitators, and in their chief Excellencies the *Grecians* were their Masters.

M m 2

THE

* His Address to *Gallus*, who was himself a Poet, differs pretty much from the Epistles dedicatory now in vogue. It runs thus :

“ SIR,

“ Being of opinion that this Collection of Love-Disasters could be no where more properly addressed than to you, I send it, reduced to as narrow a Compass as was in my Power. It will help you to understand some Things which are but hinted at by the Poets; and, you may employ the greatest Part of the Incidents in Elegy, or Epic, as you may judge convenient: for having retrenched the superfluous Circumstances with which they are commonly related, you will be able to form a truer Judgment of them, than when you are led into Ambiguities. They are collected in the Form of *Memoirs*, upon which other Works may be formed, and, as is my Duty, are now offered to You, by

SIR, &c.”

† SUINAS in Parthen.

THE noblest Monument of the Magnificence of the *Ptolemean* Kings, was the immense *Alexandrian* Library, consisting of seven hundred thousand Volumes.—It was a Point of Rivalship between them and the *Attalic* Princes, which should have the greatest and most curious Collection of Books.—Paper was then the Manufacture of *Egypt*; and to frustrate his Rival, *Ptolemy*, somewhat enviously, forbad the Exportation of it. But Emulation is ingenious: For, to supply the Want of Paper, and fill the *Pergamenian* Library with more lasting Volumes, *Attalus* contrived Parchment, called *Charta Pergamenia*. His Library came to *Rome*, as Part of his Legacy to the *Romans*. But that vast Magazine of Literature at *Alexandria*, collected by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, to whom, by the bye, we principally owe the Propagation of Judaism, and consequently of Christianity, (as appears from the *ACTS* of the Apostles,) by his procuring the Books of *Moses* to be translated into *Greek*, was burnt by *Julius Cæsar*; not of Design, but in Self-Defence against *Achillas's* Treachery*; the Fire catching it from the Arsenal. Among the Records of Ages, then consumed, was the Original Copy of the Translation of the *Jewish* Scriptures by the seventy-two Elders, from thence commonly called the *Septuagint*; and, surely, with it, a fair and correct Copy of the Law, the Prophets, and other Writers, from which they made the Translation. What remained, was given by *Antony* as a Present to his insatiate Mistress *Cleopatra*; after whose Death, this famous Library was restored by CORNELIUS GALLUS†.

I KNOW not whether it was by *Gallus's* Assistance, or that of some of the succeeding Governors, that *Augustus* brought the famous *Alexandrian* Obelisks to *Rome*.—He placed one of them in the *Circus*, and the other in the *Campus Martius*. The first was upwards of 125 Feet high, besides the Base, of the same Stone; and the Ship which carried it was thought so wonderful

* AUL. GELL. Lib. VI. §. 17.

† STRABO.

wonderful a Piece, that *Augustus* laid her up for a Shew, in the Arsenal at *Pozzuolo*. The second was nine Feet less, but rendered more remarkable by the Ingenuity of *Manlius* the Mathematician, who ran a Pavement from the Base of it, equal in Length to the Height of the Obelisk. Upon this Pavement its Shadow fell, equal likewise to its Height, on the longest Day, when it was Noon at *Rome*. Afterwards, it decreased daily, by Degrees, marked in the Pavement by Plates of Brass at certain Distances; and, on the contrary, increased, according to the Length of the Days and Nights. *Manlius*, who is probably *Manilius* the Mathematician, put a gilt Ball upon the Top of this Obelisk, in order to collect and ascertain the Shadow, which varied sometimes, as it came from the Point of the Stone.—He was thought to have taken this Hint from the Form of the human Head, and its Effect in Light and Shade.

THE servile Senate ordered solemn Thanksgivings to the Gods for the Discovery and Suppression of *Gallus's* Conspiracy, as it was called; as if he had been a public Enemy, on the stopping of whose Plots the Safety of the State depended.—

An Example of Flattery too much imitated and enlarged upon under the succeeding Emperors.—But neither this Decree of the Senate, nor the Protection of the Prince, could screen the Accuser from the just Indignation of all good Men.

He was detested as a Traitor to his Friend; and looked upon as a Wretch against whom one could not be sufficiently guarded.

PROCULEIUS, chancing one Day to meet *Largus* in the Street, immediately clapt his Hand before his Nose and Mouth; to signify, that it was not safe even to breathe in the Presence of such a Man. This, to me, is a farther Proof that *Gallus* was rather guilty of Folly and Giddiness, than of any real Crime; for had he actually conspired against his Prince, the Person who detected his Designs would have been thought to act the Part

of

of a good Citizen, and not that of a Traitor.—His unhappy End was the Blot of *Augustus's* Life,—like *Alexander's* killing *Callisthenes*.

THAT perfect Model of a good Minister, *M. AGRIPPA*, ever ready to give his Prince the best of Counsels, and constantly solicitous for the public Welfare, finished this Year* a great Work, begun by *Julius Cæsar*, and considerably advanced by *Lepidus*, but interrupted by the civil Wars. This was the *Parks*, as they were called, for the Use of the Tribes and Centuries in the general Assemblies of the People. At first, they were only of Wood, without any Covering, till *Julius*, whilst he was making war in *Gaul*, formed a Plan to build them of Marble, to cover them in, and to build fine Porticos around them. *Cicero*, who then affected to live with *Cæsar* on the footing of a Friend, was to have had the Direction of this Work, jointly with *Oppius*. We know not how far *Cæsar's* Design was carried into Execution. *Dion Cassius* says, that *Lepidus* built the Body of the Work, but only of Stone. *Agrippa* added the Ornaments, Incrustations of Marble, fine Carvings, and exquisite Paintings; and, by a solemn Dedication, gave this Building the Name of the JULIAN PARKS, in Honour of the first *Cæsar*, who projected the Work, and of *Augustus*, under whom it was completed.

THE next Year, he finished the *PANTHEON*, one of the Wonders of the World, for Beauty (arising from the simplest Symmetry), and for Duration. According to *Pliny's* Account, *Agrippa* dedicated this Temple to *Jupiter* the Avenger; and according to *Dion Cassius* †, to *Mars*, *Venus*, and *Julius Cæsar*. But the general, and most probable Opinion is, that it was consecrated to *Cybele*, and all the Deities ‡, whose Statues were erected in it. To these, *Agrippa* would have added that of *Augustus*:—But he had the Modesty to refuse accepting of divine Honours within the City. *Agrippa* therefore placed his

* DCCXXVI.

† Lib. I. c. 2.

‡ PLATINA, in Bonifac.

his Statue, and his own, in the Vestibule: That of *Julius Cæsar*, long since deified, was consecrated within the Temple. —The antient Inscription, (M. AGRIPPA. L. F. COS. TERTIUM. FECIT.) still extant over the Portico, does not imply, as some have mistakenly imagined, that this Building was finished in *Agrippa's* third Consulship (for that was two Years before, *viz.* in 725), but that he had been thrice Consul when it was completed.

THIS magnificent Structure is an hundred and forty Feet high, and about as much in Breadth. The Roof is curiously vaulted, void Spaces being left here and there for greater Strength. The Rafter, forty Feet long, were once plated with Brass. There are no Windows in the whole Edifice: but a very sufficient Light is let in through a round Hole in the Top of the Roof*. The Walls are eighteen Feet thick†, and either of solid Marble, or incrusted on the Inside. The Outside of the Front was formerly covered with Plates of gilded Brass, and the Roof with Plates of Silver; instead of which there now is Lead. The Gates were of Brass, of extraordinary Size, and exquisite Workmanship‡. This Temple, which was damaged by a great Fire in the Reign of *Titus*, and afterwards repaired and beautified by *Adrian* and *Severus*, has suffered little Alteration, though now near eighteen hundred Years old, except in the Loss of its ancient Ornaments, and that instead of ascending to it by twelve Steps, as formerly, the same Number is now descended at its Entrance.

BONIFACE IV, Bishop of *Rome*, under *Phocas*, obtained a Gift of the Pantheon from that profligate Man, and having, in the Year 609 of our *Æra*, thrown out all the Statues of the Gods (which his Successors are eagerly raking out of the Rubbish), and well purified it with Prayers and holy Water, consecrated it, instead of *Cybele* and

* FABRICII *Roma*, c. 9.
Rome, p. 460.

† NODOT, *Relation de la Cour de*
 ‡ MARLIAN. *Lib. VI.* c. 6.

and her Offspring; to the Virgin *MARY* and all the *SAINTS*; whence, and from its spherical Form, its modern Name of *Sta. Maria della Rotunda*. An Inundation of the *Tiber*, by which a great Part of *Rome* was laid under Water, on the Eve of St. *Andrew's* Day, in the Year 1422, *Martin V.* being Pontiff, reached the great Altar of this Church, but did not much hurt the Building. About the Year 1451, that great Patron of Learning among the Popes, *THOMAS SARZANO*, who took the Name of *Nicolas V.* observing that the Materials, not the Fabric, of the Roof were going to decay, covered it closely with Lead *. To this great Man, and magnificent Prince, we owe the first Revival of Learning in the West, after six hundred Years of Ignorance and Barbarity: for he picked out ingenious Men; and besides giving them high Encouragement to study and teach at home, he sent the most learned of them over the different Parts of *Europe*, with Money and Orders to search out and buy up all the antient *Greek* and *Roman* Authors they could find.—Then the facetious *Poggi* the *Florentine* first discovered *QUINTILIAN*; then *Enos* of *Ascoli* found *Horace's* famed Interpreter *PORPHYRIO*, together with the Works of the signal Epicure *APICIUS*, which *Platina* published afterwards with a Piece of his own *On good Eating*, but which he inscribed *De Sanitate tuendâ*, where he endeavours to out-do the famous *Roman*.—Another Circumstance, which contributed very greatly to the Restoration of Learning, and which likewise happened under this Pontiff, was the fatal Catastrophe of the *GREEK EMPIRE*, when *Constantinople* was taken by the *Turks* †. The learned Men who then left that Country, and took Refuge in *Italy*, brought with them their Books and Knowledge, and thereby completed the Reformation of the West: after which, some of the Popes themselves, particularly *ENEAS SYLVIUS*,

* *PLATINA*, in Nicol. V.

† It was taken on the 29th of *May*, 1453, by *Mahomet II.*

SYLVIUS, under the Name of *Pius II.* became eminent in Eloquence and Learning.

I CANNOT quit the Subject of the Pantheon, without giving the following Extract from Dr. *Middleton's* justly admired Letter from *Rome* *.

“ THE noblest *Heathen Temple* now remaining in the World, is the *Pantheon*, or *Rotonda*; which as the (modern) Inscription over the Portico informs us, *having been impiously dedicated of old by Agrippa to Jove, and all the Gods, was piously re-consecrated by Pope Boniface IV. to the blessed Virgin, and all the Saints.*——With this single Alteration it serves as exactly well for all the Purposes of the *popish*, as it did for the *pagan Worship*, for which it was built: For, as in the *old Temple* every one might find the *God* of his Country, and address himself to that *Deity* whose Religion he was most devoted to; 'tis just the same Thing now: Every one chuses the *Patron* he likes best; and one may see here *different Services* going on at the same Time, at *different Altars*, with distinct Congregations around them, just as the Inclinations of the People lead them to the Worship of this or that particular *Saint*.”

“ AND what better Title can these *new Demigods* shew to the Adoration now paid them, than the *old ones*, whose Shrines they have usurped? Or how comes it to be less criminal to *worship Images* erected by the *Pope*, than those which *Agrippa*, or that which *Nebuchadnezzar* set up? If there be any real Difference, most People, I dare say, will be apt to determine in Favour of the *old Possessors*: For those *Heroes of Antiquity* were raised up into *Gods*, and received *divine Honours*, in Acknowledgement for some *signal Benefits* they had been the *Authors* of to Mankind; as the *Invention of Arts and Sciences*, or of something highly useful and necessary to Life: Whereas of the *Romish Saints*, it is certain that many of them were

never heard of, but in their own *Legends or Fabulous Histories*; and many more, instead of any Services done to Mankind, owe all the Honours now paid them, to their *Vices or their Errors*: Whose Merit, like the Story of *Demetrius* in the Gospel, was that only of raising Rebellions in Defence of *their Idol*, and throwing whole Kingdoms into Convulsions for the Sake of some *gainful Imposture*."

A NOBLE Temple now erected to *Neptune*, as an Acknowledgement for *Augustus's* Victories at Sea; public Baths, adorned with fine Paintings and Statues; and many other stately Buildings, calculated for the Convenience of the Inhabitants of the Capital of the World, were added to the many more with which *Agrippa* had embellished *Rome*, while he was Edile, in the Time of the Republic; Monuments of such Magnificence as no other Subject, and scarce any Emperor, ever equalled.

AUGUSTUS, in his eighth Consulship, re-opened the Temple of *Janus*, on Account of different Wars*, the most important of which was with the *Asturians* and *Cantabrians*, in *Spain*. He again had Thoughts of marching against the *Britons*, who, after seeming disposed to acknowledge his Laws, had taken a different Turn, and refused to submit to the Conditions he proposed. But the Motions of the *Salassi*, at the Foot of the *Alps*, and of the *Spaniards*, were thought Objects of greater Consequence. He therefore sent *Terentius Varro Murena* against the *Salassi*, and, taking to himself the *Spanish War*, entered on his ninth Consulship at *Tarracona*. *M. Junius Silanus* was his Collegue; but I cannot say whether he had remained in *Spain* the whole of this Year, or whether he returned to *Rome* for a few Months.

IN new Conquests, it is very common to leave a rough mountainous Corner of the Country unsubdued.—When *Gaul* had been many Years a *Roman Province*, and filled with

Roman

* DIO & OROS. VI. 21.

Roman Colonies, the Inhabitants of the *Alps*, the *Grisons*, *Swiss*, *Savoyards*, and *Piemontese*, were still untouched.——When *Asia* was an old Conquest, the Mountains of *Cilicia* remained in Liberty.——The same Thing happened in *Britain*, both in the *Roman* Conquests, and the *Saxon* and *Danish* Invasions. The Hills of *Scotland* and *Wales* afforded a secure Retreat to the old Inhabitants pushed from the Plains, and accordingly retain to this Day a People of different Language and Customs from the rest of the Island, though undoubtedly of the same Stock and Mother-Tongue.——But this has happened no where more remarkably than twice in *Spain*.——The *Romans* had battled for the Dominion of that Country near two hundred Years, and yet the Mountains in *Cantabria*, *Asturias*, and *Biscay*, remained in Possession of the Natives, who made frequent Incurfions into the adjacent Provinces.——Those Natives then were, what they still are, equally cunning and bold *.——Nor would there be a People more terrible in *Europe*, had not the Ravages of absolute Power, and the unhappy Discovery of the *Indies*, at once depopulated and enervated those Provinces, which formerly swarmed with hardy and industrious Inhabitants.

THE War against the *Salassi* required neither great Efforts nor much Time. *Muræna* finished it in one Campaign, in which, after some slight Advantages, he completed by Treachery a Victory began by Force. Under Pretence of levying the Contributions which the conquered had submitted to, he dispersed over the whole Country, Troops who seized the unfortunate *Salassi*, when they least expected it. Forty-four thousand Captives, thus taken, among whom were eight thousand able to bear Arms †, were sent to *Eporedia*, now *Yvrée*,

N n 2

* ——— bellicosus Cantaber.

HORAT. Lib. II. Od. 2.

“En matières de brigues et menées (says Cardinal *D’Ossat*, speaking of the *Spaniards*), ils surpassent toutes les autres Nations; et quoiqu’en d’autres choses ils soient avares, néanmoins en celles-ci ils sont plus que liberaux.”

LIV. IX. Lett. 359.

† STRABO, L. IV.

a Roman Colony, and there sold, with the express Condition, that they should be carried into remote Countries, and not be allowed to gain their Freedom before the Expiration of twenty Years. A Colony was settled in the Country to keep the Rest of the Inhabitants in Awe: Three thousand of the Pretorians remained in the Place where *Muræna's* Camp had been, and there built a new Town, called *Augusta Prætoria*, now *Aspis*, the Capital of the Dutchy of that Name.

As *Muræna* was only the Emperor's Lieutenant, the Honour of his Victory belonged to *Augustus*; and accordingly the Senate, for that, and some trifling Advantages gained by *M. Minicius* over a few *Germani*, who had killed some *Roman* Treaders, decreed him a triumphal Arch, with Trophies, to be erected on a Summit of the *Alps* *. The Ruins of this Monument are still to be seen, as is said †, near *Menaro*, in a Village called *Tropha*;—perhaps a Corruption of the Word *Trophaea*.

AUGUSTUS met with far greater Difficulties in the *Spanish* War; and even succeeded but badly while he commanded in Person: For the brave and active *Cantabrians* harrassed him continually by sudden Attacks, without his being able to gain any decisive Advantage over them, because they kept close to their Mountains, where they were sure of a safe Retreat. The Fatigue he underwent, and the Vexation he felt at not succeeding, threw him into a Fit of Illness, which obliged him to retreat to *Tarracena*. His Disease proved lingering

* This was not, however, executed till some Years after; as appears from the Inscription preserved by *Pliny* (a), where, among the People named as subdued by the *Roman* Arms, are some who were not conquered till the Year 737, such as the *Comanen* and the *Parman* by *P. Silius*, the *Breuni* and the *Genauni* by *Drausus*. Besides, the Title of High-Priest is given to *Augustus* in that Inscription; and he had it not till 739, twelve Years after the Time here spoken of.

† *CLUVER. Ital. Antiq. Lib. IX.*

(a) *Lib. III. c. 20.*

gering and tedious :—Reports of his Death flew to *Rome*, and upon that Occasion it *did* appear how much he was now beloved. An universal Consternation seized the Citizens ;—Marks of the sincerest Anguish broke from them, and could not be restrained, but by certain Accounts of his Recovery *. —In the mean Time, the Enemy, emboldened by the Emperor's Absence, ventured to give the *Romans* Battle, and were defeated.—No Country ever cost the *Romans* so much Toil and Blood to conquer, as *Cantabria*, (now *Biscay*.) They had long been Masters of the open Places, and of the Provinces on the Coast, while the Mountains were full of an un-subdued and almost unknown People. *Antistius*, *Furnius*, *Taurus*, and even *Agrippa*, were sent against them, took several of their Towns, and at last pursued them through their most rugged Recesses. Joined to this, while they were thus vigorously pushed by Land, a *Roman* Fleet harrassed their Coasts by frequent Descents.—At length, they were driven to a Mountain † near the *Minho*, and surrounded without a Possibility of escaping. There, finding themselves attacked on all Sides, they desperately resolved to relinquish Life, rather than submit to the Conqueror: And accordingly, great Numbers of them stabbed, burnt, or poisoned themselves; for they are said always to have carried Poison about them, as a Resource against any Reverse of Fate.—Mothers smothered their Children, to save them from Captivity; and among those that were taken was a young Boy, who, having picked up a Sword, was seen

* It was at this Crisis that *Horace* composed his admirable Ode,

Divis orte bonis, &c.

LIB. IV. Carm. 5.

where the Love and Veneration of the *Romans* for *Augustus*, and the Impatience with which they longed for his Return, are strongly and most tenderly expressed.—We may take it for a general and never failing Rule, that whenever this Poet mentions the *Public*, it is always in the current Style of the Court, in the very Words of the Prince, if possible, or in those used by the soundest Part of the Ministry.

† OROSIUS calls it *Medullius*.

seen to kill his Brother and all his Relations, by his Father's Order. In like Manner, a Woman killed all that were Prisoners with her *.

This haughty Nation being thus subdued, *Augustus*, to soften their Ferocity, forced them down from their Mountains, where they only grew more and more savage; and, after selling Part of the Prisoners, took Hostages from those he left in the Country, and fixed their Abode in the Plains.

The *Assurians* defended themselves with almost equal Obstinacy, but were at length over-powered by *Augustus's* Lieutenant *Carisus*.—They were treated like their Neighbours, forced into the Plains, and compelled to cultivate their Lands, and work their Mines, some of which proved so valuable, that this Country was a Sort of *Peru* to ancient *Rome*.

To secure these dear-bought Conquests, and at the same Time to improve and beautify them, several new Colonies were settled, which grew afterwards to great Cities †:—For the *Romans*, allured by the Climate and Soil, took such Footing in *Spain*, that, in a Score of Years, *Latin* became the vulgar Tongue of the Country. It continued to be so until the Irruption of our Ancestors the *Goths*, and the subsequent Invasion of the *Moor*s; neither of which could, however, so change it, but that the *Spaniards* to this Day call their Language *ROMANCE*, and the Epithet given to a Person who speaks it purely is *Muyladino*.

It appears by the Situation which the *Romans* generally chose for their Colonies, that they were no commercial People. They were most commonly inland Settlements, near some Rock or Hill, with a rich adjacent Plain; but very seldom a Sea-Port: Nor did they much affect even a navigable River. —The Legions were the Source of their Planters, and these Land-

* STRABO, Lib. III.

† Of this Number were *Julia Emerita*, and *Cesarea-Augusta*, now *Merida*, and *Saragosa*.

Land-Men loved a fine fertile Field, better than the Advantages of a Harbour.

THIS was *Augustus's* last military Exploit.—We shall not find him any more at the Head of his Armies; for he was not a Warrior by Taste or Inclination.—If his Youth was spent in Arms, it was only from a Necessity of his so doing, in order to accomplish his ambitious Views, and raise himself to the high Rank he had now attained.—From henceforth he made all his Glory consist in well governing the vast Empire of which he was become the HEAD; and had so little Desire to extend its Boundaries, or add to his own Fame by gaining new Victories, that he avoided War with the Barbarians bordering upon the *Roman* Territories, with as much Care as the *Roman* Generals of old used to seek it. Far from wanting to provoke them, he often made their Princes and Ambassadors swear faithfully to keep Peace with him; and that he might be the surer of it, he frequently made them give their Daughters as Hostages; for he found that, in general, they were fonder of them than of their Sons. He could not, however, avoid some Wars, especially with the *Germans*; but they were only defensive on his Side, at least in their Beginnings, and he conducted them by his Lieutenants.

SPAIN being now subdued, and entirely pacified, after two hundred Years of almost continual War, (for that great Country had never been at Peace from the Time of *Cn. Scipio's* entering it in the first Year of the second *Punic* War; but had even repeatedly alarmed the *Romans*, by the Defeat and Death of the *Scipios*, by *Variathus's* War, by that of *Numantium*, and of *Sertorius*, and in *Cesar's* two Expeditions, first against the Lieutenants, and afterwards against the Children of *Pompey*,) *Augustus*, for the second Time, closed the Temple of *Janus*.—The Senate decreed him the Honours of a Triumph, which he modestly declined.—He was already so

great, says the florid *Florus* *, that a Triumph could not add to his glory.—But, to celebrate his Victory, he had Shews exhibited in his Camp ; on which Occasion his Nephew *Marcellus*, and his Son-in-Law *Tiberius*, both very young, performed the Functions of Ediles.

MARCUS MARCELLUS, (son of *C. Marcellus*), born with Principles of Probity, Generosity, and Candour, improved by a Sweetness of Temper, and Openness of Heart, rarely to be found in the Height of Fortune, had been contracted to *Sextus Pompey's* Daughter, *Pompeia*. But *Augustus*, who had no Son, looking upon him as the Hope of his Family, and the Person whom he intended to make the first and chief Support of his Authority, now † married him to his only Daughter *JULIA*.—He was so intent upon concluding this Match, that, being detained in *Spain* by his Illness, of which he had violent and sometimes dangerous Relapses, he ordered *Agrippa* to preside at the Nuptials in his Name.

THOUGH *Augustus* was fully Master of the Empire, and at Liberty to do any Thing he pleased ; yet the Laws, or rather their Appearances, for little more now remained, seemed to cramp him.—To set them aside at once, might have roused a dangerous Spirit.—It was therefore more eligible artfully to elude their Force.—To this End, when ready to arrive at *Rome* in the Beginning of his tenth Consulship, (to which he was nominated whilst in *Spain*, with *C. Norbanus Flaccus*,) he sent before him an Ordinance, by which he promised to make the People a Present of four hundred Sesterces a-piece, on account of his Return, provided the Senate approved of it ; till when this Declaration was not to be published.—His Friends, among whom were some of the best Speakers in *Rome*,

* *Digna res lauro, digna curru Senatui visa est : Sed jam Cæsar tantus erat, ut posset triumphos contemnere.*

† A. U. DCCXXVII.

VOL. III. p. 288



Rome, were instructed how to behave. They accordingly proposed this Affair to the Senate, who, shamefully degenerated from the once noble Spirit of the *Romans*, not only agreed to it with one Voice, but, servilely studious to court the Favour, and anticipate even the most extravagant Wishes of their new LORD, voted a Decree by which he was exempted from all Subjection to the Laws, so as never to be obliged to do what he did not like, or to leave undone what he chose to do.—Particular Dispensations had been granted in the Time of the Republic, in some extraordinary Cases.—Such were the Elections of the second *Scipio Africanus*, of *Pompey*, and of *Octavius* himself, when they were appointed Consuls by special Permission of the Senate, before they had attained the Age prescribed by the Laws.—But little was it then dreamt that any Man would be thus *authorized* to set himself *above* the Laws, despotically to consult only his *own* WILL and PLEASURE.

PREROGATIVES and Privileges beyond the Rest of the Citizens were not confined to the Prince alone, but likewise extended to his Family. After the Rejoicings, Festivals, and Thanksgivings for his Return, the Senate granted to *Marcellus* the Right of voting in the Rank of antient Pretor, and enabled him to be created Consul ten Years before the legal Age.—Little was it then thought that *Tiberius* would ever attain the Rank to which the Circumstances of Things afterwards raised him.—*Augustus*, willing to have this distant Resource, in Case of Accidents, obtained of the Senate, in his Favour, a Dispensation of five Years in Regard to the Age required in such as held any Offices, and had him made *Questor* the next Year, when *Marcellus* was appointed Curule Edile; on which last Occasion, no Expence was spared, to enhance the Magnificence of the Ceremony.—But surely *Augustus's* suffering a *Roman* Knight, and a Lady of considerable Distinction, to dance publicly on the Stage, was far from adding to the

Lustre of the Games then given.—The Forum was shaded with Tilts during the whole Summer, that those who had Business there, particularly the Pleaders, might not be incommoded by the Heat of the Sun.—For these last, *Cato* the Censor would rather have paved it with pointed Flints*.

As *Augustus's* Power increased, the Citizens became more and more estranged from the Republic, and began not to be fond of Offices now divested of their Splendor and Authority. —Already, there was not a sufficient Number of *Questors* for the Provinces:—The Senate was obliged to exert its Authority, and order those who had been appointed *Questors* during the last ten Years, to draw Lots to fill up the present Vacancies; and, a few Years after, the same Thing happened again, when the *Tribunes* were to be chosen.

TERENTIUS VARRO MURÆNA, the same who had conquered the *Salassi* three Years before, was *Augustus's* first Colleague in his eleventh Consulship, but did not long enjoy that Dignity. Upon his Resignation, or more probably, his Death, *Augustus*, nobly laying aside the Remembrance of former Enmities, or perhaps politically consulting his own Safety, (for *self* was at the Bottom of all his Actions), took for his Successor *Cn. Calpurnius Piso*, a Man of an undaunted Spirit, who had been one of the most strenuous Opposers of the Grandeur of the *Cesars*.—*Piso* had signalized his Zeal for the Republic in the War which *Scipio* and *Cato* renewed in *Afric*, against *Cesar*, after the Battle of *Pharsalia*. He afterwards joined *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and when these two last Defenders of the *Roman Liberty* were dead, he obtained Leave to return to *Rome*: But still preserving all his Haughtiness of Mind, would never stoop to ask any Employment. *Augustus* was now forced to make the first Advances, and desire he would be pleased to accept of the Consulship.—I take it to be to his Sons, that *Horace's* Epistle concerning the Art of Poetry is addressed.

The

* PLIN. Lib. XIX. c. 1.

The eldest of them married *Plautina*, *Manatius Plancus's* Daughter, immensely rich, and equally haughty.—These two were pitched upon by *Tiberius* to distress the noble *Germanicus*, and spite the high-spirited *Agrippina*.

It is of this eldest Son of *Cn. Calpurnius Piso*, that *Seneca* tells the following Story.—“ *Cn. Piso*, says he, who lived within my Memory, was a Man free from many of the common Vices, but of a cross imperious Disposition, and one who looked upon Obstinacy as a Virtue. Two of his Soldiers had been absent upon Furlow: One of them returned alone, whom he, in a Passion, ordered to be led to Execution; suspecting that he had killed his Companion. The poor Fellow begged a little Time to go and seek his Comrade, which was denied, and he was holding out his Neck to the Blow which was to sever his Head from his Body, when the Man, supposed to have been murdered, appeared. At this the Centurion, appointed to oversee the Execution, ordered the Executioner to put up his Sword, and carried the condemned Man back to *Piso*, to save a Soldier, and prevent his General's shedding innocent Blood. The whole Camp was got about them by this Time, and conducted the two Brother Soldiers, who walked clasped in each other's Arms, with great Shoutings, to the Tribunal. The General, hearing the Noise, and being informed of what had happened, came foaming out of his Tent, and mounted the Judgment-Seat. The Centurion presented his Prisoner, and with him the live Man, for whose supposed Murder he had been condemned to die: But the furious *Piso* commanded them all three to be taken back to the same Place, and executed together: You, said he to the first, because Sentence of Death is already passed upon you;—you, because you were the Cause of your Companion's Condemnation;—and you, Sir, to the Centurion, because, when commanded to put him to Death, you thought fit to disobey your General's Orders.”

AUGUSTUS made a vain Effort to restore the Splendor of the Republic, by preserving the Remains of the ancient Families, whose Chiefs he had bloodily extirpated in his Youth. — Among the young Patricians who fell at *Philippi* was *Q. Hortensius*, Son of the celebrated Orator and Consul. — He left an Orphan Son in *Rome*, named *Hortalus*, whose Manner of Life was suited to his reduced Fortune, when the Prince called him to Court, — desired him to marry, in order to continue so noble a Family *, and, to enable him to educate his Children, made him a Present of 25000 l. †. He had four Sons, who were afterwards neglected by *Tiberius*, and suffered to languish in the utmost Contempt and Poverty ‡.

AUGUSTUS had long been in a declining Way, having but short Intervals of Health, interrupted by frequent Relapses. This Year § his Life was despaired of. — Not thinking himself that he should recover, he sent for the principal Magistrates, Senators, and Knights, and, in their Presence, delivered to the Consul *Piso*, the general Register of the Empire, that is to say, an Account of the Public Revenues and Expences, and a List of all the Forces belonging to the *Romans*, with Instructions concerning whatever else related to the Government; the whole written with his own Hand. — He named no one to succeed him: — Perhaps because he did not think his Power sufficiently established to be respected after his Death: — But he gave his Ring || to *Agrippa*. This Preference shocked *Marcellus* exceedingly; and indeed every

* For his elder Brother's Son, who, from his constant Catering, got the Nick-Name of *Corbio*, (Mr. *Hamper*, or *Hannaper*,) was a Scandal to his Family. His Manners were infamous, beyond what can be decently described; and he lived the Cully of a common Woman.

† Decies Sestertiūm.

‡ TACIT. Annal. Lib. II. § DCCXXIX.

|| *Augustus* used a SPHINX for his Seal. — This was a Fiction, not of the Grecian or Italian Growth, though said to be born near *Thebes*; but the Invention of the *Egyptians*, and one of their Hieroglyphics. — By this Monster they represented *Strength* and *Understanding*; it having a *Lion's* Body and a *human* Face; and upon that Account, I judge it to have been chosen by *Augustus*, who

Body wondered at it: For none had hitherto doubted, but that he intended to make this amiable Youth his Successor.

THE Skill, or good Fortune, of the Physician *Antonius Musa* saved *Augustus* from Death, and the Empire from the Confusion it seemed ready to fall into. After trying in vain the usual Method of treating his Disorder, he ventured to prescribe cold Bathing *, and a cooling Diet, and by this Means restored the Prince to a better State of Health, than he had ever enjoyed before.—*Musa* was nobly rewarded: Besides giving him large Sums of Money, *Augustus* raised him from the Station of a Freedman (for the great *Romans* had anciently Physicians among their Slaves †, and indeed Professors of many Arts, such as Painting, Music, &c.) to the Rank of a *Roman Knight*. He likewise exempted him from the Payment of all Taxes, and, which must have been highly pleasing to a Man zealous to procure Honour to his Profession, the Emperor extended this Privilege to all Physicians, present and to come ‡. The Senate concurred with *Augustus* in granting these Honours to *Antonius Musa*, and the Citizens taxed themselves to erect a Statue to him near that of *Esculapius* ||.

who found two of these Engravings among his Mother's Jewels, so perfectly alike, that there was no distinguishing their Impressions (a).—He left one with *Mecenas*, and carried the other himself.

(a) Πρὸς τοὺς δὲ, ἀλλῆς μὲν καὶ Ῥώμης, σύμβολον ἀντοῖς ὁ λέων, ὅσπερ ἀμέλει
ῥῆς τὴν αὐτῆς, καὶ ἱεραγίας καὶ τροφῆς ὁ βοῦς; ἀνδρείας τὴν καὶ παρρησίας ὁ ἵππος;
ἀλλῆς τε αὖ Συνέσεως, ἡ Σφίγξ, τὸ μὲν σῶμα πάντων λέοντος, τὸ πρόσωπον δὲ
ἀνδρὸς ὅπου ἔχευσα. ΚΑΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ ΑΛΛΕΧ. εὐρωμαί.

* PLIN. Lib. XIX. c. 8.

† It is far from my Intention to revive the Controversy so warmly canvassed between that Honour of Learning, Dr. MEAD, and the keen Dr. CONYERS MIDDLETON. They were both in the right:—for both free Men and Slaves exercised Medicine, and other Arts, at *Rome*;—and both in the wrong, so far as they restricted these Professions to either one or the other.

‡ SUET: in Aug. LIX.

|| *Antonio Cocchi*, a learned *Florentine*, has published a Dissertation (a) upon the Use of the cold Bath, wherein he takes Occasion to shew the Mistake of those who believed *Augustus's* Ailment, which *Antonius Musa* cured by cold Bathings, to have been the Gout; which Error he judges to have arisen from the

AUGUSTUS's Recovery was soon followed by the Removal of *Agrippa*. That great Man, so long accustomed to hold the first Rank next to the Emperor, could not conceal his Dislike of the Elevation and Expectations of *Marcellus*, whilst this Nephew of the Emperor could not brook being rivalled by *Agrippa*. Their Jealousies rose to such a Height, that *Augustus* saw no Remedy but by giving up *Agrippa*.—This Resolution must have cost him great Struggles.—He endeavoured to colour over the Disgrace of his old and faithful Friend, with a specious Appearance of Honour ; and accordingly made him Governor of *Syria*, one of the richest and most flourishing Provinces of the Empire.—*Agrippa* not only was not deceived in this, but spoke his Mind freely and openly, calling it an honourable Exile ; and, disdaining to put on the Mask that was offered him to cover his Disgrace, he affected on the contrary to shew it, by sending only his Lieutenants to *Syria*, while he himself retired to *Mitylene*, there to live like a private Man.

MARCELLUS did not long enjoy the Satisfaction of having triumphed over his formidable Rival.—He had but just completed his twentieth Year, when a mortal Sickness seized, and soon carried off, this Darling of the People, whose Love and Esteem he had deservedly acquired by his good Conduct, Affability, and noble Generosity ; and who flattered themselves, that, if he became Master, he would one Day restore the Republican Liberty ; still the fond Object of the Wishes of every *Roman*, from whose Hearts and Memories it was not entirely erased till a long Time after.—The same
Means

the putting of *Articulare*, for *Arteria*. He believes the Distemper was a *Tubercle pituitaria*, fallen upon the Glands, immediately contributing to the first Maceration, viz. of the Mouth, Throat, and *Arteria aspera* ; for which *Musa* prescribed cold Gargarisms, and cold Fomentations, or Aspersions of cold Water.—*Suetonius* says expressly, that his Liver was vitiated by Defluxions (*b*).

(a) Among the *Saggi di Dissertazioni Accademiche pubblicamente lette nella nobile Accademia Etrusca dell' antichissima Città di Cortona*. T. II. Disc. 10.

(b) *Distillationibus Jecinore vitiatum*. OCTAV. §. 81.

Means which had saved *Augustus*, used by the same Physician, hastened, or at least did not prevent, the Death of his Nephew, Son-in-Law, and intended Successor.

SENECA's Character of this young Prince is very great *, and *Velleius*'s, considering from whom it comes, still greater. —His Courage was undaunted, his Genius vast, and his Temperance and Moderation astonishing, in one so young and in so high a Station. Patient of Labour, and deaf to the Voice of Pleasure, his Talents were equal to the mighty Task for which his Uncle designed him. —*Virgil*'s affecting Lines † alluding to this melancholy Event, Lines in which the deepest Grief is expressed with equal Dignity, drew Tears from the incomparable *OCTAVIA* whenever she heard them; —nor could the Poet himself recite them to *HER* and *Augustus*, without shewing the same Marks of Sorrow. —The rest of her Life was spent in mourning for this justly beloved Son, whom she survived twelve Years. *Augustus* sincerely shared her Grief; though some modern Writers, straining an Expression of *Tacitus* ‡, and another of *Pliny* §, far beyond their Meaning, have not scrupled to suspect him of being concerned in the Death of *Marcellus*. —I do not quite so readily acquit the ambitious *Livia*; though an Epidemical Distemper which prevailed at that Time, and carried off great Numbers, is a Circumstance much in her Favour. The Obsequies of the young Prince

* Adolescentem animo alacrem, ingenio potentem, sed et frugalitatis continentiaque in illis annis aut opibus non mediocriter admirandum, patientum laboris, voluptatibus alienum, quantumcunque imponere illi avunculus, et, ut ita dicam, inædificare voluisset, laturum.

SEN. Consol. ad Marc. c. 2.

* Offendunt terris hunc tantum Fata, neque ultra
Esse sinent. Nimium vobis Romana propago
Visa potens, Superi, propria hæc si dona fuissent.

ÆN. VI. L. 870.

† Breves & infaustos populi Romani amores.

ANNAL. II. 41.

§ Suspecta Marcelli vota.

LIB. VII. c. 45.

Prince were performed with great Pomp. *Augustus* himself pronounced the funeral Oration ; and, to perpetuate his Memory, gave his Name to that vast Theatre, of which the superb Remains are a Proof now extant of the amazing Magnificence of the *Romans*. The Senate decreed a golden Statue of *Marcellus*, and ordered it to be placed in a Curule Chair, between the Seats of the Ediles, at all their public Games, that he might seem still to preside with them on those Occasions.

IT now became necessary to sooth *Agrippa* ; as a Step towards which, *Augustus* went to the Senate-House, took with him his Will, and offered to read it to the whole Assembly :—But being prevented by their unanimous Request, he insisted on letting them know that he had not appointed any one to succeed him in the Government. This Reserve was pleasing to the whole Nation ; but, above all, it shewed his Regard for *Agrippa*, between whom and *Marcellus* he had not taken any Party. He was, however, in no Hurry to recall him :—Perhaps not to shew too plainly the real Cause of his Removal, or to acknowledge publicly that he had sacrificed him to his Nephew's Jealousy.

EIGHT Years had elapsed since the Battle of *Actium*, and People were quite accustomed to acknowledge a legal Right of Command in *Augustus*, and to obey him as the supreme Head of the Republic. For this Reason the Consulship, necessary whilst his personal Authority was not firmly established, appeared to him now of no other Use than to resign it ; thereby to acquire, with the Multitude, the Merit of Moderation. —I say, with the *Multitude* ;—for Men of Sense could not but see, that, by resigning the Consulship, and continuing to govern, he *in fact* declared the Right of Command inherent in his own Person, independent of that Title which had hitherto characterised the chief Magistracy among the *Romans*. —Taking Care, however, as much as possible, to conceal his

his deep-laid Plan ; he artfully alledged that his high Office was too great a Burthen for one Man to bear continually, as he had done for several Years past ; and that it was but just that other Citizens should share the Honours of the State. These Arguments were not unanswerable, and he was strongly pressed to accept of the Consulate for the twelfth Time :—But his Resolution was taken. To avoid further Importunities, he retired to his Country-Seat at *Alba*, and from thence sent his Resignation of the remaining Part of his eleventh Consulship, in Favour of L. SESTIUS, a Gentleman of distinguished Birth and great Merit, who had been in the strictest Friendship with BRUTUS until his Death, had attended him in all his Wars, was his Pay-master at *Philippi*, and had never been able to forget the Virtues of the PATRIOT, and the Charms of his Conversation.—*Antony* had made him great Offers, at the Beginning of the War, if he would betray his Friend : but he disdained them, and was proscribed.—Upon the Death of that magnanimous ASSERTOR OF LIBERTY, he returned home, was reconciled to the Young *Cesar*, and recommended to him for what he was.—*Cesar* went one Day to pay him a Visit. *Sestius* entertained him some Time with the Company, and after a while took him into an inner Apartment, where the first Thing he saw was a Picture of BRUTUS. *Cesar*, now a very different Man from what he was when he fought against him, commended *Sestius*'s Attachment and Sincerity, and, not long after, advanced him to this high Office, though he knew that he was then writing a Panegyric upon *Brutus* *.

VOL. III.

P p

AUGUSTUS

*. There are two Medals of *Brutus*, struck, it would seem, by *Sestius*'s Orders, in *Fulv. Ursini's Familæ Rôm.* p. 244. *Brutus*' or *Sestius*' Head. L. SESTIV. PRO Q. (*Proquestor*). On the Reverse, a Tripas with a sacrificing Ax on one Side and a Simpulum on the other. Q. COEPIO BRUTVS PRO COS. Another with the same Inscription and Emblems, save that there is a Pileus for the Simpulum ; but instead of the Head upon the Reverse, there is a large Pileus betwixt two Daggers set upright ; and above them

AUGUSTUS grew good at first through Fear and political Considerations, and finding that Method succeed, he continued in it until it became habitual, and at last natural.—The Tranquility and Happiness of his latter Years is a great Proof that Virtue is the best Policy.—But his Passions had passed through their natural Periods. His Youth was full of Debauchery and Cruelty; Ambition never left him. But at about the Age of two or three and thirty, his Fire was evaporated, he began to dislike Violence, and loved Order and Modesty in others, though he could hardly attain to them himself.—Nor did it contribute a little to make him easy in his Government, that by this Time the general Humour was turned to private Magnificence and elegant Living.—While a Man is busied about the Model of his House, the Slope of his Cascade, or the Oeconomy of a Dinner, he is in no Hazard of disturbing the State. A certain Courtliness accompanies that Kind of Life, which makes a Man unwilling to do or say a disobliging Thing.—It fits admirably well in private Life, but is the Bane of the Public, where a Fault once over-looked, becomes a Precedent, and makes Way for intailing the Abuse, to the Ruin of Posterity.

His nobly resigning the Consulate to *L. Sestius* charmed every one, who still retained any Esteem for the old Defenders of the Republican Government, and became an additional Motive to the Senate to replace, by new Titles, that which he had thus laid down. They, therefore, secretly prompted by his Friends and Agents, decreed him the Proconsular Power, for Life, whenever he should be out of *Rome*, without being subject

L. SESTI. and under them *PRO Q.* The Medal struck by *Brutus* himself had his own Head, and *BRVTV. IMP. L. PLAET. CEST.* round it. And on the Reverse the Pileus betwixt the two Daggers with their Points turned down, and under them *EID. P. L. R.*—*Sestius* seems to have overseen them both. *Brutus* had the Name *Cæpio* either from his Mother, *Q. Servilius Cæpio's* Daughter; or by Adoption from his Grandfather or Uncle. *Cicero* calls him *Q. Cæpio Brutus* two or three Times in the 10th *Philippick*.

subject to the Formality of resigning, or resuming it, upon his returning to, or departing from the City, as had been practised in the Time of the Republic.—In Virtue of this Power, he was to have, in whatever Province he might be, a Command superior to the actual Governor of that Province.—The same Privilege had been granted, in the East, to *Pompey*, *Brutus*, and *Cassius*.—But *Augustus*, in order to have the same Power in *Rome*, as was given him over the Provinces, artfully found Means, some Time after, to be vested with the Prerogatives and Authority of Consul, even when he did not discharge the Functions of that Office; and assumed all the Marks of Honour belonging to it, the twelve Fasces, and the Curule Chair between the Seats of the two Consuls.

FOR the same Reasons the *Tribunician Power*, offered several Times before, and as often refused, was accepted now; though the actual Exercise of the Office of Tribune, reserved for Plebeians only, was beneath his Dignity. By this convenient Distinction, used before by the Dictator *Cesar*, he enjoyed the Benefits, without the Trouble, of this almost despotic Magistracy. In consequence of this Power, nothing could be done without his Approbation, either in the Senate, or the Assemblies of the People; and his Person became sacred and inviolable: For not only any Attempt against the Life of a Tribune, but even the slightest Offence, the least Want of Respect, was deemed an impious and unpardonable Crime.—*Augustus's* Successors took dreadful Advantages of this Privilege, which, though given to them for Life, they made a Shew of renewing every Year, and the Duration of their Reigns is reckoned by the Years of their *Tribunician Power*.

A REMARKABLE Instance of the unbounded Power of the Tribunes in the Time of the Republic (and we may readily conclude that it lost nothing of its Weight in the Hands of the Emperors), is thus recorded by the younger *Pliny**.

Metellus Macedonicus, one of the best and greatest Men in Rome, revered by all, and pointed out as an illustrious Example of the highest Grandeur and Felicity that Mortals can enjoy, passing one Day through the Forum, at a Time when it was empty, was laid hold of by *Catinius Labeo*, then a Tribune, whom he had formerly expelled from the Senate, as Cenfor. *Catinius* put a Rope about *Metellus's* Neck, and dragged him to the *Tarpeian* Rock, to be thrown down headlong as a Malefactor. His Children and Friends could not reach him but on the Brink of Ruin ; and even then they could only attend him to his Death, not daring to resist the revengeful Tribune, till, with the utmost Difficulty, they found another Tribune, who interposed. Yet *Labeo* died in peace ; though *Metellus* and his Family continued in Splendor, and held the highest Offices of the Commonwealth.

IN return for the excessive, the iniquitous, Complaisance of the Senate, *Augustus* promised always to consult the Conscript Fathers in Matters relative to the State, to pay the greatest Regard to their Sentiments, and to share with them the Administration of Affairs. And indeed he kept this Promise, so far as frequently to alter his Designs, in consequence of their Representations, and to make them his Partners in Transactions of the greatest Splendor.—*Phraates*, by his Ambassadors, and *Tiridates*, in Person, were renewing their Solicitations to interest the Romans in their Quarrel. *Tiridates* requested the Help of their Arms to put him in undisturbed Possession of the Crown of *Parthia*, which he had worn some Time : Whilst *Phraates*, who had been expelled by *Tiridates*, and afterwards restored by the *Scythians*, pretended that his Enemy ought to be delivered up to him as a rebellious Slave, and demanded the Restitution of his Son, whom *Tiridates* had carried away into the Roman Territories. *Augustus* ordered both Parties to apply to the Senate, and the Senate referred them back to him ;
but

but he did not choose to satisfy either. He was by no Means disposed to undertake a War against the *Parthians*, merely to oblige *Tiridates*; nor did he think he ought to give up a suppliant Prince who had fled to him for Refuge. As to *Phraates's* Son, he agreed to send him back to his Father, on condition that this last should restore the Prisoners and Standards which the *Parthians* had taken from *Craſſus* and *Antony*.—— But *Phraates* was in no Hurry to fulfil this Condition.

A CHIEF Part of *Augustus's* Cunning lay in preserving the old Forms of a free Government, and in endeavouring, under that Veil, to keep his Usurpation from Sight.——What Patrician could say he was a Slave, while the Senate decreed, the People voted, the Consuls commanded, as they had used to do? Or what Plebeian could complain, while he had his all-powerful Protectors, the Tribunes, to assert his Rights and revenge his Wrongs?——For all the Magistrates were continued in their Titles, Ensigns, and Tribunals *.——But *Cesar* devised the Evasion of investing himself, a Senator, with the Tribunician Power, and thereby accumulated this imperious civil Power, with the military, in his own Person.——No Lesson of his Government, which his adopted Successor learned so perfectly as this. When exercising the highest Acts of Tyranny, *Tiberius* traiterously employed the Language of Liberty, and imprisoned, murdered, tortured, under the legal Forms of a free State.——An awful Warning to a Nation blessed with Liberty, never to suffer themselves to be blinded with an *Appearance* of ancient Forms, or deceived with *Words*, while the SPIRIT OF LIBERTY is in the least Danger.

The Year of *Rome* DCCXXX, in which *M. Claudius Marcellus Eserninus* and *L. Arruntius* (which last commanded the left Wing of *Octavius's* Fleet in the Battle of *Actium*) were Consuls, was unfortunate to *Rome* and *Italy*. The City was overflowed by Inundations of the *Tiber*, and the whole Country

* Eadem Magistratuum Vocabula, says *Tacitus*, with a strong Irony.

try was afflicted with pestilential Distempers, which began, indeed, before the End of the preceding Year, and swept away such Numbers, that the Lands remained uncultivated, and a Dearth ensued:—The superstitious Mob, imputing these Calamities to the Anger of the Gods, because *Augustus* did not hold any Magistracy this Year, ran tumultuously to the Senate-house, and threatened to set it on Fire while the Fathers were assembled, if they did not declare him Dictator. The Senators, who were better acquainted with the Emperor's Intentions, resisted as long as they could, but were at last forced to comply; upon which the Rioters hastened to present him the twenty-four Fasces. *Augustus*, rebuking them for their Impetuosity, refused the odious Title (which could not have added to the Power he was already possessed of), and, even kneeling down to them, rent his Garment, and presented his bare Bosom, to signify that he would rather have a Dagger plunged into his Heart, than be made Dictator*:—However, to appease the Multitude, he accepted the Superintendence of Provisions, which was offered him at the same Time, on the same footing as *Pompey* had had it before:—But, as the numerous Affairs of the Empire could not allow him personally to enter into a Detail of this Kind, he ordered two ancient Pretors to be chosen every Year, who, under his Authority, should take Care that *Rome* was properly supplied with Provisions, and Corn duly distributed to the poor Citizens.

THE Censorship was likewise offered him for Life. In Consequence of the System of *seeming* Modesty which he had before laid down, he refused that Office, and caused it to be given to *Paulus Emilius Lepidus* and *L. Munatius Plancus*. The former of these had been proscribed:—doubtless with his Father, *L. Paulus*, Brother to *Lepidus* the Triumvir. *Plancus*, whose Brother *Plotus* had likewise been proscribed, was a Man of Wit and Pleasure, and of no mean Talents,

either

either for civil or military Affairs. To give him the highest Commendation, a good Heart, and a little more Temperance, would have made him a truly great Man ; almost another *Messala*. A little before he was Censor, he led a Colony to *Lugdunum* (*Lyons*), founded at the Conflux of the *Arar* (the *Saone*,) and the *Rhône*, which grew to be a great City, beautified with many noble public Structures, each of which might have served to ornament a Town.—Just an hundred Years after its Foundation, this flourishing Place was burnt to the Ground in one Night, so that scarce a Vestige of it or them remained.

—This was the last Censorship held by two private Men. The Emperors, from henceforth, either kept it wholly to themselves, or, at most, and that very seldom, vouchsafed to make a single Citizen their Colleague ; though, without assuming the Title, they had, in Fact, all the Power of this Magistracy, as Superintendants and Reformers of the Laws and Manners.

PLANCUS and *Pollio* were Rivals in all Respects, for civil, military, and literary Reputation ;—both Commanders, both Orators, both Authors, and both contending who should stand highest, first in *Antony's* Favour, and then in the good Graces of *Augustus*. *Pollio's* overbearing Spirit, and *Plancus's* Complacency, turned the Scale in Favour of the latter as to personal Liking : but *Pollio's* unblemished Character, and the Integrity of his Life, depressed *Plancus* in public, to such a Degree, that he stood in need of all his noble Descent and dear-bought Favour to support him.

It was during the Censorship of *Paulus* and *Plancus*, that *Augustus*, availing himself of his Authority as Reformer of the Laws and Manners, introduced several new Regulations, for the better Order and Tranquility of the Public. He subjected to stricter Rules, or even abolished entirely, all Associations of the trading, or other Companies, in *Rome*, which had often been made a Handle of to form seditious Cabals and dangerous

Factions : He moderated the Expences of Shows and Games, limiting the Sum the Pretors should be allowed to expend, and assigning them out of the public Treasure wherewith to defray the extraordinary Charges. He forbid even Magistrates giving Combats of Gladiators without special Leave of the Senate, and even then not oftener than twice a Year, nor more than sixty Couple at a Time ; a Circumstance which shews to what Height this Abuse was carried. He ordered, that neither the Sons or Grand-Sons of Senators, *Roman* Knights, or Women of Quality, should ever more take the indecent Liberty of performing on the Stage, though he had hitherto tolerated, and even authorised it on some Occasions ; and, as *Egnatius Rufus*, when Edile, had given himself great Airs in boasting that, with his own Slaves only, he had stopt several Fires in *Rome*, *Augustus*, to take away all Pretence from such as might be inclined to imitate the Rashness of that young Man, assigned the Curule Ediles six hundred Slaves, who were to be always ready to obey their Orders whenever Fires should break out in the City.

THE *Romans* now began to taste the Sweets of their new Government : The Means by which it had been established were forgot ; and nothing was talked of but *AUGUSTUS*'s transcendent Goodness, his indefatigable Zeal for the public Welfare, and his admirable Moderation in his private Life, such as put him almost upon a Level with every other Citizen. — In effect, he took all possible Care that no Man should have Cause to wish for a Change. The Glory of the State, and the Happiness of each Individual, became really the Objects of his most serious Attention. He had sheathed the Sword of Discord at the Age of about three and thirty ; and now sat down, fully determined to make his Country amends for the Evils he had made her suffer. — One of his Courtiers taking Occasion from hence to tell him, that he had outstripped *Alexander* the Great, who, at the same Age, had finished his

his Conquests, but could not think what he should find to do the Rest of his Life: *It is very strange*, replied the young Cesar, *if he did not apprehend the Ordering and Governing of a great Empire, to be a harder Task than the conquering it* *.

THE Blessings which emanated from the peaceable Reign of *Augustus*, were not confined to *Rome* and *Italy* alone. The Provinces, before harrassed and plundered by the Avidity of the Pretors, tormented by as many petty Tyrants as there came into them *Romans* in any Office, distracted and exhausted by civil Wars, now began to recover from all those Ills, under a Prince who, whilst he caused Peace to reign, knew how to make the Laws be respected, and studied to distribute equal Justice.

THIS Calm and Tranquility, which constituted the Happiness of the *Augustan* Age, have rendered its History more dry and less entertaining.—It were not to be wished, for the Sake of Mankind, that the Times in which they live should afford Writers a plentiful Harvest of such Events as are most apt to interest and affect their Readers.—Besides, by the new Constitution of the State, public Affairs, being now become quite foreign to many of the Citizens, were entirely unknown to them †; nor had they Opportunities of being informed of what passed in a Privy Council, as they formerly knew what was done in the Assemblies of the Senate, or those of the People.—We find, indeed, that the Pens. of some bright Geniuses were once employed on these less fruitful Times: but, unfortunately, their Works are lost.—*Dion Cassius* is almost the only one we have left:—but he is not always to be credited; and therefore, besides his being evidently a Sycophant Court Historian, he is little able to make Amends for the Deficiency of the rest. *Velleius* is an Abbreviator, infected with the Poison of Flattery. *Suetonius* is a Biographer, and not an Historian:—His Accounts are curious and interesting,

VOL. III.

Qq

fit

* PLUT. in Aug.

† Inscitia Reipublicæ, ut alienæ,

TACIT. Hist. Lib. I.

fit to give us a Knowledge of the Persons of the Emperors he speaks of; but they are not a Series of Facts, nor do they make us acquainted with the secret Springs and Causes of Actions. The cotemporary Poets afford now and then a Hint, and others may sometimes be gleaned from later Writers.— This is what *Freinshemius* has attempted with extraordinary Success: but he, like the Epitomiser of *Livy*, ends with the Death of *Drusus*; nor can his Work, even so far, be said to form a regular connected Tissue, though compiled with great Care, Accuracy, and Judgment.

AUGUSTUS, now the most popular of Men, attended the Assemblies of the People for the Election of Magistrates, and the Courts of Justice; whenever his Vote could contribute to promote the deserving, or his Presence help to redress the injured *.——An old Soldier, who had a Law-Suit depending, begged of him to be present at the Decision of it. *Augustus* answered, that he was then too busy, but would send one of his Friends. Cesar, replied the Veteran, *when there was Occasion to fight for you, I went myself, and did not send another for me.* *Augustus*, pleased with the Repartee, went in Person to the Court, to shew that he interested himself in the Soldier's Cause †. This Behaviour exposed him sometimes to a pert Insolence, which he generally passed over with a Smile.——One *M. Primus* being accused of having made War upon the *Odrysi*, a People of *Thrace*, of his own private Authority, alledged that he had the Emperor's Orders. *Augustus*, voluntarily, went into Court, and being interrogated by the Pretor, (for he would answer the Interrogatories of the Magistrates, as if he had been but a private Man), answered, that he had not given *Primus* any such Orders. *Licinius Muræna*, Advocate for the Accused, took *Augustus* up with great Warmth and Haughtiness, and among other disobliging Things, *What Business have you here?* said he, *What have you*

so do with this Affair?—The public Interest, answered *Augustus* mildly, which it is not lawful for me to neglect *.

STRICTLY observing the Ties and Duties of private Friendship, he visited his Friends in their Sickness, or when extraordinary Events happened in their Families, such as Marriage, their Children taking the manly Robe, and other such like Occurrences : Nor did he leave off this Custom till very late, after having been much squeezed in a Crowd at a Wedding †.

He seldom refused an Invitation to dine with any of the Citizens. One Day, being invited to a very bad Dinner, as badly dressed, all he said to the Master of the House at going away, was, *I did not think we had been so intimate ‡*.

THOUGH he bestowed much upon his Friends, he did not pretend to raise them above the Laws, or to strain Justice in their Favour. *Nonius Asprænas*, who was greatly attached to him, being accused of having poisoned a Subject of the Empire, *Augustus* desired the Senate to direct him how to behave, being apprehensive, said he, that if he backed *Nonius* with his Recommendation, he might seem to screen a Man accused from the Rigour of the Laws ; and if he did not, it might be thought that he abandoned a Friend, and himself condemned him before hand. By the Advice of the Senators, he took a middle Way: He went to the Trial, but said nothing ; soliciting for *Nonius* only by his Presence. Yet even this Reserve could not stop the Mouth of the Accuser, *Cassius Severus*, a Man of a violent Temper, and ungovernable Tongue, who complained bitterly that the Emperor's Presence saved a Criminal deserving the greatest Punishments §.

THE Instances of his Moderation towards such as behaved disrespectfully to him, or attacked him in their Discourses, or in Libels, are numerous.—Being disturbed every Night by the shrieking of an Owl at a Country-House where he chanced

Q₉ 2

* DIO.

† SUET.

‡ MACROB. Saturnal. II. 4.

§ PLIN. Lib. XXXV. c. 12.

to be, he wished to get rid of it. A Soldier caught the Bird alive, and brought it to him, in hopes of a great Reward. *Augustus*, ordered him a thousand Sesterces, (8l. 2s. 6d.) but the Soldier, who expected much more, let the Owl fly away, saying, *I had rather it should live* *.——Yet this Insolence passed unpunished.

AUGUSTUS was now become equally mild in Things of greater Moment.——*Rufus*, a Man of Quality, had taken it into his Head, at an Entertainment, to wish openly that *Cesar* might never return from a Journey he was then going to undertake, and gave his Word for it, that every Cow and Calf in *Italy* wished the same. There were People enough to observe and pick up this Discourse, and among the rest, a favourite Slave who had stood behind him at Supper. In the Morning, as soon as *Rufus* was awake and sober, this honest Fellow went to him, told him what he had blabbed in his Liquor, and advised him, to prevent the Emperor's getting it from another, to go immediately to him himself, and be his own Accuser. *Rufus* took his Counsel, went, presented himself before *Augustus*, and after swearing that he had been disordered in his Mind the Day before, prayed that the Consequences of his rash Wish might fall upon himself, and his Children; wherefore he humbly intreated *Cesar* to forgive him, and re-admit him into his Favour. He readily did so.——But, Sir, said the Offender, no body will believe that I am really restored to your Friendship, unless your Goodness will condescend to give some visible Proof of it:—and thereupon asked a considerable Sum, and got it. At his going away, after the Thanks befitting the Occasion, he promised the greatest Gratitude and Circumspection:——*And I*, said *Cesar*, *shall be careful, for my own Sake, not to be angry with you* †.

He did not, however, always slight the odious Imputations by which some endeavoured to blacken him. His Care of his Reputation

Reputation induced him to refute them, either in Speeches pronounced before the Senate, or by Declarations published in his Name ; but he had no Idea of taking Revenge for them. —When his Tyrant Successor exhorted him in his Letters to revenge himself for an Insult of that kind ; “ My dear *Tiberius*,” said *Augustus*, in his Answer to him, “ do not give way too much to the Vivacity of your Age, and be not so angry with those who speak ill of me ; it is sufficient that we prevent their doing us any *.”

BEING at *Milan*, (then *Insubrium*,) in the Year of *Rome* DCCXXXVI, he observed a Statue of *Brutus*, which the Inhabitants of *Cisalpine Gaul* had erected there, as a Monument of their Gratitude towards the mildest and best of Governors. He passed by it ;—then stopping, and assuming a stern Look and angry Voice, taxed the Magistrates with harbouring among them one of his greatest Enemies. The *Gauls*, amazed and terrified, endeavoured to justify themselves, and denied the Fact. *What !* said he, turning round, and pointing to the Statue of *Brutus*, *is not that the Enemy of my Name and Family ?* Then, seeing them confused and silent, he smiled, commended their Attachment to their Friends, even in their Misfortunes, and ordered that the Statue should remain †.

HE treated with the same Equity the Memories of all the old Defenders of the *Roman Liberty*.—One of his Courtiers, thinking to please him by blaming *Cato*, accused that rigid Republican of being intractably obstinate. *I would have you to know*, said *Augustus*, *that whoever opposes a Change in the established Form of Government is a good Citizen, and an honest Man ‡*.—Words full of Dignity and sound Sense, by which he did *Cato* Justice, and prevented the bad Consequences that might be drawn from his Example.

VIRGIL and HORACE were therefore sensible they ran no Hazard

* SUET. Aug. LI. † PLUT. in Brut. ‡ MACROB. Saturnal. II. 4.

Hazard of losing his Favour by praising *Cato*, as they both have done*.—*LIVY*, in the latter Books of his History, unhappily lost, had done such Justice to *Pompey*, the Senate, and the Friends of Liberty, that *Augustus*, in Jest, called him a *Pompeian*, which in the Court Language, was a Rebel, equivalent to our *Jacobite*;—yet never looked upon him the colder for it.

LIVY had been a Soldier, and was thereby the better qualified to write the History of the most martial of all Nations. He died at *Padua*, the Place of his Nativity, in the 76th Year of his Age, and the fourth of the Reign of *Tiberius*†: A Year likewise remarkable for the Death of the Poet *Ovid*, who perished in his Exile in *Scythia*; after having exhausted, for near eight Years, all his Wit and Knowledge in humble and earnest Intreaties, and lamentable Complaints, without being able to obtain his Pardon either from *Augustus* or *Tiberius*.

LIVY had a Daughter, married to *L. Magius*, whose Eloquence, (declaiming being then the Mode,) was applauded by his Friends, rather, as the elder *Seneca* informs us‡, for his Father-in-Law's Sake, than for his own; and a Son, whom he advised to study *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* in the first Place; and then to read other Authors, as they best and nearest resembled these great Originals. He advised *Claudius*, (who was afterwards Emperor) when young, to write the History of his own Times; which he did, by no Means inelegantly, though not with Judgment.—Naturally candid, and fond of Men of Genius, *Livy* gives an ample Testimony to *Cicero's* Virtues.

He

* Secretosque pios, his dantem jura Catonem.

VIRG. ÆN. VIII. L. 870.

Et cuncta terrarum subacta,

Præter atrocem animum Catonis.

Hor. Od. II. 1.

† EUSEB. Chron.

‡ Proem. Lib. V. Controv.

Vol. III p. 310





He was somewhat jealous of *Sallust's* Reputation, and obliquely detracts from him by a Comparison with *Thucydides*.—*Pliny* says * he had written in the Beginning of one of the Volumes of his History, “That he had already attained sufficient Glory, and might end there:” To which this Animadverſor adds farther, in the Preface to his vaſt Work, an Expreſſion, inadvertently dropt from *Livy's* Pen, purporting, *that an Itch of Writing made him continue his Hiſtory* †. —Whatever might be his Motive, his Performance is inimitable; and the Loſs of Part of it can never be too much regretted. Beſides his Hiſtory, he wrote *Dialogues*, of a mixed Nature, hiſtorico-philophical; and other Pieces, expreſſly treating of Philoſophy.

THE mad Wretch *Caligula* had a great Mind to deſtroy all *Livy's* Works (which, *Seneca* ſays, were as numerous as thoſe of *Epicurus*), and thoſe of *Virgil*: Nor did even *Homer* eſcape his frantic Virulence. He wanted much to ſuppreſs his Poems; aſking, why he ſhould have leſs Power and Liberty than *Plato*, who baniſhed that Poet from his Republic.

SENECA †, extolling one *Fabianus*, as a Roman Philoſopher, allows him to be inferior to *Cicero*, to *Aſinius Pollio*, and to *Livy*.—But conſider, ſays he, how many that Man muſt ſurpaſs, who is inferior only to three; and thoſe the moſt eloquent we have. It was ſurely out of Flattery to *Auguſtus*, that *Livy* leaves it a Problem, *Whether it had been better for the Common-Weal that C. J. Ceſar, had, or had not, been born* §.

LIVY,

* Prefat. ad Veſpaſian.

† Proſiteor mirari me T. Livium, autorem celeberrimum, in hiſtoriarum ſuarum, quas repetit ab Origine Urbis, quodam Volumine ſic orſum; *Satis jam ſibi glorie quaſitum, & petuiſſe ſe deſinere, ni animus inquires opere paſſeretur*. Proſecto enim, Populi Gentium Viſtoris, & Romani Nominis Gloriz, non ſunt, compoſuiſſe illa decuit. Majus meritum eſſet, Operis amore, non Animi cauſa perſeveraſſe, & hoc Populo Romano præſtituiſſe, non ſibi.

‡ Epiſt. 100.

§ In incerto eſſe, utrum illum magis naſci Reipublice proſuerit, an non naſci.

NAT. QUEST. Lib.V. §. 18.

LIVY, *Cremutius Cordus*, and *Lucan*, by fixing their Attention on, and feeding their Fancy with, the Glories of ancient *Rome*, were struck with the Spirit of LIBERTY, and infuse it into their Readers. It was the greatest Service they could do to their Country;—and no small Moderation in the Men in Power to suffer and bear with it.

To this soaring Spirit I attribute the sublime Sentiments in *Lucan*, and his ardent Expressions.—Nor do I much wonder that a Man, touched with a true Sense of real Grandeur, and susceptible of exalted Feelings, should, like the inimitable *CORNEILLE*, think *LUCAN* the Prince of the *Roman* Poets.—*VIRGIL* is more laboured; more smooth, more artful, more imitated; for strip the *Eneid* of its borrowed Beauties, and you will leave it almost a Skeleton.—The *Pharsalia* is rougher, more unequal, more soaring, and more original.

GREAT Eloquence can only be found in great Causes, able to rouse the highest Passions, and keep them up to their Pitch by popular Struggles. It is the *Subject* that calls forth the Orator; and the Passions of the Audience, by a secret but powerful Sympathy, kindle in his Breast those Fires, which flash from his Eyes, and burst from his Mouth. The two Pieces of the highest Eloquence upon Record, are the Produce of the two greatest Struggles for Life and Liberty. When all was at stake,—when the cunning and grasping *Philip* was oppressing one little State after another, holding out Chains to *Athens*, and threatening *Greece* with universal Slavery,—it was then, that, to lay open his Designs, and to animate free Men to oppose them, *DEMOSTHENES* produced that Monument of his Fame, the wonderful *PHILIPPICS*.—In the same Manner, when Destruction was hanging over the *Roman* Empire,—when their Laws, Liberties, Lives, Estates, and the very Being of the Republic, were ready to be swallowed up by *Antony* and the Veterans; at that dangerous Crisis did

CICERO

CICERO pour out to the Senate and People those high Strains of Patriotism, which justly eternize his Memory. Both these great Men undertook many other, either private, or less important public Causes, and their Pleadings are upon Record; —eloquent indeed, and beautiful: but no more comparable to the rapid, irresistible Spirit of their *Philippics*, than a Shadow is to the Substance. *Quintilian's* Account of the Decay of *Roman Eloquence*, is therefore exactly just.—What Pity, that the Times did not permit him to speak out; or that he should be afraid of plainly upbraiding his Country with the abject Slavery into which it was fallen!

I SCARCELY know a greater Instance of the Depravity introduced into human Nature by a continued Tyranny, than the opprobrious Names given to one of the noblest and best of Men, *CREMUTIUS CORDUS*, by the later *Cesarean* Faction.—The Court Stile, in *Tiberius's* Time, was to call him a Robber, a Traitor, a Miscreant, a Parricide, and every Thing that is bad. The Pretence made Use of by that Tyrant, for driving him to Death *, was his having written *Annals* wherein he praised *Brutus*, and, in *Brutus's* Stile, called his great Friend *Cassius*, *the last of the real Romans*.—But the true Cause was, that he had offended *Sejanus* by some sarcastical Expressions.—He had unluckily said, that *Sejanus* had not Patience to wait till another should exalt him above all the *Romans*, but was mounting himself thither:—And upon the placing of a Statue of that execrable Minister, (the Favourite of one of the most detestable of Princes) in *Pompey's Theatre*; (which, after having been burnt down, was rebuilt by *Tiberius*); Now, cried *Cremutius*, *we may truly say, that Pompey's Theatre is fallen*.

SEJANUS, who could not forgive him these satirical Strokes, set on him two of his Clients, or, as *Seneca* calls them, two of his Mastiffs, whom he fed with human Blood; tame to

him alone, and fierce to all the World besides.—Nor did *Tiberius* hide his Indignation against a daring Author, who had presumed to praise Men that were *then* universally considered as Traitors and Parricides.

CREMUTIUS, finding that his Destruction was resolved, determined on Death; and having consequently no Measures to keep, he pleaded his Cause in the Senate with the utmost Constancy and Courage. “My Actions,” said he, “Fathers*!
“are so innocent, that my Words only are accused: But
“neither is it pretended, that any Words of mine are pointed
“at the Sacred Persons comprehended in the Law against
“violated Majesty. I am accused of having praised *Brutus*
“and *Cassius*; Men whose Stories many have written, and of
“whom all have spoken honourably.” After proving this by
the Examples of *Livy*, *Pollio*, and *Messala*; he alledged the
Panegyric of *Cato*, composed by *Cicero*, under the Eyes of the
Dictator *Cesar*, who contented himself with answering it by
a similar Production; and Numbers of other Pieces then in
being, *Antony’s* Letters, *Brutus’s* Speeches, Verses of *Catullus*,
all full of opprobrious Defamations of *Cesar* and *Augustus*.—
“But these great Men, added he, were patient:—they even
“let those Writings remain unsuppressed:—and, in such a
“Conduct, I will venture to say, there was as much Prudence
“as Moderation. For such Things, when despised, are for-
“gotten; but if you wax angry, you seem to avow them for
“true.—If any Thing is perfectly free, if any Thing be
“exempt from all Jurisdiction, it is our Judgment on such,
“as, being no longer of the Number of the Living, cannot
“prejudice us either in their Favour or Disfavour: Are *Cassius*
“and *Brutus* now in Arms? Do their Troops now fill the
“Plains of *Philippi*? Or do I fire the Roman People, by in-
“flammatory Harangues, with the Spirit of Civil Rage?
“*Brutus* and *Cassius*, slain above seventy Years ago, subsist
now

* TACIT. Annal. Lib. IV.

“ now only in their Statues, which even the Conqueror did
 “ not destroy, and in their Characters, which the Historian
 “ perpetuates.—Impartial Posterity does Justice to every
 “ Man; and if I am condemned, not only the Names of *Bru-*
 “ *tus* and *Cassius* will not be thereby obliterated, but even
 “ mine, when blended with theirs, will be co-immortal.”
 Having thus said, he left the Senate, retired to his own House,
 and ended his Life by Abstinence. The servile Senators or-
 dered his Writings to be burnt by the Ediles; but they still
 continued to be secretly dispersed.—Hence, continues *Taci-*
tus, we may justly mock the Stupidity of those, who imagine
 that they can, by present Power, extinguish the Lights and
 Memory of succeeding Times; for, on the contrary, the Pu-
 nishment of the Writer exalts the Credit of the Writing; nor
 did ever Kings, or any else, who exercised this Kind of Cruelty,
 reap other Fruit from it, than Infamy to themselves, and Glory
 to the Sufferers.

AUGUSTUS's Affability was particularly shewn to the Se-
 nators, who indeed well deserved it; for never was a Set of
 more complacent Men. He excused them from all trouble-
 some Ceremonies, and would not let them wait on him at his
 Palace, to conduct him from thence to the Senate-House,
 but received their Compliments there, and returned them with
 the most cordial Familiarity. Even the lowest of the Citizens
 were admitted to his Presence, delivered their Petitions into
 his own Hand, and were sure of being heard and righted:—
 for he was now become so strict an Observer of the Laws, that
 he respected the Property of every Individual to such a Degree
 as to make a Square, which he built in *Rome*, less than it
 would otherwise have been, rather than force the Owners of
 some circumjacent Houses to part with their Ground.

He would not suffer any one to call him *Lord* and *Master*,
 because this Title seemed to imply that others were *Slaves*.
 Being one Day at a Play, in which a Line, signifying *O the*

good Master, O the equitable Lord! was repeated with great Emphasis; the whole Company immediately turned towards him, and unanimously applied those Words to him: But, with a Look and Gesture full of Indignation, *Augustus* instantly rejected the fulsome Compliment, and the next Day reprimanded the People severely by a Declaration posted up in the Forum. From that Time, he would not allow his Children or Grand-children ever to give him that Appellation, either seriously, or even in Play; and forbad them to use among themselves any of those unmeaning Blandishments, which a servile and mistaken Politeness, as it was called, was beginning to introduce—His Successors were not so squeamish. The bad ones, *Tiberius* excepted, not content with the Name of *Master*, affected even that of *God*; and at last the good ones accepted the former of these Titles, which Custom had then established. *Pliny*, in all his Letters to *Trajan*, never calls him any Thing but *Domine, Lord, Master*.

If, for political Reasons hinted at before, *Augustus* suffered divine Honours to be paid to him in the Provinces; he was so far from being fond of, that he would often laugh at them. A Deputation from the People of *Tarragona* coming to acquaint him, as of a fortunate and happy Omen, that a Palm-Tree had sprung up on the Altar raised to him in their City; *I see by that*, answered he, smiling, *how careful you are to burn Incense on my Altar*.

MEN are influenced by numerous and unforeseen Accidents. A Question about the Form of Dress or Church Government occupies the Thoughts and Studies of the Wise, and employs the Passions of the Vulgar, in one Age; that is absolutely forgot, or becomes the Object of sovereign Contempt, in the next.—Hence the Impossibility of a lasting Scheme of Government.—It must be fitted to their Fortunes, obnoxious to Chance, and swayed by public Caprice.—It is absurd that one Model should not be better than another; and ridiculous from

from *Harrington's* Maxims to plan a perpetual self-moved Machine.—It is Chatter all, and modern Futility: The Mean is golden: Accidents are inconceivable.—*Massanello* commanded *Naples*.—*Lillibulero* brought about the Revolution.—*Long live great George our King* baffled the Rebellion.—And old *Cromarty* (or *Andrew Fletcher of Salton*,) said he would let who would make the *Laws* of a Country, give him but the making of the *Ballads*.

PLATO'S REPUBLIC (in which a just Stress is laid on the Power of Music) is no Chimera.—It is easy and practicable, upon the same Terms that any other Form of Government will be accepted or submitted to.—Every Government is suited to the *Manners* of the People that live under it.—No People accustomed to Luxury and Ease will submit to hardy Living and a severe Discipline, but through inevitable *Necessity*. It was *Necessity* that forced the *Romans* and *Lacedemonians* upon military Virtue and Agriculture: And when the same *Necessity*, or Train of *Necessities*, exerts its Power upon any People, they would accept of *Plato's* Plan, or any other, how severe soever, that bid fairest to rescue them for the present, and secure them from relapsing for the future.

THE Mildness and Equity of *Augustus's* Government, for such it was now really become, could not prevent Plots and Conspiracies. In the Consulship of *M. Claudius Marcellus Eserninus* and *L. Arruntius* *, a Design was formed against the Emperor's Life, by *Fannius Cæpio* †, and *A. Terentius Varra Muræna*;

* A. U. DCCXXX.

† *M. Cato*, the Father of *Cato Uticensis*, married *Livia*, who, by a former Marriage with *Q. Servilius Cæpio*, had a Son and Daughter, *Cæpio*, and the famous *Servilia*. She bore to her second Husband *Cato*, *M. Cato* and *Porcia*. The *Cæpio* who conspired against *Augustus*, and of whom *Pelleius* (a) says nothing more, than that he was a bad Man, fit for any Wickedness, may have been *Cato's* Nephew, by his Half-Brother, or his Grand-Nephew: For the *Cæpio* who was *Cato's* beloved Brother, died abroad, and he went for his Ashes.

(a) Lib. II. c. 91.

Muræna *; but their Machinations were soon discovered to *Mecenas*, by one *Cassicius* †. *Mecenas*, who was too fond of his Wife, *Terentia*, Sister to *Muræna*, could not keep the Secret from her, and, upon the Intimation she gave her Brother, the Criminals fled.—*Tiberius* was selected to plead against them ‡. They were prosecuted for Contumacy, found guilty of Treason, and condemned: Even *Proculus*, Brother to *Muræna*, though in the highest Favour with *Augustus*, and renowned for his Love of his Brothers, could not, with all his Credit, obtain Pardon for this, in an Affair where the Safety of the Prince was concerned.

The *Roman* Laws had hitherto punished the greatest Crimes (Parricide excepted) only with Banishment: But the Emperor's military Power now prevented the guilty from escaping. They were discovered in their Places of Retreat, and put to Death.

MURÆNA was a Man of great Worth, learned, and a Favourer of learned Men. *Athenaus* of *Seleucia* in *Cilicia*, the great Peripatetic, was so much his Friend, that, when the Design against *Cæsar* was discovered, the Philosopher, barely upon Account of their Intimacy, was forced to fly with him. He was caught, however, and brought back to *Rome*, where, being examined, and found innocent, he was set at Liberty. —When he appeared in public, his Friends asked, where he had been, and from whence he came? To which he answered out of *Euripides*,

*I come, 'scaped from the Regions of the Dead
And gloomy Gates of Night* ||.

BEFORE

* He was of the noble Family of the *Terentii*, and adopted into the *Licinii*, whose Sur-name was *Muræna*. I take him to have been the Son of that *Muræna*, who was *Cato's* Friend, and fell out with him because of his Strictness in looking after the *Cyprian*-Business himself, as if he had doubted his Friend's Honesty.

† SUET. in Aug. §. 66.

‡ SUET. in Tib. §. 8.

|| *Ἦκω κενσῶν κευθμενῶν ὃ σκάτῃς Τύλας διπλῶν.*

ΣΤΡΑΒ. γεωγρ. β. XII.

BEFORE he came to *Rome*, his Eloquence and Parts had drawn him into the Management of Affairs at Home, where he governed the People for some Time : But after *Murena's* Death, he lived not long to enjoy his Liberty, being killed by the Fall of a House where he lodged, which tumbled down in the Night.

COEPIO's Father did, on this Occasion, a remarkable Act of Justice, which afforded *Augustus* an Opportunity of shewing all his Moderation. Of two Slaves belonging to the Criminal, one had defended his Master against the Soldiers who came to seize him ; the other had betrayed him. The Father rewarded the faithful Slave, by setting him at Liberty ; but had the other led through the Streets, with a Label expressing his Crime, and then crucified. *Augustus* shewed no Dissatisfaction at this Proceeding : He excused the Father's Love, and did not think the Son's Crime ought to stifle in him the Sentiments of Nature, or hinder him from shewing them.

SOME of the Judges were for acquitting young *Cepio* and *Murena*, because they could not pass Sentence on them personally : For it seems the *Romans* had no fixed Method of proceeding against such as fled, to avoid Judgment ; and that even the Absence of the Accused was thought a favourable Circumstance. We are not told that *Augustus* was displeased at their Delicacy : But he took this Opportunity to enact, that, in similar Cases, where the Offender secreted himself from Justice, all the Judges should give their Opinions verbally, and not by Ballot ; and that, if they were unanimous, the absent Person should stand condemned. He had plainly an Eye to himself in making this Law, which, however, was not the less just and good.

It would not be so easy to justify the Step he took in Favour of *Castricius*, who had discovered the Conspiracy. This Man being afterwards accused, *Augustus* appeared in Court for him ;

and, by his Intracacies, in Presence of the Judges, prevailed on the Accuser to drop the Prosecution *.

AUGUSTUS did not dare openly to overturn the Constitution, because that would have made him pass for a Tyrant ; but he artfully undermined it, and his Successors completed the iniquitous Work.—Under the sham Title of *Tribunician* Power, they usurped arbitrary Sway ; and under the Pretence of *correcting* the Laws, mitigating their Rigour, or explaining their Meaning, they wrested them as they pleased.—The *Responsa Principum*, or *Decisions of the Prince*, came to be a Part of the Law itself. It is so still in the chief Kingdoms of *Europe*, excepting GREAT BRITAIN, where, since the *CLAIM OF RIGHT* was allowed and settled in MDCLXXXIX. the Law has a *freer* Course, and the Court intermeddles with the Administration of Justice less than in any other Nation on Earth.—For through the Factions in *Poland*, and a corrupt *French* Cabal in *Sweden*, LIBERTY, the Chief of the Gifts of Heaven, is perverted, and, like the Corruption of the best Things, become their greatest Curse.

IN *Rome*, the ancient Laws, the Bulwarks of Liberty and Property, were to remain in Force : But their *Edge* was to be turned another Way. Public Liberty, and the high Privileges of a *Roman* Citizen, were to be tenderly touched, and mentioned as rarely as possible.—But the Force of the Law was to exert itself in the Determination of private Property, Wills, Conveyances, Bonds, Inheritances, &c.—Hence arose a Species of Lawyers, very different from the great Republicans. Their Talent was not Knowledge, but *Cunning*, their Strength lay in *Quirks* and *Subtilties* : in striving to *out-wit* their Cotemporaries in *Forms*, in carrying a Cause in Spite of JUSTICE, by Dint of Chicane.—*Augustus's* pretending to keep within the Laws gave him a great Deal of Trouble.

It

It was this that hindered him from taking the Pontificate from *Lepidus*, and forced him to dissemble with the People when he wanted any extraordinary Honour for himself, his Friends, or his Children, in which last he could least contain himself.

AT bottom, it was Want of Courage that made him keep his Power, and shrink from a Restoration of the Republic. He certainly longed for Ease and Retirement, and, with conscious Shame, remembered *Antony's* pressing Instances. But his Heart failed him.—*Antony* could have done it.—This Fear, together with the Dread of Conspiracies against his Life, while every Youth of noble Birth might attempt to deliver his Country, produced his intense Efforts to make the *Romans* happy. But still the Prime of the Nobility were the Objects of his Terror or Dislike. In the Midst of all his new Grandeur, when he had reached the Summit, and was sole LORD of the Empire, he found that, for that very Reason, he was become the Object of Hatred, and sat the looser on the Throne.

ROME being quite at Peace, *Augustus* resolved to visit the Eastern Parts of the Empire; doubtless, in order to have an Opportunity of exercising there the supreme Power with which he had been invested; and justly concluding that the Presence of the Prince would greatly contribute to settle Things on a solid Foundation. But he had hardly reached *Sicily*, when News was brought him that violent Disputes were arising in the Capitol, on Account of the Election of Consuls for the ensuing Year.—The People could not make a proper Use of this small, and almost only, Remainder of their former Power. They insisted that *Augustus* should be one of their Consuls, and *M. Lollius* the other: And when the Emperor signified to them his Intention not to accept the Consulate, *Q. Emilius Lepidus* and *L. Silanus* contended for the vacant Place with such Animosity, that it was generally thought *Augustus* would be obliged to return to *Rome*, to silence their seditious Cabals. But he chose rather to send for the two

rival Candidates, and, after reprimanding them severely, forbade them to be present in the *Campus Martius* at the Time of the Election. Their Feuds however continued, and, after a long Contest, *Lepidus* was appointed.

THIS Event made *Augustus* sensible of the Necessity of having a Man of Weight and Judgment to keep *Rome* in order during his Absence. He therefore recalled *Agrippa*, to whom he owed almost all his Grandeur; and effectually to remove his late Discontent, resolved to marry him to his Daughter, the Widow of *Marcellus*. The wise *Mecenas* being consulted on this Occasion, frankly and judiciously answered *Augustus*, *You have raised Agrippa so high, that you must of Necessity either kill him, or make him your Son-in-Law* *. *Octavia* herself, according to *Plutarch*, likewise influenced *Augustus* in this Determination, though her Daughter *Marcella* was then married to *Agrippa* :——But she nobly gave up her own Interest for the Welfare of her Country. *Agrippa* was accordingly sent for; and having waited on the Emperor to receive his Orders, made the best of his Way to *Rome*, where, after divorcing *Marcella*, who married *Julius Antony*, he contracted with *JULIA*, then in her eighteenth Year; a Marriage as dishonourable as it was brilliant,—as unhappy as it was fruitful †.——I know not any modern Character so like *Julia's*, as the unhappy *Henrietta*, Duchess of *Orleans*.——Her Wit, her Sweetness of Temper, her Love of Pleasure, and her miserable End, were very similar;—tho' she did not carry her Debaucheries to so great a Height.

REASONS OF STATE were undoubtedly very cogent in Favour of this Alliance with *Agrippa*, whose Rank and Dignity made every one respect him, while his superior Talents added new Lustre to his Greatness. All was quiet under his equally firm

* PLUT. in Anton.

† *Juliam duxit Uxorem, seminam neque sibi, neque Reipublicæ felicitatem.*

firm and mild Administration, and *Rome* hardly perceived the Absence of *Augustus*.—These REASONS are deemed an unfathomable Abyss in the modern Practice of Monarchs, and their Ministers. An Air of Mystery is thrown over them;—But they are not, in themselves, so important or impenetrable, as is commonly pretended. The only real, good, and *laudable REASON OF STATE* is that by which a Country is kept in PEACE and PLENTY; and the Means of effecting this are very plain. The excellent *FENELON* has pointed them out clearly in his inimitable *Telemachus*.—It is only the Cowardice, Duplicity, Treachery, and unaccountable Passions, of absolute Governors that make them otherwise.—When the Happiness of a Country comes to depend upon the private Passions of particular Men;—when the Whim of a Prince *, or the lawless Appetite of a Favourite †, can involve it in War, or intail upon it infinite Confusion; then, and only then,

S f 2 that

* The late King of *France* sacrificed a Million of his Subjects to HIS GLORY.—Had he erected a Temple, and dedicated a magnificent Image in it, under the Title of *THE GLORY OF THE GREAT LEWIS*, and sacrificed but *one* Man upon an Altar, to his adored *Goddess*; how small would the Harm have been, in Comparison of what he did, and how great the Clamour throughout all *Europe*!—But as he sacrificed ten thousand to this execrable Whim every Year, he is dubbed a Hero, sed with Flattery, and immortalized as far as venal Poets and Panegyrists could embalm his Story.

AUGUSTUS was just an ordinary Man.—His Designs and Enterprizes (after the Sallies of his Youth were cooled) shewed it.—They were all of the *middling* Stamp.—A great Soul conceives great Designs, and a vast Mind comprehends extensive Views.—The correcting the ensuing Year,—the new-modelling and ornamenting the Mistress of the Western World, already the Care of so many Heroes,—the Conquest of *Parthia*, the only dreadful remaining Rival, were Thoughts worthy of *Cæsar's* Genius.—But *Augustus* was for bounding the Empire, settling *Forms* of Government at home, and reducing Matters to the Level of his own very moderate Capacity:—So that if it be true, that there never was a Hero without *Eminency* in something, I believe *Augustus* has small Pretensions.

† *Villers*, Duke of *Buckingham*, plunged *England* into a War with *France*, because he was hindered from a private Interview with the *French* Queen.

that *Reason of State* becomes intricate and perplexed.—Passions are fickle, unequal, and incertain; their Mazes and Doublings are endless: And it is a melancholy Circumstance that a Powerful Neighbour, under their lawless Influences, may quickly entangle a free Nation in the Miseries occasioned by its wicked or foolish Rulers. The only Cure therefore for the Ills that attend them, is a preventive One; viz. To find some Governor, who has no Passion, but Love of the public Weal.—Not a giddy Democracy, nor an oppressive Aristocracy;—but *such* a Body of Men as cannot be infected with the Passion of any one Particular, and whose Majority will, generally, judge for themselves.

THE Sweets of Peace, to use *Velleius's* Expression*, accompanied *Augustus* in his Progress through *Italy* and *Greece*. *Syracuse*, and some other Towns in *Sicily*, were gifted with the Privileges of *Roman Colonies*. The Island *Cythera* was added to the Territories of the brave *Lacedemonians*, to make them Amends for their former Hospitality towards *Livia*, when a Fugitive there in the dreadful Time of the *Perugian War*:—And the sycophant *Athenians* were punished with the Loss of *Egina* and *Eretria*, for their servile Flattery of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*.

AT *Corinth*, he received the Embassies from the *Grecian Cities*.—One of these Ambassadors afforded him and his Train some Diversion. He came from the little Island *Gyarus*, one of the *Cyclades*, was a Fisher by Trade, and humbly begged an Alleviation of their Taxes; setting forth, that their State paid yearly into the *Roman Treasury* the Sum of 4l. 16s. 10d. $\frac{1}{2}$, which was too grievous a Burthen for them to bear; wherefore they prayed that they might be eased at least in a Third of the Sum, and their annual Tribute be reduced to 3l. 4s. 7d.—*Strabo*, who tells this Story†, was then

* Circumferens terrarum Orbi præsentia sua pacis sue bona.

VELL. Lib. II. c. 92.

† GEOGR. Lib. X.

then travelling through the Islands of the *Archipelago*, and, at his Departure from *Gyarus*, charitably took this Embassy into his Ship, and gave it free Passage to Court.—This Island had only a poor little Village upon it, inhabited by Fishermen, and was the Place to which the Emperors afterwards banished great Offenders *. *Scriphus*, another little Island in the Neighbourhood, was used for the same Purpose.—But these now contemptible Spots, in the better Days of *Greece*, when *Xerxes*, with an enormous Army, and a proportionate naval Force, threatened to enslave that Country, were able, through the Means of all-powerful Liberty, to fit out a Ship to join the *Grecian Fleet* in Defence of the Common Cause †.

AUGUSTUS spent the Winter of the Year DCCXXXI. in the Island of *Samos*, where he received Ambassadors from *Candaces*, Queen of *Ethiopia*. *Elius Gallus's* Expedition against *Arabia*, one of the most unfortunate that the *Romans* ever undertook, alarmed the *Ethiopians*; who, taking Advantage of the unprovided State in which he had left the *Upper-Egypt* and *Thebais*, forced *Syæna*, *Elephantinum*, and *Philes*, plundered the whole Country, and demolished the Emperor's Statues. *Petronius*, Prefect of *Egypt*, with ten thousand Men raised in haste, marched against thirty thousand of these new Enemies, who ran away upon the first Tidings of his Approach.—These were even worse Soldiers, and worse armed, than the *Arabians*; who, Vagabonds then, as they now are, and treacherous in those Days as they are in these, used only the Bow, Sword, Lance, Sling, and Hatchet, in their Wars, and lost ten thousand Men in one Battle, in which they killed but two *Romans* ‡.—The *Ethiopians*, only a few of whom had Swords, and the rest either Hatchets, or long Poles, probably headed with Iron, and vast unwieldy Bucklers made of raw Hides, rallied, however, and ventured a Battle, the Decision of

* Aude aliquid brevis *Gyaris* vel Carcere dignum.

JUVENAL.

† HERODOT. Polymn.

‡ STRABO, Lib. XIV. & DIO.

of which could not long be doubtful. Their Conqueror, *Petronius*, marching on, took and plundered the royal City of *Napata*.—He was then nine hundred Miles distant from *Syæna*, and was told, that if he attempted to penetrate farther into the Country, he would meet with nothing but sandy Deserts: Upon which he resolved to return, after leaving a Garrison of four hundred Men, and Provisions for two Years, in *Premnis*, a Town situated on the *Nile*, below the great Cataract.

CANDACES, who had lost one Eye, but had Courage enough to keep great Part of *Ethiopia* subject to her Laws, levied fresh Forces, and attempted to re-take *Premnis*. *Petronius* prevented her: Till at last, finding that the *Romans* could not possibly get any Good by this War, he entered into a Negotiation with the Queen, who, seeing what Enemies she had to deal with, renewed her Solicitations for Peace. When *Candaces* was told that she must send Ambassadors to *Cesar*, she asked, who *Cesar* was, and where he lived? Guides were given to conduct the *Ethiopian* Representatives, who were favourably received. *Augustus* readily granted them Peace, and even exempted their Nation from the Tribute which *Petronius* had imposed.

IN the Spring of the Year of *Rome*, DCCXXXII. *Augustus* visited *Asia*, properly so called, and *Bithynia*; dispensing, wherever he went, Rewards to some, and Punishments to others, in virtue of his Proconsular Authority. The Inhabitants of *Tralles*, of *Cappadocia* in *Phrygia*, of *Thyatira*, and of *Chios*, who had suffered greatly by dreadful Earthquakes, experienced his Liberality. But he took from the People of *Cyzicus* the Right of being governed by their own Laws and Magistrates, and subjected them to a Prefect of his nominating; because, in a popular Tumult, they had used some *Roman* Citizens extremely ill, whipping them with Rods, and even putting

putting some of them to Death. In Syria, he practised the like Severity on the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians*, whose Liberty had, of late, served only to breed Riots and Seditions.

His Journey into Syria alarmed *Phraates*, who, apprehending a War when he saw the Emperor so near his Territories, hastened to fulfil the Conditions of the Treaty lately concluded with *Augustus*, which, till then, he seemed to have entirely forgot. He therefore sent back the *Roman* Prisoners and Standards; the opprobrious Remains of the Defeat of *Craffus*, and the Flight of *Antony*. *Tiberius* was charged with the honourable Commission of receiving them from the Ambassadors of the *Parthian* King *. *Augustus*, ever after, justly looked upon it as one of the most glorious Events of his Life, thus to have made the haughty *Parthians*, the only Rivals of *Rome*, submit, and, by the sole Terror of his Name, acknowledge themselves, if not subject, at least inferior to *HER* Grandeur. He, with Reason, prided himself on having effaced the last Marks of those disgraceful Stains, which had sullied the Glory of the *Roman* Name for almost forty Years. This Honour had been ardently coveted by the Dictator *Cesar*, and by *Antony*. What Death prevented *Cesar*'s executing by Force of Arms, and what *Antony* attempted so wretchedly, that he only increased the Shame, *Augustus* accomplished without drawing a Sword.

THE sincerest Demonstrations of public Joy and Admiration distinguished this pleasing Exploit: Thanksgivings were returned to the Gods; an Ovation was decreed to *Augustus*; a triumphal Arch was erected to his Honour; and Medals were struck to perpetuate the Memory of so glorious an Event. *Augustus* ordered the Standards recovered from the *Parthians* to be deposited in the Temple of *Mars* the *Avenger*, built by him as a Monument of his Victory at *Philippi*: And, on this Occasion, being a public Satisfaction in which the whole Nation

was

* Suet. Tib. §. IX.

Body of the People, that is, the Strength of the Nation, remained unhurt:—For one civil Broil, disputed with Blood and Burnings, weakens a Country more than the cutting off fifty towering Heads. The *Parthian* Nation therefore was strong, and their Army in good Order; though the thin-sown Nobility were indisposed to their merciless Monarch.

THE Kings of *Parthia*, like their *Persian* Predecessors, commonly shifted their royal Residence, according to the Seasons of the Year. *CYRUS*, and his Successors, used to spend the Winter at *Babylon*, the Spring at *Susa*, the Autumn at *Persepolis*, and the Heats of Summer in *Media*, at *Ecbatan* *.

—The *Parthian* Princes, of a northern hardy Race, drew still nearer to the Mountains, and passed the Summer in their old Capital, called *Hecatompylæ*, (from its hundred Gates), which was only 133 Miles from the famed *Caspian* Pass, which separated them from their *Sacas-san* (*Sac-son*) Progenitors, a Tribe of whom, we find, had formerly passed the *Kûr*, and settled between that River and the *Araxes*, under the express Name of *SACASSANS* †, or, taking out the middle Vowel, (which the *Greeks* would naturally insert,) *SAC-SONS*.—But the *Macedonian* Conquest had made vast Changes upon the Face of the East.—*Persepolis*, the rich Capital, was destroyed by *Alexander*, shall I say, or a little Harlot, who proposed that Frolic when he was half-drunk.

ARMENIA, a Kingdom of vast Extent and Power, and likewise independent on the *Romans*, received a King from the Hand of *Augustus*, after Peace was settled between him and *Phraates*.—*Artaxias*, Son of *Artabazes*, whom *Antony*

VOL. III.

T t

dethroned,

* *The Middle*, or *Centre*, as this Town was supposed to be, of the antient *Media*.

† *Planitiem omnem à CYRO (the Kûr) usque, Albanorum gens tenet: mox Iberum, discreta ab iis amne Alazone, in Cyrum, è Caucasii Montibus defluente.*—*Moschorum tractus, ad Iberum amnem in Cyrum defluentem; & infra eos SACASSANI*:—Lying between the *Araxes* and the *Kûr*.

PLIN. Lib. VI. c. 10.

dethroned, and put to Death, had succeeded his Father, and, being an implacable Enemy to the *Romans*, had been maintained on the Throne by the Help of the *Parthian* Power. That Support being taken from him by *Phraates's* Reconciliation to *Augustus*, Factions and Seditions arose against him, and several of the *Armenian* Nobility declared his Brother *Tigranes* King. *Tigranes* was then at *Rome*, whither he had been carried from *Alexandria*, where he was made Prisoner upon the Death of *Antony*. *Augustus* might easily have taken Advantage of these Dissentions, to seize upon *Armenia*:—But he was a Stranger to the Rage of Conquest, and desired nothing farther than to give them a King, who would be a Friend to *Rome*. However, as there was Reason to think that Force of Arms would be requisite to succeed in this, *Tiberius* was charged with the Expedition.—But Things took another Turn, and there was no Occasion for War. *Artaxias* being killed by his Relations, *Tiberius* had only to put *Tigranes* in Possession of the vacant Throne.—The *Armenian* Prince did not long enjoy this splendid Gift of Fortune.

THOUGH the establishing of *Tigranes* upon the Throne of *Armenia* had been effected without War, yet Occasion was taken from thence to decree solemn Thanksgivings to the Gods for *Tiberius's* Success. This first military Honour roused the Courage of *Augustus's* young Son-in-Law, whose Expectations had before been raised to a great Height, by a pretended Prodigy, which *Suetonius* and *Dion* are very careful to record*. They say, that whilst he was crossing the Plains of *Philippi*, the Fire kindled of itself on an Altar formerly consecrated there by the victorious Legions.—But his Mother's Ambition, and her Influence over *Augustus*, were a much surer Omen.—She then obtained for her Son the Command of *Syria*, and of all the Provinces of the *East*, which *Augustus* left under his Orders when he quitted *Samos*.

To

* Suet. Tib. §. XIV. Dio. Lib. LIV.

To the great Mortification of *Libia* and *Tiberius*, *Julia*, now married to *Agrippa*, was this Year * delivered of a Son, who was named *Caius*. This Birth was celebrated by public Rejoicings, and a Festival established to Perpetuity †.

AUGUSTUS passed a second Winter at *Samos*; and that the Inhabitants of that Island might feel the good Effects of his Stay among them, he granted them the Liberty and Use of their own Laws. The whole World now paid Homage to his Greatness: Even the most barbarous Nations, the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, courted his Friendship; but nothing of this Kind was so remarkable as an Embassy which he received there from *Paudion* and *Porus*, Kings of *India* ‡. The Design of it was to conclude a Treaty of Alliance began some Years before by other Ambassadors, who met *Augustus* in *Spain* at *Tarragona*. Only three of these Ambassadors reached *Samos*; several of their Companions having died on the Road, during a Journey which, they said, had taken them up near four Years. They delivered to *Augustus* a Letter written in *Greek*, by *Porus*, who, in the pompous Stile of the Orientals, boasted his Command over six hundred Kings; but yet expressed the highest Value for *Augustus's* Friendship; offering him a Passage through his Dominions, and promising to assist him in all Things licit and reasonable.

THEY had Presents to offer, which were carried, or conducted, into the Emperor's Presence by eight Slaves, naked from the Waist upwards, and perfumed with Spices. These Presents consisted in Pearls, Jewels, Elephants, and several extraordinary Curiosities, among which was a Man without Arms, who could draw a Bow and shoot the Arrow, sound a Trumpet, and do, with his Feet, almost every Thing that others can with the Help of their Hands. There were Tigers, an Animal which the *Romans* had never seen, nor, as *Dion*

T. t. 2.

Cassius

* DCCXXXII.

† Dio.

‡ STRABO Lib. XV. FLOR. IV. 12. OROS. VI. 21. Dio.

Cassius thinks, the *Greeks*: Vipers of a prodigious Size; a Serpent twelve Cubits long; a River-Turtle three Cubits in length, and a Partridge bigger than a Vulture.

WITH the *Indian* Ambassadors came a Philosopher of the same Nation, who renewed, in *Augustus's* Presence, the same frantic Scene as *Calanus* had formerly exhibited before *Alexander*.—He accompanied the Emperor to *Athens*, and there, after obtaining Leave to be initiated in the Mysteries of *Ceres*, declared, that having till then enjoyed a constant Series of Prosperity, he would no longer be exposed to the Vicissitudes of human Affairs, or the Caprices of Fortune, but would prevent them by a voluntary Death. He therefore caused a Pile to be erected, rubbed his Body with Oil, and, when the Flames were at their Height, leaped into the Fire, with a smiling Countenance, and was consumed. An Epitaph to this Purport was put upon his Tomb: HERE LIES ZARMANOCHEGAS, AN INDIAN OF BARGOSA*, WHO, ACCORDING TO THE ANCIENT CUSTOM OF HIS COUNTRY, KILLED HIMSELF.

WHILEST *Augustus* was absent from *Rome*, the Senate named him Superintendant of the Highways in *Italy*. He accepted the Office, and appointed for his Deputies two ancient Prætors, who, under his Authority, made the famous Golden *Miliary*, a gilded Pillar, which was placed in the Forum †, as the Point from whence all the principal Roads in *Italy* were to be measured. From this the *Romans* counted their Miles, at the End of every one of which a Stone was set up, marked with the Distance from the Capital.

As soon as *Agrippa* had settled the most urgent Affairs of the City, he went to *Gaul*, where some Commotions had arisen, and from thence to *Spain*, to finish the Reduction of the

* If this *Bargosa* be the same with *Ptolomy's* *Baryaza*, as I am apt to suspect, we may place its Situation near the Gulph of *Cambala*.

† CASAL. Par. I. c. II.

the *Cantabrians*. Rome being by this Means without a Head able to keep the Multitude in Awe, fresh Disturbances broke out on Account of the Election of Consuls. The People obstinately persisted in their Whim of making *Augustus* Consul, and would choose but one other, which was *C. Sentius Saturninus*, who therefore, alone, took Possession of the Consulate, on the first of *January* *.

SENTIUS was a Man of Courage and Resolution; worthy to have been a Member of the old Republic, in her uncorrupted Days. Maintaining the Dignity of his high Office with a becoming Spirit, he detected and punished the Frauds of those who had the Management of the public Finances, and brought back to the national Treasury large Sums which had been secreted from it. But, above all, he shewed himself a great Magistrate in all Nominations to Employments. He rejected several unworthy Subjects who offered themselves for *Questors*, and threatened to make them feel the Weight of a Consul's Power, if they dared to appear as Candidates..

BUT all his Firmness and Intrepidity were necessary when the Election of his Collegue was to be proceeded in: For *Augustus* persisting in his Refusal, *Egnatius Rufus*, the rash Youth whose Insolence I mentioned before, declared himself a Candidate; and, puffed up with the Favour of the People, who had raised him at once from the Rank of Edile to that of Pretor, without going through the intermediate Gradations, now pretended to carry the Consulship, contrary to the known Intentions of the Emperor, and to make it, when attained, a Means of disturbing the Tranquillity of the State. *Sentius* ordered him to withdraw; which *Egnatius* refusing to do, a downright Sedition ensued, and some Men were killed. The Senate would have given the Consul a Guard: But *Sentius*, full of Courage, thought himself sufficiently armed by the legal Authority, with which he was invested; and declared, that
even.

even if *Egnatius* should have a Majority of Votes, he would not declare him duly elected.

THE Storm was, however, too violent to be quite appeased by *Sentius* alone. There was a Necessity of having Recourse to *Augustus*, who was then drawing towards *Rome*; and accordingly the Senate deputed to him two of its Members. The Emperor, on this Occasion, was not so reserved as he had been two Years before; for he now would not let the People name a Consul for the current Year, but, of his own Authority, appointed one of the Senate's two Deputies, *Q. Lucretius*, who had formerly been proscribed.

WHILST *Augustus* approached the City, the Senate was busied in consulting how to decree him all Sorts of Honours, in acknowledgment for the wise Regulations he had made in the Provinces of the Empire. However, he would accept but one of those Honours, which was an Altar consecrated to *Fortune returned* (*FORTUNÆ REDUCI*), and an anniversary Festival on the Day of his Return. It was intended to meet him, without the Gates, and all the Classes of the People were already in Motion, when, chusing rather to save the Citizens that Trouble and Fatigue, than to enjoy the Pomp of the Ceremonial, he entered the City in the Night Time*, as he always chose to do whenever public Entries were intended him.

AUGUSTUS, not conscious to himself of any superior Merit or Capacity, and yet finding that by one strange Chance after another, he rose not only above his Fellows, but outstripped by much his Betters, conceived a very sincere Devotion for the blind Goddess; and when he was Master of the Empire, it was observed, that he carefully repaired her decayed Temples, and omitted no Opportunity to do her Honour.—*Julian*, in his admirable Draught of the *Cesars*, makes *Fortune* complain of every one of them, as doing her
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the highest Injustice in not giving her a Share of their great Actions, except *Octavius*, whom alone she allowed to have been thoroughly grateful to her Deity *.—Hence too *Horace's* courtly Odes to Fortune.

AUGUSTUS had the greatest Reason that perhaps any Prince ever had to do her Homage. At *Julius Cesar's* Death, there was not the smallest Probability of his being ever able to rise in the *Roman State*. His being related to a Man who was killed as a Tyrant, tended to depress and bear him down: And when that Face of Affairs was changed by the Combination of the Veterans, a stronger Obstacle was still in his Way to Power: That was the Dictators; old Captains, Men of high Courage, great Experience and Interest, and no less Ambition, with whom he could not compare in any one Respect, but the last.—In the first Place, therefore, to make Way for the young *Cesar's* Grandeur the Commonwealth must be again overturned. The old firm Columns of Liberty remaining after the Ravages of *Julius Cesar*, *M. T. Cicero*, *C. Cotta*, and others, were to be pulled down, and the young Assertors of Freedom, full of a towering Spirit, and in the Height of Life, bred to Letters and Arms, must be likewise destroyed. *M. Brutus*, *C. Cassius*, *S. Pompey*, *Cn. Domitius*, the young *Luculli*, the *Hortensii*, the *Fabii*, the *Scipio's*, and the *Cato's*, with the whole Train of the noble Band of Senators who were concerned in the Death of *Cesar*, and the Delivery of their Country. When that hard and wicked Task was accomplished, a harder still remained. The Chiefs of the *Cesarean* Party were to be some how or other removed, before *Cesar's* young Heir could succeed to his Power. This was the difficult Part of the Work, and the most powerful Obstacle that lay in his Way. To perform the first Parts, he had their Assistance;

* Τῶν δεπεσασαμένων αὐτοῖς (τοῖς Καίσαρσι). ἢ ΤΤ'ΧΗ' μεμπεύοντες πλείον' ἢ πείσαν αὐτὸν καταβεῶσα παρσιγήει, πλὴν 'Οκταβιανὸν μὲν Τῶντι δὲ. Εὐγνώμονα πρὸς αὐτὴν εἶναι ἔλεγεν.

to perform this last, he must stand alone open in the Contest. The Opposition from the other Party might be surmounted by Force, as it was ; and he had all the *Cesarean* Veterans to second him in pulling down the Bulwarks of Liberty.—But he could not openly attack *his Friends* ; even if he had at first had Power or Conduct equal to the Enterprize.—Let us but recollect what became of *Alexander's* Empire after his Death ; how every one of his general Officers set up for himself, and drew a Part of the Army and Provinces after him. They erected their Shares into independent Principalities, without much Regard to his Brother *Aridæus*, or the Heir beginning to be apparent in *Roxana's* Belly. *Antigonus* seized upon the Lower *Asia*, *Seleucus* upon the Upper, *Ptolomy* upon *Egypt*, *Eumenes* on *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*, *Lyfimachus* upon *Thrace*, and first *Antipater*, and then *Cassandra*, upon *Macedonia*.—What would *C. Curio*, *C. V. Pansa*, *A. Hirtius*, and *P. Corn. Dolabella*, great Generals and noble Romans, have done had they lived ? Would *C. Casca*, *P. Trebonius*, *Q. Cicero*, *D. Brutus*, *Q. Cornificius*, *Q. Ligarius*, old Captains, and devoted to Liberty, have tamely submitted to the Tyranny of a beardless Youth ? It was not to be expected : Any one of them was enough to have crushed the ambitious Boy by the Weight of his Authority and Reputation. That strange Fate, therefore, which removed them all out of the Way by various Deaths, (most of them dispatching one another), which left him none but *Mark Antony* to struggle with at last, might be justly the Object of his Wonder and Adoration. The triumphing over any one Rival who disputes the Sovereignty, is looked upon as a great Strain of Happiness : But to gain the Summit, when so many Superiors stood in his Way, is an Event so strange, that it is no Wonder a Man of a middling Genius should ascribe it to the particular Good-will of some propitious Power who conducted the Steps of Fate, and brought it to the improbable Issue.—I say a Man of a middling Genius, because a great

one would not talk nor act so unmeaningly. To ascribe great Effects to a chimerical Cause, is Weakness of Understanding, or, its Sister, Superstition. Though the Links of it be too fine for mortal Eyes, there is an adamant Chain, which holds Events together, and regulates the Rise and Fall of Nations, as well as of private Men. But when People must say something, and, through Weakness or Sloth, care not to give themselves the Trouble of Inquiry, a Word of no Signification is of wonderful Service. The Genius, Rank, and Circumstances in which every Man is born, but above all his *Conduct*, determines his Fortune, which is the Creature of the former, even to a Proverb*. But we make a Mistress of the Slave, and talk so much of *Fortune*†, of good and bad *Luck*, or of the *Times*, as of a Power that governs us and our Affairs, that we come to believe there is something in it.—It was an admirable Question put by the great *Hannibal* to a mean Prince, who hesitated about striking a grand Blow because the *Extæ* or Entrails of the Sacrifice portended no good; “Will your Majesty, said he, give more Credit to a Calf’s Liver than to an old experienced General?”

IN the Morning after his Arrival, *Augustus* went to the Senate, and desired for *Tiberius*, whom he had left in *Syria*, the *Ornaments* of Pretor, (for the *Romans* began to be used to distinguish between the Privileges and Decorations of Offices, and the Offices themselves); and for *Drusus*, Brother to *Tiberius*, the same Dispensation as had been granted to this last, enabling him to be a Magistrate five Years before the Age appointed by the Laws.

HITHERTO *Augustus*, who had now totally overturned the Liberty of *Rome*, had been able only to trace the Outlines, as

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* Faber quisque Fortunæ suæ.

† In totâ ratione mortalium, FORTUNA utrumque paginam facit; Adeoque obnoxii sumus Sorti, ut SORS ipsa pro DEO sit; quâ Deus probatur incertus.

PLIN. Lib. II. c. 7.

it were, of the Reformation he intended to make in the new-formed State. The Disorders occasioned by the Civil Wars had taken Root too deeply to be cured at once.—Too violent Remedies might have increased the Evil. He therefore resolved to resume the Work he had begun some Time before, and with this View caused himself to be continued for five Years longer Prefect, or Superintendant, of the Laws and Manners; with the Addition of the Consular Power for his Life, and all the Prerogatives annexed to that Dignity, together with the Precedence over the actual Consuls: So that, without being in Fact either Consul, or Cenfor, he enjoyed all the Privileges belonging to those great Offices.

To facilitate the Discharge of the important Functions in which *Augustus* was continued, the Senators expressed a Readiness *implicitly* to bind themselves before hand, by Oath, to observe whatever Laws he should make: But he declined this farther Proof of their abject Servility; rightly judging, that, if those Laws suited them, they would be ready enough to put them in Practice; but that, if they should chance to displease, no Oath would prevent their shaking off the Yoke.

THIS important Work could not be completed without the Assistance of *Agrippa*, who, equally qualified for War or Peace, was then finishing the Reduction of the *Cantabrians*; a difficult Task, which he at last performed so effectually, that they submitted quietly to the *Roman* Yoke, and never more attempted to revolt.

THIS Exploit was great, and well deserved the most brilliant Rewards:—But *Agrippa*, like a complete Courtier, (though at the same Time the best of Generals), always careful to keep within the Bounds of a Lieutenant, who ought to ascribe every Thing to his Chief, sent an Account of his Success, not to the Senate, but to the Emperor, and would not accept the Triumph that was decreed him.

THIS Modesty was not imitated by every one who had the Command

Command of an Army. Several asked, and obtained, the Honours of a Triumph, only for taking some paltry Town, or stopping the Inroads of a few Banditti: For *Augustus* was so liberal of military Rewards, that he granted triumphal Honours to above thirty of his Generals*. It is however certain that *Agrippa*, in this Refusal, suited himself to the Prince's secret Intentions, which he was better acquainted with than any other Man.

It would not be just to confound *L. Balbus* with those who obtained triumphal Honours for trifling Exploits. He had conquered the *Garamanti*, a People of *Africa*, who had never before felt the *Roman* Arms. In this Procession, there appeared a long File of barbarous Names, People, Towns, and Mountains, unknown till then, but subdued by him. The Triumpher was not less remarkable: Born at *Cadiz*, and having been complimented with the Freedom of *Rome* by *Pompey*, he was the only Stranger of Distinction that had ever triumphed in *Rome*:—But his Uncle, who had been Consul, had paved the Way for him. *Accius Balbus*, *Julia's* Husband, and *Atia's* Father, was Pretor, and one of the *twenty* appointed to divide the *Campania*, in consequence of the pernicious Law made by his Wife's Brother, *Julius Cesar*.—It was for refusing to be one of these that *Pompey* and *Cesar*, then Intimates, were thought to connive at, if not promote *Cicero's* Banishment: Though that was, at the Bottom, an infamous Bargain they made with *Clodius*, that he should have their leave to destroy *Cicero*, if he would employ the rest of his Tribuneship in their Service.

Two of the most abject Characters in *Augustus's* Time were the Son and Grandson of Men who had made a great Figure in *Rome*. *Clodius Pulcher*, though an Enemy to good Men, had an high Spirit, and was in great Favour with the Commonalty.—His Wife *Fulvia* had yet a higher. It was said,

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* Suet. Aug. XXXVIII.

she tucked the Sword above her Gown, which was the Mark of *Clodius's* military Command:—And yet the Child begot between these two proved a spiritless Dunce. He passed his Youth in a silly obscure Manner; lived the Cully of a common Strumpet, and made his Exit by choaking upon a Dish of Cow's Duggs.—His Sister, when yet a Girl, was contracted to *Augustus*, about the Time of the Proscription, and sent home a Maid about the Beginning of the *Perusian War* *. The other was *Hortensius Corbio*, Grandson to the eloquent and worthy *Q. Hortensius*, who was able to distinguish himself amidst a Set of the brightest Citizens that *Rome* had seen, and obtain the highest Honours of his Country. But *Corbio* lived a more shameful Life than the commonest Creature that plies at *Wapping*; and, at last, in the most infamous Places, employed his Tongue so differently from his Grandfather, as forbids all Description †.

M. HORTENSIUS, (perhaps Brother, or at least related to, the justly celebrated *Quintus Hortensius*), was a very remarkable Character. He had Genius, Capacity, Eloquence, Grace, Dignity, Shrewdness, and every Thing but Integrity.—By these Qualities, supported by many bad Arts and great Interest, he had got almost the sovereign Disposal of all Causes; and as he defended or accused, the Parties were acquitted or condemned.—*Verres*, speaking of him, had imprudently let drop, “That he had a great and powerful Friend, in confidence of whose Protection, he pillaged the Provinces; that he was not making Money solely for himself; but had so laid the Accounts of a three Years Government, that he should think himself well off if he could make the Profits of one Year his own, give another to his Council, and reserve the last and greatest wholly for his Judges.”—Monstrous Iniquity!

HORTENSIUS lived up to his Fortune, in vast Splendor and

* SUET. Aug. §. 62.

† VAL. MAX. Lib. III. c. 5. §. 3.

and studied Luxury : He was the first Man who killed a Peacock for Food ; to which he sat down with an Assembly of the Clergy, at his inaugural Dinner*. His Friend, *M. Varro*, tells that, among the rest of his Family Provision, there was found in his Cellars, at his Death, more than ten thousand Pipes of Wine †.

His Memory is deservedly stained by a Complication of Fraud and Avarice. Some shrewd *Grecians*, or perhaps Farmers of the Revenue in *Greece*, perfectly acquainted with the Characters, Inclinations, and Power, of the two great Men then in *Rome*, or rather in Courts and Causes, had forged a Will for a very rich Man, *L. Minucius Basilus* (whose Son or Nephew was killed by his own Servants), in which they had devised the better Part of the Estate to themselves, but had made *M. Crassus* and *M. Hortensius* their Co-heirs for very considerable Shares of it. The Fraud was glaring and palpable ; and yet these two Princes in the State could stoop to so infamous an Acquisition.—The public Morals must have been totally ruined then, and all Sense of Honour lost ; or the *Roman* People would have stoned them the first Time they dared to appear in Court.

THE DCCXXXIII. Year of *Rome* was fatal to Poetry and Learning, by the Death of that accomplished Scholar, *VIRGIL*, who was snatched away, before he could put the finishing Hand to his *ENEID*. He had retired into *Greece*, hoping there to enjoy the Tranquillity necessary to polish that Poem, and finish it to his own Satisfaction. *Augustus* going to *Athens* at that Time, the Poet waited on him, and probably was prevailed on by the Emperor to return to *Italy* with him. He was ill when he embarked, and the Voyage increasing his Disorder, he died almost immediately after his Arrival at *Brundisium*, in the 51st Year of his Age.

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* *PLIN.* Lib. X.† *Hortensius super decem millia Cadum (Chii Vini) heredi reliquit.**VARRO ap PLIN.* Lib. XIV. §. 14.

His Epitaph *, written by himself, if we may credit the Author of his Life, contains in two Lines his Birth, Death, Burial, and an Indication of his Works. “ *Mantua* bore me; “ *Brundisium* saw me die; my Ashes rest at *Naples*. I sung of “ *Shepherds, Fields, and Heroes.*”

It has been asserted †, that, when dying, he would have burnt his *Æneid*, and that he even ordered it to be done, by his Will. He had so high an Idea of Perfection, that a Poem, which has always been admired, did not seem to him worthy to be transmitted to Posterity. *Augustus*, notwithstanding the Respect due to the last Desires of a Testator, prevented the Execution of that rigorous Order, and directed *Varius* and *Tucca*, both great Poets, and *Virgil's* Friends, to revise the *Æneid*, with leave to strike out what they thought proper, but not to add.

VIRGIL appointed *Augustus* and *Mecænes*, with a Half-Brother he had, to be his Heirs. To name the Prince in his Will, was a sure Way to please him; for *Augustus* always took this last Proof of Affection kindly from such as he had treated on the Footing of Friends. This Custom grew more in Use under the succeeding Emperors, and became a Part of the universally reigning Adulation.

THOUGH *Virgil* accumulated more Wealth, than *Horace*, yet he was equally fond of Retirement. A Life of philosophical Contemplation, to view the august *Drama* of Nature, and investigate the Springs that move it, was his supreme Wish; Poetry, and the Gifts of the Muses, were his second Desire; and the Sweets of rural Delights amidst Streams and Woods, his third and last Enjoyment. The Character he has drawn of a perfectly happy Man in the old *Corymbus*, who lived on the Fruits and Sallads of his own Cultivation, shews his Turn
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* *Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
Parthenope. Ceteri patena, rura, ducunt.*

† *PLIN. Lib. VII. c. 30. A. GELL. Lib. XVII. c. 10. MARTIAN.
Sat. II. 4.*

and Taste to have been much the same with that of our excellent COWLEY *, who, could he have checked his overflowing Wit, and have written under the Eye of such Men as *Virgil's* Friends, would not have been far behind him in his Writings.—Yet could not his retired innocent Life, or his Mildness and friendly Manners, screen him from Envy and Detraction. *Mecvius* was not the only Malignant. *L. Cornificius*, a Man of as perverse a Nature, as his Cousin (I judge) had a sweet one, could not endure *Virgil* †.—He produced some loose gallant Pieces, which *Ovid* quotes among other Patterns of his own immodest Compositions.—*Augustus's* Freedman *Hyginus*, a Person of more Learning than Genius, nibbled at *Virgil's* Poetry, not in a manly comprehensive Criticism, but attacking partly the Impropriety of certain Terms used by the Poet ‡, and partly the little Slips or Inaccuracies, in talking of modern Names of Places and Persons as ancient, which a warm Fancy readily commits in the Heat of Composition.

ENNIUS and ACCIUS seem to have been the two *Roman* Poets of the most *original* Genius ; though even they copied much from the *Greeks* ;—but they likewise composed many Pieces, *really* their own. All the rest are Imitators of their *Grecian* Masters.—I think we have had but two genuine Originals in *Britain*, SPENSER, and—let me not mistake,—MILTON.

—A true Poet is a *Maker*, as his Name imports ; a Creator of a fictitious World, resembling some Part of the real One. It is this original Creation which distinguishes him from all Followers, Imitators, Copyists, Paraphrasts, Improvers, Designers after another Man's Model.—SPENSER's Claim is unquestionable :—His FAIRY QUEEN, abstracted from the Allegory,

* If e'er Ambition did my Fancy cheat, &c.

† Cornificius, ob perversam naturam, illum non tulit.

Et leve Cornificê, parque Catonis opus.

‡ A. GELL. Lib. VI. c. 6.

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Allegory, (the prevailing Taste of the Age), is perhaps the Poem of the most original Invention that ever was produced; —the mere Creature of his teeming Brain; —and yet one of the most beautifully diversified Tales that ever flowed from a rapturous Muse. —It must be acknowledged that *MILTON* has frequently borrowed from *Homer* and the *Italian* Poets, and especially from our sacred Scriptures: —But he has borrowed only particular Thoughts, or Ornaments; while the general *Plan*, the high-wrought *Characters*, and the whole Run of the *Imagery*, are all his own; —besides some *original Fables* interwoven, which are the Characteristics of a Poet. —With grateful Admiration, I acknowledge Mr. *WILLIAM SHAKESPEAR* to have outdone both these mighty Bards in single happy *Flights*, and high-colouring of particular *Passions* and *Descriptions*. —But all his *Plans*, and the greater Part of his *Characters*; (save those he copied from *Low-Life*), are *borrowed*; and with all his happy Imagination and Power of Language, he is still *infelix operis summâ—quia ponere totum nescit*. —All the After-Poets, though many of them have been Men of infinite Wit and Pleasantry, and their Works are full of Entertainment, either do not attempt to be Originals, or evidently copy from a known Original.

I KNOW no Poem, in any Language, that comes so near the Beauty, the Simplicity, the Innocence of *Theocritus*, as the divine *SPENSER*'S *SHEPHERD'S KALENDAR*. Nature, pure Nature, stands there unveiled. —*Chaucer* and *Douglas* spake our antiquated Dialect, in its original Roughness. But when softened by *Spenser*'s Ear, and brightened by *his* Fancy, it became capable of fully rendering the Graces of the Old *Doric*; upon which *Virgil* and *Tasso* durst scarcely touch, in a faint and transient Imitation. I name not other Moderns, because their Nymphs and Swains smell strongly of the *Louvre*, or *St. James*: But whoever would see the Passion between the Sexes *naturally* represented, and its genuine Effects painted, before
Art,

Art, Ceremony, and what we preposterously call *Good-Manners*, checked the Effusions of the Human Heart, must read *Theocritus's Pastorals*, or the *Shepherd's Calendar*.

THE four Books of AGRICULTURE, are *VIRGIL's finished* Work; which is a Word of such Weight, when applied to this indefatigable Poet, that it is no Wonder it should, like *HORACE's Satyrs*, stand un-rivalled in modern Times. The *Predium Rusticum*, or Country Farm, of *James Vanier*, a beautifully diversified Poem, would have stood next, had he not deformed it with vulgar Superstition, *French Flattery*, and, above all, by fulsome Encomiums of the buckram Saints of his own Order;—for he was a Jesuit. His Countryman, *M. Rapin*, is more discreet;—but having only treated of *Gardens*, and both writing in a foreign Dialect, neither can approach the laboured Work of *Virgil*. It is ungenerous to refuse a living Author his just Praise, and would be unjust in itself not to acknowledge the Merit of PUBLIC VIRTUE, a Poem, both in Point of Instruction and Entertainment. The first Part, very properly addressed to his late Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*, treats of Agriculture, including the Management of Forest-Trees; and, for the Truth of Precept, Variety of Subject, and Smoothness of Verse, is the nearest Resemblance that I know of to *Virgil's Husbandry*.—As for the half-finished *Eneid*, it is, except in Versification (*Virgil's* supreme Talent), far surpassed in every Respect, in Spirit, Invention, Sublimity of Thought and Expression, by the BRITISH HOMER, *JOHN MILTON's PARADISE LOST*.

THE Authors from whom *Virgil* borrows the most of his Imagery and Descriptions, are *Homer*, *Hesiod*, *Antimachus*, *Apollonius*, *Callimachus*, and *Pindar*, in the *Eneid*; *Hesiod*, *Aratus*, and *Parthenius*, in the *Georgics*; and *Theocritus* alone in *Pastorals*.—We can scarce judge what, or how much, he

transcribed from *Hesiod's* Husbandry, as that Work is certainly lost *.——But we find *Aristotle*; and his Pupil *Theophrastus*, both great Naturalists, plainly expressed in the Lines of *Virgil*, who, I do believe, has been the most laborious Poet that ever wrote. The Pains he has taken, to read, to inform himself, to imitate, to correct, and polish, are quite inconceivable. I discover new Traces of *Labour* every Time I take up his Works, in those Parts which he had Time to finish; and see plain Vestiges of Study and Literature, which I had taken for happy Flights and original Touches of the Poet.——His *GEORGICS*, on which he rested his future Fame, were the Work of seven Years, at the Time of Life when his Imagination was in full Vigour, and his Judgment mature.

THE long Duration of the Civil Wars had almost depopulated *Italy*, and laid it waste. A great Part of the Lands had been divided among the Soldiers, who had been too long engaged in the Wars, to have a just Knowledge of Agriculture. Hence it became necessary that the ancient Spirit of Husbandry should be revived among the *Romans*.——Proper Encouragement was given; it became the fashionable Taste; and *Mecenas*, who wisely pursued every Thing that might be of Service to his Master, especially if it could be a Means of diverting the Attention of the People from the Rights and Liberties of their oppressed Country, engaged the favourite Poet in this Undertaking.

NOTWITHSTANDING the high Compliments paid to *Augustus*, and even to *Julius Cesar*, *Virgil's* real Sentiments burst forth

* It is plain from *Manilius*, that *Hesiod* wrote other Books both of Mythology and Agriculture, besides his History of the Creation now extant under the Name of *Theogony*, and his *Economics*, called *Works and Days*.

Pliny, in the Preface to his great Work, makes the most plausible Excuse for *Virgil's* Plagiarism, by saying, that he borrowed from the *Greeks* in order to vye with them upon the same Subject.

forth by Starts †.—The Strain of his Works discover the good Man and the Patriot. His Silence in regard to some illustrious Persons, particularly *Brutus* and *Cicero*, is solely owing to his *Discretion* :—It was not proper for him *openly* to declare against *Augustus* ; it was well enough that, when Prudence permitted, he let his Sentiments be known. The ascribing the Suppression of the great Names of *Cicero*, *Cassius*, *Brutus*, to the Poet's Principle of *passive Obedience*, is a Dream of Mr. *Dryden*'s, dictated by his own favourite Creed.

NOTHING but the Hurry in which Mr. *Dryden* wrote, could have made a Man of his Taste pronounce so false a Judgment, as that *Virgil's Pollio* and *Silenus*, full of Similitudes drawn from the Woods and Meadows, seem to represent the Poet between the Farmer and the Courtier, when he left *Mantua* for *Rome* : Somewhat too fine for the Place from whence he came, and yet retaining Part of its Simplicity.—Dr. *Lowth*, espousing a quite contrary Opinion, thinks the beautiful Face of Nature was never seen in a more *polished Mirror* than *Virgil's* Poetry.

THE Friendship between HORACE and VIRGIL is incontestable. The Obligation which this last had to him, and the Affection he bore him, are amply recorded by the grateful *Horace*, who, however, it is certain, looked upon *VARIUS* as a greater Epic Poet.—*Virgil's Bucolics* only had then been published.—What *Varius* had written in the Epic Way, I know not : But we find the same judicious Critic prefers *POLLIO* to *him*, as a Tragic Writer.—His *Thyestes*, admired by *Quintilian*, was not published till after the Death of *Cassius*

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† It was no Compliment to *Augustus*, who was to be flattered with his making the State eternal, to prophecy its Destruction.

Non res Romanæ, perituraque Regna.

GEORG. Lib. II. v. 498.

Where it is extremely remarkable, that, in the preceding Line,

Aut conjurato descendens Dacus ab Istro ;

he has mentioned the very People, the Nations from about the Mouth of the *Danaw-Ströem*, who actually effected the Ruin of *Rome*.

of *Parma*, from whose Papers it was suspected to be stolen.— Or must the courtly *Horace* find out something for every one of them to excel in, and make a minute Division of the various Provinces of Poetry, to serve them all, without letting any one monopolize the Talents and Reputation of the whole? —It is surprising that *Varius* should be reputed the Prince of the Epic Poets; and yet leave nothing in that Way.— Had *Virgil* been a little less nimble, when to avoid the brutal Centurion's Stroke, he jumped into the *Mincio*, he would only have been known by that Part of his Character,—if at all: For little Works easily perish; and I am of Opinion that the *Eneid* has preserved the *Pastorals*, if not the *Georgics*.— For how many elegant, but small, Works have perished, that were the Admiration of Antiquity? It is with Pleasure that I observe *BRITAIN* to be the only Country in *Europe*, that can vye with *Virgil* in his three Productions, *Pastoral*, *Rural*, and *Heroic*.

“No Man,” says the Author of the Enquiry into the Life and Writings of *Homer*, “writes well upon other Subjects than these he has *seen*, nor represents truly other Manners than those he has been *conversant* with.” But *Virgil* never bore Arms, or witnessed any Wars by Land or Sea, except the Ravages of the Veterans. It is true he heard of both, then carrying on, and had undoubtedly an Account of all the Transactions from the greatest Men and most concerned in them.—The regular Manners he saw, and *these* he has represented; as that Author observes. But there is more to be said:—*Virgil* drew his *personal* Characters, if not after *real* Life, which few Poets, except *CAMOENS*, have done, at least after *traditional* Representations (which has been the Case with *Homer*, and other great Poets), of the Actions and Atchievements of his Heroes. These were well known, and in high Vogue in *Rome* in *Virgil's* Time, as appears, among many other Proofs, from an indecent Story of a dissolute Favourite of *Pompey's* (*Gabinus*), who,

who, being made Consul by his Patron's Interest, that is, chief Magistrate of the most sedate, severe, and grave State in the World, played the Tumbler in his Function, and trampling upon all Regard to Decency, in a grand Entertainment, turned Buffoon to the Company, and then acted the Character of *Turnus*, imitating his Speech and Manner in some great Action (perhaps his Death by the Hand of *Eneas*); so that the Audience were entertained with a Representation of a known Character.—*Virgil's Turnus* is therefore, in some Sense, from the Life.

IMITATION, in any Art, is a Shackle in itself;—in so far as it calls off the Attention from the general Execution to a *Manner* of executing, and likewise hinders the Imitator from transgressing, and consequently from surpassing, *that* Manner. A real Genius is distinguished by new Strokes, and daring Flights to unknown Regions, or adding untrodden Paths to those known before. Accordingly, says the philosophic Orator, no Additions and Improvements, either in Arts or any Institution whatever, have ever been made by those who stuck close to former Inventions; but by such as ventured to correct them, and dared to discard the Mistakes of their Masters *.

MARTIAL sent his *Epigrams* to *Silius Italicus*, the Author of the Epic Poem on the *Punic War*, in the same Way, said he, as perhaps *Catullus* sent his *Sparrow* to *Virgil*. These last must have been co-temporary, and *Virgil* must have had some Reputation before *Catullus's* Death.

Virgil is greatly debased by those, who turn him into an Astrologer, and make him predict the Empire to the young *Cesar* from the Marks on his Body, from whence, say they, he gathered the Configuration of the Planets at his Nativity. Whoever can believe this, may likewise swallow the Act of the Senate, forbidding the bringing up any male Child, born that Year, because the *Planets* declared that an Emperor was born.

No

No Doubt they intended to do Honour to *Virgil*, who first feigned the Tale of the Apostle *Paul*, (a *Jew*, who spoke and wrote *Greek*, cut upon the *Syrian* Phrase of his native Language,) going to *Virgil's* Tomb at *Naples*, and weeping for Grief that so great a Poet had not heard of *JESUS CHRIST*, that he might have employed his Talents in celebrating Him to all the World. Had this been true, *St. Paul* must have taken the Poet's Character upon Trust (for it does not appear that he understood the *Latin* Tongue), and must not have understood *Virgil's* *POLLIO* as a Prophecy of the *MESSIAH*.

WE have an Instance of the Regard that was paid to *VIRGIL* by Posterity, in the Character which is given of *SILIUS ITALICUS*, by the younger *Pliny* *. *SILIUS* was a *Roman* Nobleman, and had acted a Part in the Administration under *Nero*, which had hurt his Reputation. But he retrieved it by his Conduct in the After-Reigns, and principally by the Use he made of his Friendship with *Vitellius*. He was Consul, and had *Asia* for his Province, where he gained great Honour. At his Return, the Tranquility and Innocence of his Life quite effaced the Remembrance of his former Behaviour, and, tho' without Power, he was looked upon as one of the greatest Men in *Rome*. He was courted and his Levée thronged, more like that of a Minister who had Honours and Places to dispose of, than a Man given up to Poetry, and the Conversation of the Learned. His Compositions shew more Labour than Genius; and he sometimes made Trial how they would take, by reading them in public. Towards the End of his Life, he retired from Town, and passed his Days most agreeably in *Campania*; from whence even the Accession of a new Emperor, and a Change of Times, could not bring him to *Rome*. There are few Princes who would have allowed such Liberty; and few Men of his Rank who durst have taken it. He loved Magnificence and Beauty, so as to be thought rather too greedy
of

* Lib. III. Ep. 7.

of a new Purchase. He had many *Villas* in the same Country, was always fond of the last bought, and careless about the old. They were all filled with Books, Statues, and Pictures. It cannot be said he *admired* his Statues, for he almost *worshipped* them; and above all the rest, that of *VIRGIL* the Poet, whose Birth-Day he kept much more religiously than his own, usually celebrating it at *Naples*, where he approached the Monument of the deceased Bard with the same Ceremony as he would have done to the Shrine of a Divinity. In this Life of Leisure and Learning he reached his 75th Year, when he was seized with a Disorder, which was judged incurable; and rather than bear the Pain it was attended with, he starved himself to Death. *Nero* was killed in his Consulship, and he out-lived all the Consulars created by that Prince.

HAVING chanced to mention *Levées*, I cannot help observing that they were of pretty ancient Standing among the *Romans*. It was the Ambition of their great Men to have many Clients, that is, Dependants, whom they protected and directed in their Business; and for that Purpose they threw open the Doors of their Houses to them early in the Morning: But it was the aspiring *Caius Gracchus*, and soon after him *Livius Drusus*, who established the Ceremonial. They first divided the Train of their Attendants, and received some in their Closet, others in their Antichamber, and the Rest in public. By this Means they had first, second, and third rate Friends, and few true Ones: For surely that Man cannot be called a Friend, whose Compliment is prescribed, and who must not smile but when it comes to his Turn*. The *Salutatorium Cubile*, or Chamber of Presence, was frequently set round with Quince Trees, to make it fresh.

THE Emperor *Alexander Severus* had in his Palace two Chapels, in which the principal Objects of his Veneration were ranged under two Classes, the one sacred to *Virtue*, the other

* SENECA, de Benef. Lib. VI. §. 34.

other to *Talents* *. In the first of these were Statues of all the good Emperors, among whom he reckoned *Alexander the Great*; and next to them, the wise Men by whose useful Lessons Mankind had been benefited,—*Abraham*, *Orpheus*, *Apollonius-Tyaneus*, and JESUS CHRIST :—A strange Mixture! But which, however, shews the Inclination of that Prince to venerate Virtue wherever he thought he found it. The second Chapel was for military Heroes, and Men conspicuous in the Republic of Letters,—*Achilles*, *Cicero*, *Virgil*, whom he called the *Plato* of the Poets, and some other famous Names.

AMONG the ancient *Romans*; the great Court, or Entry to their House, was not ornamented with curious Statues of vast Value, the Work of foreign Artists, but with the real Effigies of their Forefathers, done first in Wood, and then in Wax, and placed in a Series of Niches which shut with Doors, and under each Image was placed a Book, containing the great Actions of the Person represented, in his several Magistracies. Round the outer Gate, or great Entry, were ranged the Spoils and Trophies taken from the Enemies of *Rome*; which, if the Misfortunes of the Family obliged the House to be sold, the Purchaser had no Right to remove. These Images, which were held very sacred, were never taken out but at Funerals, to be carried in Procession with the Deceased.—*Messala*, seeing with Indignation the Effigies of one of the *Levini* entered among his Ancestors, immediately ordered it to be taken away: And afterwards, seeing the *Salutian* Race creeping into the Pedigree of the *Scipio's* by a testamentary Adoption, he sat down, though arrived at a great Age, and wrote his *Treatise of Genealogies* †.

The public Statues anciently erected to the Patriots of *Rome*, were of Copper or Bronze. The first of Silver was the Effect of Flattery,—one reared to *Augustus*.—Silver Statues, and even Gold Ones, had indeed been seen in *Rome* before: But they

* LAMPRID. Alex. 26. 28—31.

† PLIN.

they were of foreign Tyrants, or Eastern Deities.—Such as *Pharnaces's* Statue, and *Mithridates's* Chariot, carried to *Rome* in *Sextus Pompey's* Triumph; and the golden Image of *Venus Anaitis*, sacrilegiously plundered by *Antony's* Veterans. But now the *Materials* began to be valued, as the *Excellency of the Art* diminished: For all the paltry Pensions given by absolute Power cannot inspire that Ardour and noble Ambition, which courts the Approbation of the Free, pants for immortal Fame, and basks in the Beams of Liberty. Neither could the Wealth of the World produce a *Phidias* or a *Polyclete*.

AGRIPPA, on his Return to *Rome*^a, after the Reduction of *Cantabria*, received the Reward of his Modesty. He had declined the Honours of a Triumph, and was now made *Augustus's* Collegue in the *Tribuneship* for five Years. This Title was one of the *essential* Characteristics of the supreme Authority; and if *Agrippa* was invested with it for no longer Term, *Augustus* himself, who had undertaken the Command of the Armies and the Administration of the Provinces for ten Years, as I observed before, when that Power was ready to expire, had it continued to him only for five Years: So that he treated *Agrippa* almost as himself;—to make People think that both of them, at the End of the five Years, would surrender up to the Republic the Authority which they had received from it.

Thus seconded by a powerful Associate in the most powerful of all Magistracies, and able to shew an Avenger ready to punish whoever should dare to think of attempting his Life, *Augustus* resumed the arduous Task of reforming the Senate, in which, notwithstanding what had been retrenched in his former Review, there still were several Members no way qualified to do Honour to that august Assembly. Shocked at the audacious Assurance of some, and the fulsome Adula-

VOL. III.

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tion,

^a In the Beginning of the Year of *Rome*, DCCXXXIV.

tion *, corrupt Morals, and low Birth of others, he wished to reduce it to its original Number of three hundred ; and would frequently say, he should think himself happy, if *Rome* and *Italy* could furnish so many Men worthy to be Members of the public Council of the Empire. But perceiving that the Senators were much alarmed at the Thoughts of so great a Diminution of their Body, he judged it most prudent not to reduce them below six hundred, which had been their Number in the most flourishing Times of the Republic.

His Plan being settled, he endeavoured to carry it into Execution in the Manner least hazardous to himself. To this end, imitating what was sometimes practised in the Army, he left to the Senators themselves the Choice of their Brother Senators. He first named thirty ; chosen, upon Oath, out of the most worthy. Each of those thirty, after taking the same Oath, was to chuse five, none of which were to be their Relations ; and these five were to draw Lots, which of them should be the Senator. The last thirty, thus elected, were to repeat the same Operation ; and so on, till they had made up the Number of six hundred. But Tricks were played, and Difficulties arose, which gave *Augustus* such Disgust, as prevented his pursuing a System so apparently advantageous.

Thus, for Example, he met with a great Mortification from *Antistius Labeo*, who put the old Triumvir *Lepidus* at the Head of his five. *Augustus*, unable to contain himself on this Occasion, accused *Labeo* of being perjured, and asked him, with Indignation, whether, agreeable to the Oath he had taken, he did not know any one more worthy ? *Labeo* answered calmly, that every Man judged for himself † ; “ And after
“ all,” added he, “ what Fault can you find with me, for
“ thinking the Person whom you suffer to enjoy the High-
“ Priesthood, worthy to be a Senator ? ”

LABEO

* Cui malè si palpere, recalcitrat undique tutus. HORAT. Sat. Lib. II. 1.

† SUET. in Aug. §. LIV.

LABEO had inherited the high Sentiments of a Republican, from his Father, who, after fighting in the Plains of *Philippi* in the Cause of Liberty, when he saw the Battle lost, made one of his Slaves kill him. The Son, brought up in the same Principles, always preserved a great Haughtiness. *Augustus* having expressed some Uneasiness, on Account of the Number of Malecontents which this Review of the Senate had made, somebody proposed that the Senators should form a Guard about his Person. "I am apt to sleep," answered *Labeo* roughly,—“I should be but a bad Guard.”—Such Speeches, to which his whole Conduct answered, were far from being a Means of currying Favour with the Prince; and accordingly, though a Man of great Merit and an excellent Civilian, he never could obtain the Consulate, whilst every Honour was heaped upon his Rival in the Law, *Atinius Capito*, who knew better how to suit himself to the Times.

ANTISTHIUS LABEO was a Person worthy of the ancient Commonwealth, and would have shone in both Parts of the Character of a *Roman* Magistrate; Military Skill to conduct an Army, and Knowledge of the Laws, to administer Justice, as well as Counsel to his Clients. But the *Cæsarean* Usurpation having excluded him from the Exercise of the former, he applied himself to the latter with such Assiduity and Success, that he became the Oracle of the Age in Jurisprudence. At the same Time, the Integrity of his Life, and his strict Adherence to the legal Forms, standing in no Awe of the Court, but strenuously asserting the Rights of the People against the Inroachments of Power, procured him the Veneration of all good Men.—It is not impossible but that he may have carried this Adherence to the old legal Forms, perhaps, too far in *small Matters*, and thereby have drawn a Kind of Ridicule on his better Conduct; for the Courtiers affected to laugh at him as half-mad.—A common Case, when superior Probity and Parts render a Man not so pliable as they

could wish. However, not able to bear down his Character by sneering, a shrewd Lawyer, of an equally good Head, but worse Heart, *Ateius Capito*, was set up against Him, and advanced to be Consul, that, by the Splendor of that high Dignity, he might eclipse *Labeo*, who (oppressed by the Court) rose no higher than the Pretorship. But this Depression turned to his Honour. The Cause of it being known to proceed from a sacred Attachment to the Laws of his Country, the more he was opposed, the more popular he became. He had an admirable Talent at explaining the ancient Laws, and reconciling their seeming Jarrings. This he principally did by tracing the Propriety of the Terms in which they were conceived, by Means of their Etymology, and thereby shewing their true original Acceptation.—For the Language in which most of the Laws were written, was now pretty much disused, and even the *Twelve Tables* were become next to unintelligible.

C. TREBATIUS TESTA, another Lawyer, who likewise became remarkably famous about this Time, was, in his Youth, one of those wise Persons, who think the chief Business of Life is to make Money. Being a Man of Genius, and good Education, about the Time of the first Triumvirate, he thought the readiest Way to grow rich was to throw himself and his Parts, natural or acquired, into the Arms of *Julius Cesar*, who was then courting and bribing every Mortal, with a View to his future Usurpation. *Trebatius* procured Letters of Recommendation to him from *Tullius Cicero*, whom the over-grown *Three* were likewise courting at that Time, through a Dread of his Integrity, and the Power of his Eloquence at *Rome*. With these Letters he went directly to *Gaul*, delivered them, and seems to have expected, that, without more ado, *Cesar* was immediately to pour a golden Shower into his Lap. He met, as we may easily believe, with a Disappointment, of which he complained to his Friend *Cicero*, who taxes him with

Court of AUGUSTUS.

a little Impatience in his Expectations. He therefore c
with *Cesar*, who had no great Use for a Camp-Law
followed him into *Britain* in his first Expedition, b
some Pretence to excuse himself from a second Voyage
doubt not, received the Reward of his Campaigns f
designing Man, who, among other Things, gave him
bunc's Pay, without obliging him to do the Duty.—E
the Civil War broke out, *Trebatius*, happy in the Frie
Cicero and *Brutus*, near to whose Lands his Estate
barked in the Cause of the Common-Wealth, and
mained in Arms after *Pompey's* Defeat; I suppose, eitl
Cato in *Afric*, or with the young *Pompeys* in *Spain*. T
him long in Exile from *Rome*.—However, durin
Usurpation, by the Intercession of the excellent *Pansf*
Balbus and *Hirtius*, he at last had Liberty to return :
Estate was forfeited, and subjected to the Spear*
which must have been very galling to a Man of his i
Turn. After that, I imagine he retired from public
and lived obscure during the Convulsions of the Triu
until the Law began to recover Strength; when
Knowledge, and now mature Judgment, must have n
doubly valuable.—He was of a chearful Dispositio
good Eating, and his Bottle, which he used alterna
cold Bathing for Health and Pleasure, and, like other
prescribed the same Regimen to his Friend *Horace*.—
to him that *Cicero* addressed his *Topics*, extracted from
and filled, according to his Custom, with elegant E
suggested by his own Experience and Observation. Tl
written during his intended Journey to *Greece*, the
after *Cesar* was killed.—The slow Way of Travelling
by the Ancients afforded many Opportunities for Stud

* Among the ancient *Romans*, Auctions were performed by
Crier *sub hasta*, that is, under a Spear, stuck up on that Occasion, a
Magistrate, who made good the Sale.

HAD we only the Instances already mentioned, they would shew us that neither the Spirit nor even the Language of Liberty was quite extinguished under *Augustus*. Some Men of Parts and Learning, who had seen the Times of the Republic, and hazarded every Thing in its Cause, still chose to appear *Free*. Upon these it was the Business of the Court to throw an Air of Ridicule. The general Mildness of the Administration greatly favoured the Attempt, and was no small Prejudice against those who were not contented with it.—Nor did some of their private Lives contribute much to screen them from Reproach.—But there were three or four eminent Persons, to whom I hope Posterity will make Amends for the ill Usage they met with from their Contemporaries; *Valerius, Messala, Varro Atacinus, T. Labienus, Antistius Labeo*, and *Cassius of Parma*.—I cannot say that I read *Horace's* Sneers at these worthy Persons with any Degree of Pleasure.—The Deserter *Menas*, and the turbulent foul-mouthed *Cassius Severus*, are at his Service. But would it not have been better that he had remembered with what Party he set out in Life, than to have propagated the shallow Cavils against the upright *Labeo*, or discovered a Bias against Men of such elevated Genius as *Cassius* and *Varro*.

LABIENUS was a great Orator, and struggled through many Impediments to a high Reputation for Eloquence. His Behaviour was severe, and his Look haughty: But the Strictness of his Life not corresponding to his Manner, and being extremely poor, he was but ill received. Yet, by meer Strength of his Eloquence, he forced Approbation, and pleased his Audience against their Will; and though every body blamed his Life, they all allowed him to be a superior Genius.—What uncommon Excellence must it have been, that could break through so many Obstacles! For it is Favour and Applause that encourage Men to cultivate and exert their Talents. The Cast of his Language was old, while it had all the Vivacity

city and Grace of a modern Stile. He took such Liberties as exceeded all Bounds, sparing no Rank or Quality in his Rage of Speaking, so that, instead of LABIENUS, he was called RABIENUS. Equally impetuous in whatever he espoused, he had not, in so long a Peace, laid aside the *Pompeian* resolute Temper. His Enemies, having the upper Hand, obtained a Sentence, That all his Writings should be publicly burnt. A new and unheard of Thing, to inflict Punishments upon Learning *! Luckily for us, the Triumvirs did not dream of proscribing *Cicero's* Works, as well as his Head;—and luckily again, these Punishments did not begin till the great Geniuses were ending. Yet this proved but an impotent Attempt: For *Labienus's* Writings were permitted to be searched for, and perused, by *C. Caligula*, who affected Popularity at his Accession to the Empire.—*Labienus*, unable to bear the Affront, and determined not to survive his Productions, shut himself up in the Tomb of his Ancestors, and there ended his Days. *Seneca* the Father was present at his reading a History of his own composing, and a good Deal of it remained to be read, when, folding up the Parchment, he said, “What I pass over now, will be read after my Death †.” What Freedom must there have been, which even *Labienus* was afraid of!

THE Expedient of leaving to the Senators themselves the Choice of those who were to complete their Number, not having answered *Augustus's* Expectation, he resolved personally to finish that Work, with the Assistance of *Agrippa*, and accordingly named the Members to fill up the Vacancies. Though he proceeded in this with the utmost Care and Caution, he could not avoid giving just Cause of Dissatisfaction to several.

Livineius

* Quod Metuas non est, ANTONI scripta leguntur:

Doctus. & in promptu scrinia BRUTUS habet.

Says *Ovid*, seeking Admittance at least for his Writings.

Ex PONTO, Lib. I. Ep. 1. ad Brutum.

† SENECA. Controv. V. Proem. MACROB. Sat. Lib. I. c. 2.

Livineius Regulus complained in full Senate, that he was excluded, whilst his Son, and many others, to whom he thought himself no way inferior, were admitted. He enumerated his Campaigns, and, with Indignation, tore open his Garment, to shew the honourable Scars of Wounds received in his Breast. *Arunculeius Pætus* desired leave to resign his Place to his Father, who had been struck off the List. Upon these, and other Remonstrances of the same Nature, *Augustus* revised his Work, and made some Alterations.

THIS Condescension encouraged many others to complain; some with, and others without Reason. To those whose Remonstrances seemed well grounded, he granted the honorary Privileges of Senators, and allowed them to stand for Offices which might bring them into the Senate. Some took Advantage of this Opening, of which there had been Instances in the Time of the Republic. Others spent their Lives in a middle State, between the Rank of Senator and the Condition of a private Citizen.

THUS far *Augustus* seems not to deserve Censure in this Affair. But his Behaviour towards *Lepidus* on this Occasion was abominably mean and pitiful. That Triumvir, when deposed, had retired into the Country to conceal the Shame of his Fall. *Augustus*, piqued at his being continued a Senator, forced him to reside in *Rome*, and attend the Meetings of the Senate, that he might there be exposed to the Sneers and Insults of all the Creatures of the Prince, who himself affected never to ask his Opinion, or let him speak, till all the others of Consular Dignity had done.—How much more noble, more becoming the Master of the World, would it have been, to let an Enemy, from whom he had no longer any Thing to fear, spend the Remainder of his Days in the obscure Retreat which he himself had chosen!—But *this Cesar* had not the Soul of *Julius*.

SEVERAL of the Malecontents were suspected of having bad Designs against *Augustus* and *Agrippa*. Of this Number was the

the hot-headed *Egnatius Rufus*, mentioned before.—His Birth was noble ; but he kept not to the Dignity of his Family. He was bold, daring, and profuse ; more like a Gladiator than a Senator ; and reduced by his extravagant Courses to the fatal Necessity of being undone himself, or undoing the Public :—A Matter of no long Deliberation with a Man of his Turn. Madly elated by the Favour of the People, who had ordered him the Expences of his Edileship out of the Treasury, and voted him Pretor before the Time, because he had extinguished some Fires in *Rome* with the Help of his *own* Slaves ; he was so exasperated at the Affront put upon him by *Sentius*, when he professed himself a Candidate for the Consulship, that he thought of nothing less than making away with the Man under whose Government that Magistrate had dared to give it. He communicated his Design to a Set of Men of his own Character, who could not keep the Secret. They were all seized, and ended their Lives in Prison soon after.

AMONG those whom *Augustus* continued in the Senate, or upon whom he conferred the Rank of Senator, were many who did not possess so great a Fortune as that Dignity required, according to the ancient Laws. The Civil Wars had ruined Numbers of Families, and particularly the Nobility, who, by being at the Head of Factions, are always most exposed. Taking into consideration this Inconvenience, which was general, he reduced the necessary Qualification of a Senator, in point of Estate, to four hundred thousand Sesterces (3248 l.) ; the Half of what it had been fixed at in the happy Times of the Republic.—But afterwards, when Peace and Tranquility began to repair the shattered Fortunes of the Citizens, he brought it up to the old Standard of eight hundred thousand Sesterces (6496 l.) ; then to a Million (8120 l.) ; and at last to twelve hundred thousand (9744 l.).

THE general Opinion, that Dignities ought to be supported by Riches, rendered these Regulations very proper :—But, lest

Poverty should exclude from the Senate any who, in all other Respects, were perfectly qualified to do Honour to that Body, and Service to the State, *Augustus* was always ready nobly to assist the Deserving, so as to make up their Deficiency of Fortune by his Liberalities.

AFTER this nice and important Work of reforming the Senate, *Augustus*, as *Inspector of the Manners*, set about correcting several Abuses which had risen to an enormous Height.—But the Depravity of Morals, frequent Adulteries, and scandalous Celibacy of the *Romans*, Fruits of Luxury and Sources of Libertinism, were Disorders difficult to extirpate. Riches and Prosperity first brought them into *Rome*; the continual Vicissitudes of public Events gave them an Opportunity to take deep Root; and the Licentiousness ever attending War encouraged their bold Appearance; whilst the Ease and Plenty which now flowed from the Tranquility of the State, fed and nourished them. Even those, who were least rigid, uttered loud Complaints *.——But *Cesar's* pretending to suppress Adultery, whilst his own Example gave the Lie to all his Precepts, was like *Lewis XIV.* affecting to shew Marks of his Displeasure to any of the great Men at Court who kept a Mistress, while he was openly living with the Marchioness of *Montespan*, who brought him a Child almost every Year: A Conduct which could arise only from the blindest Partiality, or an Opinion, that the living with another Man's Wife was a Privilege solely pertaining to a Monarch.

CELIBACY, always hurtful to every State, and particularly so.

* Fecunda culpræ sæcula, nuptias.

Primum inquinavere, et genus, et domos :

Hac fonte derivata clades,

In patriam, populumque fluxit.

Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos

Matura virgo, et fingitur artibus.

Jam nunc, et incestos amores

De tenero meditatur ungui.

HOR. Od. Lib. III. 6.

so to the Republic at this Time, when there was the greatest Want of an Increase of Citizens, to replace those whom the Civil Wars had carried off, had been always thought dishonourable among the *Romans*, and was subject to a pecuniary Tax. *Augustus* increased that Tax, and granted certain Rewards and Privileges to such as married and had several Children *; as his Uncle *Julius* had done after the *African War*. To render Marriages still more easy, he allowed all who were not Senators, or Sons of Senators, to marry Freed-Women, without Prejudice either to the Parties contracting, or their Children, from the Inequality of such Alliances : And as it had been a too general Custom to marry young Children, in order to avoid the Penalty at all Times imposed on Celibacy, he expressly forbid the making of any Contract with a Girl less than ten Years old ; so that the Marriage might be celebrated within two Years at most after the Contract. He likewise put a Stop to the too great Facility of Divorces, by which Dissensions and Disturbances had been created in many Families; and inflicted Punishments on such as made them without sufficient Cause.

He met with great Difficulties in establishing these Laws;—so prevalent was the general Licentiousness, and the Convenience of Celibacy, which, though far from being a State of Chastity, was not clogged with the Cares attending a Family and the Education of Children. In vain did he alledge the Maxims of Antiquity ; in vain, to enforce his Precepts, did he cause to be read in the Senate an Harangue of the Censor *Metellus Macedonicus*, exhorting every Citizen to marry :—He could not bring over Men in whom the Spirit of Libertinism had got the better of Reason. Some of the Senators, to embarrass the too rigid Legislator, by hinting at the Contradiction between his own Morals and his Laws, observed, that one of the greatest Impediments to Marriage was the loose Conduct

* SUET. in Aug. §. XXXIV. & DIO.

of Women and young Folks; and that that must be the first Thing remedied, if it was intended to strike at the Root of the Evil.

AUGUSTUS readily comprehended the secret Meaning of these fly Remonstrances, and endeavoured to elude them by saying, that he had settled the most important Points, but that it was not possible to remedy every Thing equally well. His Opponents insisted, and he defended himself by saying, "It is your Business, Gentlemen, to regulate your Families, and to give your Wives proper Advice, as I do." Still the refractory ones would not give it up, but desired to know, what might be that proper Advice which he gave to *Livia*, from which she profited so much. Upon this, he entered into a Detail of the Dress of Women, their proper Behaviour in public, the Company they ought to see, and other such like Topics. *Dion Cassius* says nothing farther: but it is certain from *Suetonius*, and from the Roman Law, that *Augustus* did issue an Edict against Adultery; and it is not improbable that the Importunities of which I have now been speaking, may, in some Measure, have compelled him to it.

WE cannot be certain what was the exact Tenor of that Law.—Severe, or not, it does not appear that *Augustus* was over careful to see it strictly observed.—A young Man being accused before him, of having married a Woman with whom he had lived in a State of Adultery, *Augustus* was puzzled; not daring either to acquit or punish the Criminal. He evaded the Difficulty, by saying, "The Licentiousness of former Times has given Rise to many Disorders, of which this is one. Let us forget the Past, and take the best Measures we can for the Future."

BUT still he never lost Sight of that Object of his serious Attention, Celibacy; and though he could not then complete what he intended on that Head, by reason of the Difficulties which arose, he afterwards finished his Work in the Year of

Rome

Rome DCCLII, by the famous Law *Papia Poppæa*, so called from the Consuls *Papius* and *Poppæus* *, under whom it was passed.—Both of these happened to be Batchelors, which gave Occasion to many severe Sarcasms against its Promoters. I shall leave to Civilians, whose Business it is, the Task of explaining, so far as they can, *all* the Tenor of this Law; and shall only observe with *Tacitus* †, that it had two principal Objects; the one, to punish Celibacy; and the other to enrich the Treasury, by the Forfeiture of all collateral Inheritances and Legacies, that fell to Citizens not married. It was intended to amend the *Julian* Law, and contained so many Heads, both obliging to marry, under severe Penalties, and, at the same Time, restricting Marriage to Persons of such and such Condition, (*viz.* Equals), and incapacitating their Children to inherit, if not so begotten, that it became one of the most intricate Knots of the *Roman* Law, an inexhaustible Fund of Chicanery, a principal Source of Guilt for the horrid Tribe of Informers to found their Allegations on, and was likely to prove the Cause of infinite Disorders in the State, if *Tiberius* had not appointed a select Committee of fifteen Senators to mitigate its Rigour. This Committee explained some of the intricate Points, and removed the Inconveniencies of others, but only for a While. The Mischiefs arising from it sprang up again, and were felt severely, till at last it was totally abrogated by the Emperor *Severus*.

I AM not to give the History of *Justinian's* Legislation, nor of the Rise of his Code, compiled at the Expence of the original Constitutions of the Common-Wealth. Let me only express my Wonder, that after adopting this second-hand Body of the *Roman* Law, and making it a Part of *European* Polity,

Men:

* They were substituted on the first of *July*, in the Room of those who had begun the Year. Their Names at length were *M. Papius Mutilus*, and *Q. Poppæus Secundus*.

† ANNAL. Lib. I. c. 25.

Men of Spirit should have been so blind as to take implicitly all the *low adventitious* Parts that had crept into it in a Course of Tyranny, and keep a Pother about *these*, as if they had Virtue enough to sanctify Cruelty and Usurpation, or deprive Nations of their *natural* RIGHTS. Yet this is the Purpose to which they have been too often applied by the flattering Lawyers of almost all the Courts in *Europe*, under Pretence *that this was* LAW.—Let us be more particular, and lay open the Foundations of the Royal Claim to absolute Power, as the Nature of the Subject, and of my own Profession, seems to require.

THAT great Lawyer and good Man, *DOMITIUS ULPIAN*, *Papinian's* Scholar, has inserted these formal Words in his Abridgement of the *Papian Poppæan* Statute: *PRINCEPS LEGIBUS SOLUTUS EST* *, *The PRINCE is not subject to the Law*. Upon which the Patrons of arbitrary Power, that is, the Court Parasites in every Kingdom, found their Claim, and triumph in the clear precise Manner in which the Decision is delivered. *PRINCEPS Legibus solutus est!* “What need we, say they, any other Testimony than this irrefragable “One in the Heart of the Code, declaring as plainly as Words can “express it, that, by *Law* itself, *the KING is above the Laws*, “which only bind his *Subjects?*”

WERE it as they say:—Had a Lawyer, in an enslaved State, at the *Tyrant's* Command, inserted a Clause, with such an Intent, into an Abstract of Old Laws †, it would be no more

* Lib. XIII. L. 31. ff. de Legib.

† *PRINCEPS LEGIBUS SOLUTUS EST* stands in *Justinian's Pandects*, under the Title of *De Legibus*, as if it had dropt from the Sky;—it is so unconnected, and torn as it were from the Subject it ought to treat of. It is suspected to have been originally coined by *Ateius Capito*, the Court-Lawyer, and to mean that the Prince was exempted from the Penalty of the *Julian Law*, *De maritandis Ordinibus*, or the same Law amended under the Title of the *Papian Poppæan*; and *Ulpian*, the Compiler, seems to have taken this Scrap from *Capito's* Comment upon that Law.

more binding upon Free-Men, than a Decision of the Mufti, that the Lives and Fortunes of all the Subjects of the *Turkish* Empire are *legally* at the Mercy of his sublime Highness the Sultan. Long before the Days of *Caracalla*, when *Ulpian* was compiling, the *Romans* had been, what they then were, abject Slaves; and no Act, Command, or Constitution of their haughty Lords, the *Emperors*, can infer any Obligation, or give Sanction to a Law to strip *free-born* Men of their *native Rights*. The Constitutions of *China*, or the more monstrous ones of *Japan*, might be as well brought to prove the Legality of arbitrary Rule in *Great Britain*.—The fundamental Laws of any State, that has given a Sanction to the *Code*, virtually destroy any such Shoot of Slavery as may have been thus grafted into it.

BUT, after all, it is certainly true, *that there is no such Law in the Code*, and that the Meaning which some prostitute Lawyers have put upon *Ulpian's* Words, is the farthest in the World from his real Intention.

IN the Days of Liberty, when the Exigencies of the Commonwealth called for *extraordinary* Measures, or when Persons were to be vested with *extraordinary* Commands, it was usual for the *Roman* People to pass a Vote EXEMPTING that Person from the Obligation of the Law that disqualified him for such Command;—in the same Manner as We, in Times of imminent Danger, suspend our sacred *Habeas-Corpus Act*, or prolong the Time given to Persons duly to qualify themselves for the Offices they hold in the State. This Vote of the *Roman* People was called *Legibus solvere*, *to loose them from the Laws*,—not in general, which is grossly absurd, but from the particular Law; for Example, the *Annarian*, proposed by *L. Villius*, which forbade any Man to be Consul before he was forty-two Years of Age*. Thus the great *Scipio Africanus* was refused the:

* CICERO. Philip. V. §. 17:

the Edileship, because of his Youth.—But first his adoptive Grandson the *Emilian Scipio*, then *C. Marius*, then *Pompey the Great*, and many other eminent Persons, obtained a Dispensation, and were *soluti Legibus*, *loosed from the Laws*, and elected into Magistracies and Commands before the legal Term.

IN imitation of these, AUGUSTUS, who much affected a legal Colour, or ancient Custom, was himself *solutus Lege Cincia*, dispensed from the Obligation of the *Cincian Law*. LIVIA too was freed from *Augustus's* own *Papian Poppæan* Statute, and enabled to succeed to a Part of his personal Estate, from which that Law cut her off. In the same Way the following Princes were exempted from *particular Laws*, which were either specified and rehearsed in the Act of Exception, or referred to as extant in former Acts of the same Nature. Such was the Decree of the Senate preserved in the curious Inscription copied by *Janus Gruterus*, exempting *Vespasian*, not from *all* Laws, but from *those* Laws from which *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, *Caius*, and *Claudius*, his Predecessors, had been exempted before*. Nay, not only these great Personages were thus exempted from the Power of this Law, but in the Body of the Act itself, the same Indulgence was given to the People of the lowest Rank, who, by Disease, Lameness, Poverty, or any other insurmountable Impediment, should be judged by the Senate not to come within the Statute.

Two Circumstances more are necessary, in order to understand *Ulpian* perfectly: First, that the famous Marriage-Act, or *Papian Poppæan* Law, consisted of so many Heads, (comprehending all former Acts,) made so many Provisos, gave so many Premiums, inflicted so many Penalties, and entered so deep into the Succession and Conveyance of Estates by latter Wills, that it became the chief Object of Attention, and was

not

* GRUTER. Inscript. pag. 242.

not only called THE LAW*, by Way of Eminence, but THE LAWS†, as if it had absorbed all the rest: and in this Way it is generally mentioned by *Pomponius*, by *Justinian* himself, by *Tribonian*, and the other Lawyers.

THEN, it was not only called the *Marriage Law*, the *Julian*, the *Papian Poppæan*, and THE LAWS, but because of the many Forfeitures which by its Means *fell* to the Exchequer, it was likewise termed the *Lex Caducaria*, or the *Law of Forfeits*. The Estates, Bonds, Sums of Money, Slaves, in short, all Goods and Chattels that thus *fell* to the Crown, were called *Caduca*; which explains some Passages of the *Roman Satyrists*, that often puzzled their Commentators. But when *Julius Cesar's* impious Saying‡ was truly accomplished, when the Common-Wealth was indeed *reduced to Nothing*, and their absolute Lord was become *Proprietor* of all the Public Money; it then became preposterous to make *him* pay those Fines and Forfeitures, which were to be re-paid into his own Coffers: — Wherefore *Ulpian*, after reciting the various Heads of the Marriage-Laws, and particularly those enacting the Forfeitures in Case of Contravention, adds most naturally, *PRINCEPS Legibus solutus est*. — The Emperor is exempted from the *Marriage-Act*, or from the *Forfeitures* incurred by transgressing it. This is the evident Meaning of *Ulpian*; and a learned and lively *French Lawyer*, *Mr. Geoffroi*, though no Friend to Monarchy at the bottom, seems to have been a little tainted with the *Manners* of his enslaved Country, when he stretches an Exemption from the *Lex Caducaria*, or Statute of Forfeitures, to all the *positive Law* of the *Romans*; which is the more strange, as *Ulpian*, the Compiler, immediately adds, *that though the Empress be not exempted from these Laws* (by any Decree of the Senate), yet

VOL. III. A a a she

* *Gavisa est certe sublatam Cynthia Legem.*

Qua quondam edicta flemus uterque diu.

† Qui secundum præcepta Legum coeunt.

‡ Nihil esse REM-PUBLICAM.

she receives from her Consort the same Privileges which he himself enjoyed.

No Wonder this Law should meet with such Difficulties in its Passing, and afterwards prove so momentous in its Consequences. It was a severe Restraint upon those Passions which Men and Women have the least in their Power. It took Advantage, as it were, of the *Weak-Side* of Human Nature; and where Persons, in the Height of Life, have the least Command of themselves, it enjoined Abstinence under the severest Penalties.

THE Roman Law, like other Arts, was of *Grecian* Extract, having been brought Home by a solemn Embassy sent from the *Decemvirs* to all the famed States of *Greece*, out of whose Statutes they picked the most besitting their own Constitution, and composed the *Law* of the celebrated *Twelve Tables*. In this Composition, and particularly in adapting foreign Laws to *Roman* Manners, they are said to have been assisted by the famed Exile *Hermodorus*, who was actually banished by his Fellow Citizens for this *expressed* Reason; *That he was too good and too sober a Man*; with the Addition of this remarkable Clause, annexed to the Act of Banishment, *Let no one of our Citizens presume to be worthy or frugal: If he do, let him instantly remove to another Town.*—This Law, which only spoke out what most loose People think, passed in *Ephesus*, the Chief of the *Ionian* Towns, not more noted for the wonderful Temple of *Diana*, and for a Zeal, or Enthusiasm, in her Worship, scarce to be paralleled in History, than for Profusion and dissolute Manners.

EXCLUSIVE therefore of the Ordinances of *Romulus*, of the Statutes of *Servius* and the other Kings, if any were preserved; and of the occasional Decrees of the Fathers and prior Acts of the People, the *TWELVE TABLES* were the Basis of the *Roman* Law.—Its other Sources were, I. *SENATÛS CONSULTA*, *PLEBISCITA*, *LEGES*, which we should call *Decrees of the*

Lords,

Lords, Orders of the Commons, Statutes; II. *RESPONSA PRÆTORUM, Decisions of Judges in Office*; and III. *RESPONSA PRUDENTUM, or Decisions of Lawyers*, who, for the most Part, *had been Magistrates and Judges*. These three made up what was called *JUS CIVILE (the Civil-Law)* under the Commonwealth; to which was afterwards added, when the *Romans* were plunged in Slavery, the Sort of Law termed *RESPONSA PRINCIPUM, Decisions of the Princes*.—With these they had two other Kinds; I. *JUS PONTIFICUM*, answering to our *Canon Law*; and II. *Jus Feciale*, which we may translate *The Law of Nations*, exercised by the *Heralds of the State*.

SUCH was the pristine Severity of the *Romans*, that, like the ancient *Lacedemonians*, they thought Eloquence, and the persuasive Faculty, a dangerous and deceitful Thing. This was so late as *Carneades*, who gave high Offence to the old grave Men of the Senate, by speaking on both Sides of a Question, and raised a violent Itch of Imitation in the Young. They were of Opinion, that, as nothing ought to be so incorrupt as the Vote, or Sentence, of a Judge; it was hard to tell why he who perverted these by Money should be liable to Punishment, whilst he that did it by Eloquence was commended for his Talent. Nay, they justly thought the Man who biasses a Judge by Persuasion, worse than he who does it by a Bribe; for a good Man is not to be perverted by Gold,—by Persuasion he may*.

HIGH Eloquence must be fed like a Flame. It grows with Fuel, increases with Movement, and brightens the more violently it burns.—The Power of Genius keeps Pace with the Dignity of the Subject; nor can any Man make a noble and elevated Discourse in a mean and trifling Cause.—It was not the Speeches which *Demosthenes* made against his unfaithful Guardian, nor *Cicero's* Defence of *Archias* the Poet, that made

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either

either of them be esteemed great Orators. It was *Philip* and *Antony*, who crowned them with Glory.

OVID says, that the Virtue of Chastity began to decay in *Rome* in the Age of their Great-Grand-Fathers. To what a Pitch of Dissoluteness must they have come during all the Confusions intailed on the State by the Civil Wars! War breaks through all Order, and destroys Decency. While it rages, Men think lightly of Crimes, and Persons of some Character commit Things they would blush at in Times of Peace and good Policy. It now appeared that sound *Manners* are more powerful than penal *Laws*: For though the *Roman* Statute permitting Divorce had always been in Force; *Sp. Curvilius* was the first Man that took Advantage of it, 400 Years after the Foundation of the State.—But in this Age, both Men and Women carried the Abuse of that Statute to the most extravagant Height. They married with a View to divorce, and divorced in order to marry. Many of these Changes happened within the Year, especially if the Lady had a large Fortune, which always went with her, and procured her Choice of transient Husbands. The *Law* permitted it, and the *Regard to Decency*, which formerly restrained it, was gone. Can we imagine that the Fair-One, who changed her Husband every Quarter, strictly kept her matrimonial Faith all the three Months?—*Julius Cesar*, among other Excesses, had debauched the Wives of almost all the great Men of his Acquaintance, and was himself repaid in the same Manner by some of his own Minions. *Augustus* and *Antony's* Lewdness exceeded all Bounds;—and by the Time the former, in his VI. Consulship, bethought himself of turning *Censor*, and reforming the State, I do not say Modesty, but common Decency, was banished from the *Roman* Manners, and a general Profligacy reigned through the Empire. When such a Taste had gained a general Ascendancy, was it to be expected that Ladies

of

of the highest Rank, and living in other Respects in the greatest Luxury, would all prove Vestals,—would never listen to an artful Lover, nor take a Fancy for a handsome Gentleman?

If we may believe *Catullus*, writing to a Brother Poet *, *Julius Cæsar*, and his Master of Artillery, *Mamurra*, were the two first notorious Gallants in *Rome*, and were in the Height of their Debaucheries when *Pompey* was first made Consul.—But in the few Years that intervened between his first and famed second Consulship, the prolific Race, from two, had multiplied to two thousand.

From the End of the *Ælian* War, the Profusion and Pains of the *Romans* on their Table were extravagant and almost inconceivable.—*Lucullus* and *Hortensius* had led the Way ; but they were far out-stripped by their Successors.—The Connoisseurs in Eating said it was no Dinner, if, when you were feeding most to your Taste, the Dish was not suddenly taken away, and another, still better, set down in its Place. This was the Proof of Elegance among those who substituted Expence and Dainties instead of Pleasantry,—who say a Man of a fine Palate eats not the whole of any Bird but a *Becca-fico*,—that if any more than the Rumps of either Birds or Poultry be served up, it is a mean, sordid, Entertainment ;—That those who eat the Fore-parts of Fowls of any Kind have no Taste : And as for the other Parts of the Service, a Dining-Room was decked out with more Gold, Silver, and Purple, for the Reception of a few Men, than a Temple on a solemn Festival to the immortal Gods †.

LUXURY

* Ad CINNAM, CX.

† PHAVORIN. apud AUL. GELLIIUM, Lib. XV. cap. 8.

Fenestella, who lived under *Tiberius*, says that Silver Ornaments were first put upon a Buffet, or Side-Board, within his Memory.—Also those inlaid with Tortoise Shells.—Before that, the Buffets were of Wood, Citron, or Maple, round, or square, of no larger Size than the Table.—That first they began to put Knobs of Silver upon the Corners, then they covered all the Jointings, and

LUXURY was a Consequence of the Loss of their Liberty. Men must be employed ; and when excluded from better Business, they take to Trifling. Those who wrested their manly Employments out of their Hands, were generally careful to throw them a few Baubles or Play-Things, with which to amuse themselves like Children.—A *Roman*, who rose by five in the Morning, threw open his Gate to his Clients at six, minded his and their Affairs till nine, went down to the Forum at ten to attend public Business, then to his martial Exercises in the *Campus Martius* at three, which he continued till he went into the Bath before Supper, or rather Dinner ;—Such a Man would be of Consequence, however he applied his Talents in Peace or War.—But if his Son lay a-bed till ten, talked of Plays and Shews and Actresses till Noon, busied himself about his Dress, Equipage, and Appearance in the Theatre, and still more about the elegant Apparatus of his Supper ; he would prove a very tame, harmless Animal, and give his Superiors little Trouble.—Nor would he be much more significant, if he thought by Day, and dreamed by Night, of nothing else but making Verses.

It was not *Cesar's* Business entirely to suppress the general Humour of high Feasting. It was enough if he appeared moderate himself. His Friends and Favourites, *Mecenas*, *Curtius*, and especially *Vedius Pollio*, might live as wildly as they pleased.—Their Example would influence the young Nobility, who would of course become effeminate and worthless, and therefore incapable of giving any Disturbance to the Usurpation. For a young Patrician, though of the *Junian*,
Cassian,

at last made the whole of solid Silver, adorned with the most sumptuous imbossing and Sculptures.

L. Crassus, the celebrated Orator, was a Kind of Pattern to *Hortensius*.—He confessed that a great Part of his Silver Plate stood him in six thousand Sesterces, (48 l. 15 s.) the Pound, because of the Workmanship.—He had two Silver Goblets, engraved by *Mentor*, which he was ashamed to use, they having cost *C. Sestertius*, (812 l. 10 s.)

Cassian, or other Tyrant-killing Race, whilst occupied in contriving a Bill of Fare, intent on making Experiments of Sauces, or sitting up an elegant Dining-Room, had no Leisure for the Affairs of his Country.—And a great Part of *Cesar's* Skill consisted in *turning off* the Attention of the *Romans* from his Conduct and Designs, to amusing Objects of less Consequence.—Shall I do him an Injury, if I ascribe a Part of the Regard he shewed to Learning, and to learned Men, to the same Cause? His overflowing Bounty to Poets,—his Condescension to Declaimers,—his Indulgence to Players, Farce-Writers, Epigrammatists, and the meanest Retainers to the Muses—Nay, his sitting down, and writing with his own Pen, *Exhortations to study Philosophy*, while he was worming the *Romans* out of their Liberty, soothing the People with Shews and Donatives, and cajoling the Senate with fair Speeches and false Honours.—What, I say, can we judge of this Pageantry of Learning, but that it was one of those *Arts* of Government, which made him ask on his Death-Bed, Whether he had not well played his Part in the *Farce* of Life?

BUT whatever his Views were, the Protection and Encouragement he gave to Learning and its Professors carried it to a great Height, and has procured him the better Part of that Reputation, which he still enjoys among Men.

PLATO's Observation, upon his settling the Form of Government, that it highly imports Princes to purchase the good Opinion of their cotemporary Writers, who can transmit them to Posterity in what Colours they please, was never more verified than in *Cesar Augustus*. *Italy* and the *Roman Empire*, from the most flourishing populous State before the Civil Wars, was, by the Means of *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Cataline* and *Cesar*, his two bloody Colleagues, and his butchering Self, become a Scene of Horror and Desolation: Its thick-set Towns, swarming with a brave high-spirited People, its wide-spread Colonies, its numberless Villages, its stately Villas, its Vineyards.

and fertile Fields, were all lying waste and in Monuments of Ruin, without a Possibility of Recovery until they should be repossessed by a free People.—The Sword of JULIUS had passed through the Land :——The inhuman Proscriptions had gleaned up its Leavings; and the insatiate Veterans, having swallowed up Property, were a Dead-Weight on Improvement.—Thus it did, and must in the Nature of Things, continue during a Succession of Tyrants.—Yet so it is, that through the Charms cast over his Reign by two or three Men of public Genius, we speak of the AUGUSTAN AGE, not only as happy in the Purity of Language, which is but a little Circumstance in the Manners of a Nation, but as a Pattern of every Sort of national Felicity; as the flourishing happy Period of the *Roman* State, and the Completion of the Wishes of Mankind.

BUT instead of admiring the Elegance and Address with which the Men of Wit paid their Court to *Augustus*, it is matter of lamentation that such Men should have been under a Necessity of stooping to flatter a flagitious Youth.—Miserable Plight of their Country, when it was *requisite* and was the proper time to make such Compliments; and nothing is more ardently to be wished by a *British* Writer, than that it may never be fitting or prudent for him to deify the Prince, who, after murdering our best and greatest Men, should finally strip us of our Liberty.

THAT *Cesar* endeavoured to make the Republic flourish, after the *Alexandrian* Conquest, is undoubtedly true; and now that he was become the Master of *Romans*; he had the same Affection for them, as a *West-India* Planter has for his Negroes, whom he wishes to thrive, to behave orderly, and procreate, that they may increase his Property. But it was as much beyond his Power to restore it to its former State, as to put the Head up on the bloody Corpse of any of the great Men he had formerly murdered. The sole Measure that could have been

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any Species of Attonement, 'To restore *LIBERTY* to Rome,' when pressed to it by the noble-minded *Agrippa*, he utterly rejected. It is true he preserved a Spectre of it,—a Phantom that walked the Forum yearly, and frequented the Senate in its Shape, till even this Phantom was finally chased away by his Successor.—It is likewise true that he brought a false Splendor, an empty Shew of Wealth and Grandeur into the City; and that he and his Family built many a noble Pile, and encouraged others to do the same.—But all his boasted* Marble Structures put together were not worth the Life of one brave Inhabitant of the old brick Buildings, of whom he had massacred Thousands; and far less of the exalted Spirit that animated them, which his Cruelty first helped to break, and his Cunning finally extinguished.

APICIUS, a Youth of no mean Genius, and born to a vast Fortune (both which he sacrificed to the meanest of Pleasures, those of the Palate), openly professed the Kitchen-Science, and made good Eating the Business of his Life. He applied himself with as much Assiduity to make Experiments upon Sauces, try Mixtures, and examine Relishes, as ever a Chymist did to fix Mercury, find out the Philosopher's Stone, or produce a vivifying Ointment. All Kinds of Beasts, Birds, and Fishes, were brought to him from foreign Parts, and he investigated their Tastes with different Sauces, and different Dressing†. When he declared his Opinion of a Dish, it was received as decisive, and sacredly followed by all the polite Eaters of the *Augustan* Age.—*Augustus's* Favourite, *Fabius*, condescended to dine with *Apicius*, after he had been Consul: A Vase of Crystal, then very rare, happened to fall out of his Hand, while he was viewing it, and was broke. The Thoughts

VOL. III.

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of

* *Lateritiam inveni, marmoream reliqui.*

† A Treatise of Sauces, Preserves, and Cookery, is still extant under *Apicius's* Name. *Grævius* quotes it, *Lib. I. §. 28. et eod. Lib. §. 17. in Notis ad Sueton. Jul. Cæs. §. 58.*

of the high Price it bore kept him silent and anxious, in spite of all the Ease and Gaiety that *Apicius* could put on:—When at last, as if in a Passion, What! *Fabius*, said he, will you spoil our Mirth, because you have done, against your Will, what many of my Slaves, bought with my Money, do through meer Heedlessness?—Chear up, and take your Part in our Joy, which is of more Value than an hundred Vases. His Luxury will receive a Lustre from the sumptuary Laws even of *Augustus's* making. That Prince, among his other Cares, endeavoured to put a Stop to the *Roman* Profusion in their Eating. By a *Julian* Law, the Expence of an ordinary Family Dinner was limited to *two hundred HS.* 1 l. 12 s. 6 d. A Holy-Day's Dinner, *three hundred*, 2 l. 8 s. 9 d. And a Marriage Dinner, or any great Entertainment, *a thousand HS.* 8 l. 2 s. 6 d. which last, as *Rome* grew richer, he found himself obliged to double; and consequently to allow 16 l. 5 s. for the Expence of extraordinary Occasions.

BESIDES his other Regulations for the Benefit of the State, *Augustus* revived the Law *Cincia*. (so called from the Tribune *Cincius*, who first proposed it), by which Lawyers were forbid to receive either Money or Presents from their Clients: with the now farther additional Clause, that whoever violated it should forfeit four times the Value of what he had received. He likewise forbid Judges from paying any Visits during the Year they were in Office; enforced the Penalties against Bribery, which was become very prevalent, especially at Elections; and doubled the Mulct of such Senators as neglected to attend the Meetings of their Body, unless they could shew very sufficient Cause for their Absence.

NUMBERS, particularly among the luxurious and debauched, complained of this too great Severity, as they called it.—To drown their Murmurs, *Augustus* had recourse to the never-failing Expedient of treating the Multitude with Corn and Shews:—And, indeed, he himself was always fond of theatrical

trical Entertainments. He would spend Hours together, nay, sometimes even whole Days at them, as intent upon what was doing, as the idlest Man that was there. The Dictator *Cesar* had been blamed for reading his Letters, making Notes, and answering Petitions, during these Representations, the Futility of which could afford no great Satisfaction to a Mind like his. *Augustus* thought it more popular to do like the Rest of the Spectators *; nor did he disown that the Performances themselves took up most of his Attention.—His Motive for multiplying them was of a more serious Nature. They fed the Curiosity of a restless People, engrossed their Thoughts, and made them forget all Affairs of State, in which they had formerly had so great a Share.

THIS was the Meaning of a very judicious saying of *Pylades* the Pantomime. *Pylades* and *Bathyllus* were rival Actors, and shared the Favour of the Multitude, who would contend for the superior Excellence of one or the other of them, with as much Warmth as they ever did for *Cesar* and *Pompey* in the Time of the Republic. They grew proud upon it; and *Pylades* being one Day hissed by a Person of the opposite Faction, pointed him out with his Finger, to shew those of his own Party on whom to revenge themselves. He was immediately banished the City and *Italy*; not more for his Misdemeanor, than to humour *Mecenas*, who was particularly fond of *Bathyllus*. He was, however, soon recalled, and when he appeared before *Augustus* †, the Prince recommended to him to behave better for the future, and not to attempt to make any Parties or Factions. “*Cesar*, said the Player, “it is of Service to you, to have the People busied “about *Bathyllus* and me.”——*Augustus* was sensible of it; and for that Reason was always lavish of every Kind of theatrical Amusements, Plays in *Greek* and *Latin*, Races in the Circus, Combats of Gladiators and Wrestlers, Curiosities from foreign Countries; and he was careful to keep up a Spirit of Emula-

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tion, by giving Rewards to the Players or Combatants who distinguished themselves.—*Pylades*, who was the greatest Tragedian of the Age *, and whose Scholar *Bathyllus* was, first introduced the Pantomime Dances † into *Rome*. His Manner was elaborate, majestic, and affecting. *Bathyllus* was gay and easy.

SEVERAL Stories are told of *Bathyllus*, under the Name of *Hylas*. Whether it was his scenical Name, or a Nick-Name given him in Allusion to *Hercules's* Boy, I cannot say: But *Suetonius* tells us ‡, that *Augustus*, upon a Complaint made against him by the Governor of *Rome*, ordered him to be publicly whipped in the Court of the Palace. This, I judge, must have happened either before *Hylas's* Favour with *Mecenas*, or after the Death of that Minister.

THE three most famous Ladies of Pleasure in *Rome* were *Origo*, *Cytheris* or *Lycoris*, and *Arbuscula*. *Lycoris* is *Virgil's* poetic Name for *Cytheris* the *Mima*; for they all belonged to the Stage.—*Arbuscula* happened once to displease the greater Part of the Audience, who hissed; but the Nobility, either able to see no Fault in so beautiful a Creature, or discovering in her Action some Graces too fine for the Vulgar, endeavoured to drown the Hiss by clapping: Upon which she turned to the Audience, and told them, That while she had the Applause of those Boxes, pointing to the Seats where the Knights sat, she valued not all the Rest.—*Marseus* spent his whole Fortune upon *Origo*.

THE *Romans* had the greatest Part of their Artists and Men-
of

* MACROB. Saturnal. Lib. II. c. 7.

† The ancient Actors used to sing themselves: But *Pylades* first made a Chorus perform the Song, whilst he represented the Passions and Characters (a).

There is a fine Altar, with a very honourable Inscription, to *Pylades's* Memory, published by *Gruter*, p. 1024. of *Grævius's* Edition, or rather *Burman's*, after *Grævius's* Death.

‡ In Octav. §. XLV.

(a) EUSEB. CÆS. Chronicon.

of Science from Greece: But the Ministers of their Pleasures, that is the most effeminated of the *Grecians*, came chiefly from *Asia*. It was the Custom when Slaves were brought over for Sale, to whiten their Feet with Chalk before they were exposed in the Market. In this Plight, *Publius Syrus*, the Founder of the *mimic* Stage (a loose Sort of Farce, representing an amorous Adventure), with his Countryman and Cousin, *Manlius Antiochus*, the Professor of Astrology, and *Staberius Eros* the Grammarian, came all over in the same Ship.—These were Men who, through some Desert in Learning, rose above their original Fortune.—But the *Romans* likewise saw stand in the Slave-Market, with chalky Feet, *Chysogonus*, the Freed-Man of *Sylla*; *Amphion*, of *Quintus Catullus*; *Hero*, of *L. Lucullus*; *Demetrius*, of *Cn. Pompey*; and *Auge*, (Mrs. *Bright*,) of *Demetrius*, though it was believed she rather belonged to his Master.—These, with *M. Antony's Hipparchus*, *Sex. Pompey's Menas* and *Menecrates*, and many others, they afterwards saw enriched with the Blood of the *Romans* in the licentious Proscriptions*.

THE Theatre and Circus became the Object of the chief Attention, and consequently the great Curse of *Rome*.—Idleness, trifling Amusements, Tumblers, Dancers, Races, wild Beasts, occupied the Minds of those who had been wont to think of Honours, Triumphs, and laborious Virtue.—*Augustus* saw it his Interest to indulge them in these empty Shews, and by their Influence to amuse and enervate a martial People. He obtained his Wish.—In a few Generations, *Panem & Circenses* became their sole Care and Wish.—The Games were the grand Subject of Conversation, of the Attention of the Prince, and Amusement of the People. *Martial's* little Poems addressed to *Domitian* run almost wholly upon the Wonders of his amphitheatrical Shews, with here and there a disingenuous Compliment on his Heroism.

THIS

* C. PLIN. Nat. Hist. Lib. XXXIV. §. 16, 17.

THIS Corruption of Taste was chiefly owing to the Prosperity of the *Romans*. Their being accustomed to see Triumphs, and all that was greatest and most gorgeous in the World exposed in them, made them delight in the same Kind of Entertainment in their Plays: Nor was this Taste ever more encouraged than immediately before *Horace*.—At *Pompey's* Games, the Decorations and Shew were so great, that they made the Plays and Poems be but little minded. In the Morning of the first Day, the common *Mimes* * were represented: The rest of the Day, a Comedy and a Tragedy, picked out and ordered by *Sp. Mæcius*. Old *ÆSOP*, who had left the Stage many Years, returned and played on this Occasion, in Honour of *Pompey*; but his Voice failed him, so that he was obliged to give over †. Among the rest *CLYTEMNESTRA* was acted, in which about six hundred Mules made Part of the Shew; and the *Trojan Horse* was accompanied by three thousand *Arceræ* or covered Chariots. After this, all Kind of military Spectacles were exhibited ‡, with Horse and Foot, and Skirmishes between

* What they were, *Ovid* will inform us very minutely.

Quid si scripsissem Mimos, obscæna jocantes,

Qui semper vetiti crimen amoris habent?

In quibus assidue cultus procedit adulter;

Verbaque dat stulto callida Nupta viro.

Nubilis hos Virgo, Matronaque, Virque, Puerque

Speculat: et è magnâ parte Senatus adest.

Nec satis incestis temerari Vocibus aures:

Adfuescunt Oculi multa pudenda pati.

Cumque fesellit Amans aliqua novitate maritum,

Plauditur, et magno palma favore datur.

TRIST. Lib. II.

† This old Gentleman dressed up a Dish of Singing-Birds, which stood him in 4143 l. 10 s.—He had a Son who did not degenerate. He was left with a great Estate; and meaning to live well, he would try what was the Flavour of a Pearl dissolved in Vinegar: Finding it very delicious, he gave an Entertainment, where every Guest had a Pearl given him, as the finest Draught he could regale them with (a).

‡ SUTTON.

(a) PLIN. Lib. IX. c. 35.

between them. Foreign Pieces succeeded, of the *Oscan* and *Greek Drama*; and foreign Shews, such as the Wrestlers and Boxers, which then first appeared in *Rome*. Then two Matches of Hunting, which lasted for five Days, extremely magnificent. In the first, Criminals were exposed to the fiercest Animals; and in the next, Stags and Boars were killed by the most expert Huntsmen in *Rome*. On the last Day, the Elephants were exposed, and gave great Delight to the Mob, but caused Pity and Compassion to others, and raised an Opinion that there was a Kind of Friendship between that Creature and Man.

THE Consulship of *C. Furnius* and *C. Junius Silanus*, in the DCCXXXV. Year of *Rome*, was distinguished by the Birth of a second Son to *Agrippa* and *Julia*, who was named *Lucius Augustus*, to whom it was of Consequence to shew to the Public Successors destined to inherit his Authority, hastened to adopt his Grand-children, though the eldest could not be more than three Years old, and the youngest was but just born. In this Adoption, he adhered closely to the most solemn Forms of the *Roman Law*, and insisted on their Father *Agrippa's* making over to him, by a Kind of Sale, his Right to the Infants, to whom he thereupon gave his own Name, in Consequence of which they were called *CAIUS CESAR* and *LUCIUS CESAR*.—He likewise celebrated this Year the *Secular Games*, recorded in *Horace's* fine Poem on that Subject, and sung by a double Chorus, the one of Boys, and the other of young Girls.

Two Nobles, of very illustrious Names, *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the former of whom was Son-in-Law to *Octavia*, and Grand-Father to the Emperor *Nero*, and the latter related to *Augustus*, being the Son of *Scribonia*, and consequently Half-Brother to *Julia*, were Consuls for the Year DCCXXXVI, in which some hostile Motions of the *Germans* determined *Augustus* to take a Journey
into

into *Gaul*. These Motions were the Beginning of a very important War; the only considerable one, that, properly speaking, happened under *Augustus*:—For his chastising a few Barbarians, who, merely from their natural Ferocity, sometimes took up Arms, and were speedily quelled, without any remarkable or interesting Incident, scarcely deserves to be noticed even in History:—Much less does it come within the Scope of these *Memoirs*.—*Augustus*'s own Maxim, when he read either the *Greek* or the *Latin* Authors, was*, to dwell chiefly on what might be a Lesson or Example to him; either in the Administration of public Affairs, or in his own private Conduct. The rest seemed little worthy his Attention.—Naturally fond of Peace, he made the whole Universe enjoy a happy Tranquillity, by keeping the *Romans* quiet. A plain Proof that *Rome* herself ought to be accused of those perpetual Wars, which, from her very Birth, had, at one Time or other, set her at enmity with every Nation in the known World. The Ambition of the *Roman* People, and of their Generals, fond of distinguishing themselves by great Exploits, and of meriting triumphal Honours, often provoked them to seek War, where otherwise it would not have been. The Truth of this Observation is confirmed by the long Calm under the succeeding Emperors, who, though widely different from *Augustus* in other Respects, resembled him in his Indifference for Conquests.

SOME of those *profound* Politicians who find out *mysterious* Reasons for whatever *Princes* do, imputed *Augustus*'s Journey to particular Views, independant of the *German* War. According to them, embarrassed by the Difficulty of making the *Romans* observe the Laws he had just enacted, perplexed by the Murmurs which arose whenever an Attempt was made to put them in Execution with Severity, and ashamed to recede from

* In evolvendis utriusque linguæ Auctoribus, nihil æquè sectabatur, quam præcepta & exempla publicè vel privatim salubria. SÆT. Aug. §. LXXXIX.

from that Severity in Favour of particular Persons, he resolved to imitate *Solon*, who, after giving a Set of Laws to *Athens*, departed from thence and travelled for ten Years. Others, more *caustic*, assigned him a far less honourable Motive; the Conveniency of indulging himself in his Amours with *Mecenas's* Wife *Terentia*, his Intimacy with whom was no Secret in *Rome*. His taking her with him, as *Dion Cassius* says he did, was not the Way to silence slanderous Reports.

HOWEVER, *Mecenas* was of the Journey, and *Agrippa* was ordered into *Syria*, from whence *Tiberius* was returned. *Augustus* was consequently obliged to look out for one in whom he could confide, to govern the City in his Absence. He first pitched upon *MESSALA* *, whose Birth, Virtue, Abilities, and Attachment to the Emperor, rendered him extremely well qualified for that important Trust:—But he, naturally mild, brought up in republican Maxims, and a great Respector of the Laws, did not think himself fit to hold a despotic Authority, which, though nominally civil, was carried on in an almost military Manner †, and accordingly resigned it after a few Days. He was succeeded by *STATILIUS TAURUS*, a Man of great Bravery, brought up in Arms, indebted to the new Government for almost all his Fortune, and strictly conformable to the Will of the Prince, who had already conferred on him the Consular Dignity, and Triumphal Honours. *Taurus* possessed this high

VOL. III.

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* *TACIT. Annal. Lib. VI. II. EUSEB. Chron.*

† The Prefect of *Rome*, or, in other Words, the Governor of the City, (an Office, which, under the Name of *Præfectus Prætorii*, came in its natural Course, to swallow up all the Rest), was, in reality, a new Office, but erected under the Appellation of an old Magistracy. For the better and more decent Celebration of certain Festivals, particularly those termed the *Latin Games*, a *Præfct.* of the City was appointed, who was the lowest Magistrate that had the Power of calling and holding a Senate (a). But *Cæsar* put all the military Power into his Hand, to suppress Riots, quell Tumults, and seize whom he pleased;—though he gave him only the Name of the old Magistrate.

(a) *M. VARRO, ap A. GELL. Lib. XIV.*

Office till his Death, and behaved in it entirely to *Augustus's* Satisfaction.

TERENTIA, who was likewise called LICINIA, from the Conjunction (I suppose) of the *Licinian* and *Terentian* Families, had all the Accomplishments of Body and Mind fit to raise, and, which is harder, to preserve a tender Passion. She was lovely in her Person, lively and gay in her Temper, with a pretty large Dash of Wildness, and frequent Sallies, which served as Foils to set off her other Charms.—Languid Equality, Sameness of Person, like a Statue, and an unvaried Temper, bordering on Stupidity, are the Bane of a flattering Passion, which consists in a Succession of Desires mixed with a little Inquietude.—I speak of what is, and not of what ought to be :—Of the Manners produced by Wantonness and Luxury ;—not by Wisdom and sound Morality. From *these*, a settled mutual Fondness, founded on Esteem, and fed by Virtue, diffuses unruffled Joy throughout the whole of Life.—Gentle Quarrels, soon appeased,—tender Piques, quickly cured,—Caprice, and even a Spice of female Extravagance, not pushed too far, were all necessary to rouse the supine *Mecenas*, and attach him to the wild bewitching Woman, who sometimes with, and often without Reason, was threatening to leave him, and who often did actually send him a Divorce.

LICINIA and OCTAVIA were just opposite Characters. LIVIA kept a Sort of political Middle :—Not so capricious as the one, or so strict and stayed as the other. Unblemished in the substantial Part of her own Conduct, she could smile at the Frailties of her male and female Friends. In the first Years of her married Life, one might frequently, like the playful *Villiers*, have gone to seek for a Nurse among her Maids of Honour. With Respect to her Husband, she carried this Complaisance to a high Pitch * : For, if we may believe the scandalous Chronicle of the Times, she could not only indulge

* Uxor facilis. TACIT.

her *Cesar* in a known Amour with *Licinia*, without once repining; but condescended to enter the Lists of Beauty with her, and appear before him in the same Plight as the three Goddesses did to *Paris* on Mount *Ida*.

AUGUSTUS was scarcely gone, when some pretended Prodigies happened at *Rome*, on Account of which the Senate ordered public Prayers for his happy Return;—as if his Presence was to have been their Safe-guard even against the Anger of Heaven. However, the Affairs of *Gaul*, and the Disturbances apprehended from the *Germans*, detained him all that Year and the two following.

He had not been long in *Gaul*, when great Complaints were made to him against the Intendant of that Country, one *Licinius*, a Native of the Place, who, from the abject Condition of *Cesar's* Slave, had obtained his Freedom, and insinuated himself into *Augustus's* Favour so far as to be promoted to this Employment, which rendered the whole Province in a Manner dependent on him. The enormous Power which these Imperial Freed-Men acquired in the Empire, was one of the fatal Consequences of the Change of Government.

THIS Upstart, still retaining all the groveling Sentiments of his former Station, and intoxicated by a Fortune he was not born to possess, abused most insolently the Power he was intrusted with. He took a malicious Pleasure in humbling and crushing those in whose Presence he would before have trembled, and wearied out the *Gauls* by the most horrid Oppressions. *Dion Cassius* gives us an Instance of his Rapaciousness. —As the Taxes were levied and paid by Months, this Wretch, taking Advantage of the new Names given to two Months of the Year, *July* and *August*, made a Year of fourteen Months, and raised fourteen Assessments instead of twelve.

AUGUSTUS was grieved for the unhappy Sufferers, and ashamed that he had employed such a Wretch. Approaching Ruin threatened *Licinius*, and it was thought he could not

possibly escape Punishment. But the tyrannical Oppressor had Recourse to an Expedient too often, and too successfully, practised since on similar Occasions. Taking the Prince into the Place where his Treasure was, and shewing him vast Heaps of Money, "Behold," said he, "*Cesar* ! what I have collected for you, at the Hazard of my Life. I think I have done you a Service in stripping the *Gauls* of their Riches, which they cannot now make use of to rebel against you. Take this Gold and Silver :——I never designed it for any other Purpose than to put it into your Hands." *Augustus* was weak enough to be dazzled with the Booty : Interest got the better of Justice ; and the Fruit of *Licinius's* Crimes procured his Pardon.

LICINIUS deserves to have for his Companion a Man like him as to Fortune and Riches, but beyond him in Inhumanity : The famous *P. Vedius Pollio*, originally a Slave, afterwards emancipated, and, by Dint of Money, made a *Roman Knight*, carried Luxury to its greatest Height :——But what renders him particularly odious, is his monstrous Cruelty to his Slaves *. He kept Lampreys in a Pond, where he fed them with human Flesh ; and the ordinary Punishment inflicted on his Slaves, even for trivial Faults, was to have them thrown, Hands and Legs tied together, into that Pond, to feed those voracious Animals.——Yet this barbarous Wretch was numbered among *Cesar's* Friends.

ONE Day that the Emperor dined at his House, a Slave happened to break a Crystal Bowl, and was immediately condemned to be thrown to the Lampreys. The poor Fellow threw himself at *Augustus's* Feet, imploring, not Life, but a less shocking Death †. *Augustus* interceded for him ; but such was *Vedius's* Insolence, that he refused the Prince's Request. *Augustus*, thereupon, ordered all the Crystal Vases that were upon

upon the Side-Board to be brought, and himself broke every one of them directly. A Lesson so well timed mortified *Vedius*, and saved the Slave.

ANTIENTLY Masters might do with their Slaves what they pleased, and while they were temperate and wise themselves, they used them with Moderation. But when, with the Loss of the Simplicity and primitive Innocence of their Manners, Instances of Cruelty and Barbarity began to break out, it was thought fit to put some Curbs upon their unruly Passions, by retrenching their Power. And first, it was provided by Law, that no Master should be cruel to a Slave, without Cause; that no Violence should be offered to their Chastity; that they should not be refused a competent Subsistence; and a particular Judge was appointed to hear and determine all Complaints of that Nature *. Then it was forbidden to expose them in the Theatre to fight with wild Beasts †. Next, the Power of putting a Slave to Death in any Shape, or upon any Account, was entirely taken out of the Master's Hands, and lodged in the publick Judge ‡; and the famous and merciful *Antoninus Pius* appointed Punishments for Masters who treated their Slaves with uncommon Harshness §. But the *Jus Vitæ et Necis*, 'The Power of Life and Death,' was still in the Master, under *Augustus*.

VEDIUS died in the Year of Rome, DCCXXXVII. (*M. Livius Drusus Libo*, and *L. Calpurnius Piso* being Consuls), and made *Augustus* his Heir. Among other Things, he left him the famous Villa called *Pausilype*, near *Naples*; and directed, by his Will, that the Emperor should erect some public Building with Part of his Money. *Augustus* ordered *Vedius's* Town-House to be pulled down, and built, on the Place where it had stood, a noble Portico, which he called, not after the Name of

* SENECA, de Benef. Lib. III.
Regul. L. II. D. ad l. Corn. de Sicar.
§ CAII Instit. Lib. I. Tit. III.

† MODESTINUS, L. VI.
‡ SPARTIAN. in ADRIAN.

Two Colonies were founded to preserve Tranquility; *Drusomagus*, (now *Memmingen* in *Suabia*), in the Territory of the *Rheti*, and *Augusta* (*Augsbourg*), in the Country of the *Vindelici*.

IN *Gaul*, *Augustus* founded a Colony at *Autun*, then called *Augustodunum*, the same with *Bibracte*, the Capital of the *Eduans*, who were the oldest Allies the *Romans* had in that Country. This was, probably, his Inducement for making it the Seat of Letters, the *Athens* of *Gaul*. He restored its School, and established in it Professors of Eloquence and Literature, in order to procure to the *Gauls* the only Advantage they then wanted, that of Learning.—Policy might likewise have its Share in this Act of Liberality:—For *Cesar*, who was himself a Man of Letters, was thoroughly sensible how much Learning contributes to soften the Tempers of Men, to render them more docile and tractable, and more susceptible of due Impressions of Submission and Obedience. His Views succeeded. The *Gauls* acquired the Manners of the *Romans* at the same Time as they learnt their Knowledge. They not only remained peaceable, but grew affectionate to the Empire; and to this the School of *Autun* contributed not a little. It flourished three Ages after, under *Constantine* and his Children.—*Julius Sacrovir*, who made a noble Effort to rescue his Countrymen the *Gauls* from the Tyranny of *Tiberius*, and at last put an End to his own Life when he was irretrievably over-powered in the unequal Struggle, found in this City, as *Tacitus* informs us *, the whole Flower of the young *Gallic* Nobility, assembled there to study the fine Arts, and made them Hostages for the Fidelity of their Parents.—This seems to authorize a Tradition, still current in *France* †, that, before the *Romans* entered *Gaul*, the *Druids* educated the Youth of that Country at *Autun*, and had a Place of Residence there, upon an Eminence to this Day called *Mont-Dru*, the *Druid's Mount*.—The celebrated

celebrated Orator *Eumenius*, a Native of *Athens*, was Professor of Eloquence at *Autun*, and bestowed upon repairing and endowing its Academy the whole of his Salary, which was six hundred thousand Sesterces a Year, (4875 l.) as *chief Remembrancer*, (*Magister Memoriae*) to the Emperor *Constantius*, about the Middle of the XI. Century.

THE Inhabitants of *Cyzicus*, who had been deprived of their Franchises six Years before, were now restored to their former Privileges.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS AUGUR, Consul for the Year DCCXXXVIII. with *M. Licinius Crassus*, Grandson of the famous *Crassus*, was in the same Situation as many others of the Nobility, impoverished by the civil Wars. Without Parts or Talents to recommend him, he presented himself to *Augustus*, upon the bare Strength of his being descended from an ancient and noble Family, but poor. *Augustus* loaded him with Wealth; and *Lentulus*, who was extremely covetous, managed so that he soon became possessed, or, to speak more properly, was the Keeper of four hundred Millions of Sesterces (3,212,500 l.) What was very remarkable, is, that he did not think himself much obliged to *Augustus*; but, having a great Opinion of his own Genius for Eloquence, complained that the Emperor had done him more Hurt by taking him from his Studies, than good by his Liberalities:—Though he was so dull and heavy, that, covetous as he was, says *Seneca*, one might sooner have got Money out of him, than Words*. His Riches, amassed with the utmost Anxiety, cost him his Life under *Tiberius*†.

SOME *inauspicious Omen*, as it was called, having happened at the Nomination of the Curule Ediles for this Year, a new Election was ordered, according to Custom; and, which there

VOL. III.

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* Quum esset avarissimus, nummos citius emittebat, quam verba.

† Suet. Tib. §. XLIX.

never had been any Example of before, the very Persons who had been set aside, were re-elected.

If any one should gravely ask, How it was possible for great and Wise Men to be governed in Matters of Importance, by such silly Accidents as most of these Omens were? I must acknowledge that, in *Speculation*, it is hardly to be accounted for: But if we reflect upon the *Practice* of Men, and take as impartial a View of some *important* Rites solemnly sanctified, and now used, if not among ourselves, at least among some of our Neighbours, as we do of the *Roman* Rats and Owls; I believe the Fact will appear less improbable, I do not say less ridiculous, than many imagine it to be.—I need not instance the *Portuguese* throwing an Image of *St. Anthony* into a Well, when they want Rain.—It is certain, in the first Place, that *Custom*, ancient *national Custom*, has strong Influence, and inclines the greatest Minds, if not in its Favour, at least to treat it with Decency and good Manners. In the next Place, so powerful and transforming a Virtue has that one single Idea of Divinity, Saintship, or *Numenship*, that, join it to the silliest Custom, or most abject Thing on Earth, it changes it in a Moment, fascinates the human Sight, and so metamorphoses the Object or Action, that the real Nature of it is never seen or considered, nor its natural Import, and genuine Tendency, examined.—Though it grovelled before in the Dirt, was odious, childish, or inhuman, it now stands in an awful, venerable Light, is surrounded with Glory and Brightness, being connected with Heaven, and consequently may draw its Wrath upon us if neglected, or procure its Favour if regarded. How else should it ever have happened that such Men as *Emilius Paulus*, *Tiberius Gracchus*, or the wise and learned *Lelius*, should have been directed in the Exercise of their Magistracies by these Puerilities? They thought them *sacred* Matters.

BUT

BUT in case any one who may have been attentive to this Part of the *Roman* History should insist, that soon after *Lelius's* Time, nay while he was alive, the *Epicurean* and *Academic* Philosophy had gained some Footing in *Rome*, the one of which taught them to doubt, and the other to deny, the Religion of their Country, and that, in effect, the next Age produced a Race of Men, who, in their own private Opinions, could not bring themselves to believe either in their *Auspices* or *Auguries*, and yet both taught and practised them, and courted the Dignities to which the Practice and Profession of them were annexed; —To this, I have but an odd Sort of Answer to give;—That these Ancients, like a young Gentleman, who said once in a dishonourable Love-affair, that he had *two Souls*, seem, in religious Matters, to have had *two Understandings*; one for themselves, an unruly, self-conceited, opiniative Thing, that can hardly be governed, or persuaded that *two* and *three* make *five*; and another for the *Public*, of the most docile, submissive, complacent, conforming Temper, imaginable.—If this does not satisfy, I can only subjoin one of their greatest Men's Apology for himself, for not believing a Tittle of all the various Kinds of Divination, either by Haruspices, Augury, Prophecy, Dreams, Lots, Prodigies, or any other Part of that received Doctrine, at the same Time that he had the Direction of it, and was himself a Priest.

IN a select Company of the first Men in *Rome*, either for Honour or Learning, the Conversation happened to turn upon the Nature of their Gods, and consequently the Truth of their Religion. They were all of them well skilled in the *Grecian* Philosophy; but, at the same Time, had chosen different *Religions*, that is, opposite *Sects*, according to their several Inclinations. Among them was *C. Velleius*, a great Admirer of the Doctrine of *Epicurus*; *Lucilius Balbus*, a severe Stoic; and the noble and eloquent *Caius Cotta*, who seemed inclined to the old Academy, or a moderate Sort of Scepticism, which

permits not its Disciples to affirm any Thing but what they are certain of, and then shews them *that* is but little. *Velleius* run over the *Epicurean* Notions of the Creation of the World, and of Providence, with much Vivacity and Learning; and these Notions were examined, and even a little ridiculed by *Cotta*, as crude inconsistent Schemes contrived by *Epicurus*, only to screen himself from the Odium of not believing there were any Gods at all. Upon this, *Lucilius*, a Man of singular Gravity and Virtue, encouraged by the Laugh at *Epicurus*, undertook to establish the Truth of their Existence; shewed their Power and Prefence in many Instances both among the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and demonstrated, as he thought, their Providence in the Government of the World: After which, he requested *Cotta*, whose doubting Academic Principles he was still somewhat afraid of, to consider well what Part he was to take in the Sequel of the Conversation, and to remember both his Station as first Citizen of *Rome*, and his Dignity as High-Priest: *It being*, added he, *wicked and impious to reason against the Existence of the Gods, whether it be done from Conviction, or to shew Abilities in managing an Argument.*

COTTA, smiling, answered, That he had all the Regard in the World for his Counsel, and would certainly follow it as far as his REASON would allow: But that he did not rightly comprehend some Points of his Discourse, and therefore begged Leave to propose his Doubts, and to intreat him to remove them: That as to the latter Part of his Advice, “to remember his Station and Office,” he took the Meaning of it to be, that he, as a *Roman* Priest and Citizen, ought to adopt the Opinions handed down by their religious Ancestors concerning the immortal Gods, and stand up for their Rites, Ceremonies, and Worship. “Let me, *Lucilius*, said he, assure you, that I hitherto have defended, and always will defend them:—Neither shall the Reasoning of any Man, be he learned or illiterate, ever make me vary from the sacred Model transmitted to us from our

Fore-

Fore-fathers :—For when the Practice of Religion is the Point in Question, I have *T. Coruncanius*, *P. Scipio*, *P. Scævola*, noble Romans and High-Priests, to take my Instructions from, —not from *Cleanthes*, *Chrysogonus*, or *Zeno*, the Heads of the Grecian Sects of Philosophy :—And I have the mild *P. Lælius*, the Augur, justly surnamed the *Wise*, to whom I had rather listen in that fine Discourse which he published upon Religion, than to any of the leading Men of the most celebrated Schools. —And to shew you my real Opinion concerning our Religion, which comprehends two Parts, *Rites* and *Auspices*, to which may be joined, as a third, the Interpretation of the *Sibylline* Verses, and the Predictions of the Haruspices from Portents and Prodigies at different Times, there is not a single Particle of all the three, which I ever thought was to be neglected or despised. On the contrary, I most firmly believe that our two great Founders, ROMULUS by Auspicy, and NUMA by appointing our Rites and Sacrifices, laid the Foundations of our State, which could never have risen to the glorious Height it has since attained, without the highest Favour of the immortal Gods.—These, *Lucilius*, are my Sentiments, as a Roman, and as a Priest.”

It must be acknowledged that false Religions have been of so great Use to the Founders of States, that few remarkable Establishments of that Kind have been made without their Influence.—But I believe it rarely happens after a State is well settled, when it is governed by wholesome Laws, and able of itself to cope with its Neighbours, that the high Prevalency of the religious Spirit contributes much to its Tranquility. A false Zeal is the constant Companion of such a Spirit; and that Zeal must have some proper Object upon which to wreak its Fury;—some supposed heavenly Doctrine to introduce, or heretical one to eradicate;—some religious Rite to reform; or, which is much better Business, some godless Crew of Infidels to convert to its peculiar Faith, or else extirpate them from the

Face of the Earth.—When deprived of these, its favourite and most natural Objects to vent itself upon, like other Passions it is apt to seek others in their Stead, and rather than be quiet (which is Death to *high Zeal*), it will make the Form or Colour of a holy Vestment, the bowing to the East or West, the Crook of a Pastoral Staff, or some such important Point, the Ground-Work of its Operations, and settle such *weighty* Institutions by Fire and Sword.

WHILE the *Roman* State paid a great Regard to the Institutions of *Numa*, and at the same Time did not stoop to the Superstition they produced in weak Minds, it flourished exceedingly, and the *Aruspices*, the *Augurs*, and the whole Train of venerable *Flamens* were of real Service to the Government. While such great and good Men as *Paulus Emilius* and *Mucius Scævola* could prefer a Decree of the *Roman* Senate to an *Egyptian* Revelation, though in high Vogue and supported by many well-believed Miracles, there was little Hazard of their Religion's leading them far astray from the public Good.—But when the ancient Religion of their Country came to be despised, and foreign uncouth Deities were received and worshipped;—when *Slavery* had entailed *Superstition* (one of the accursed Shoots of that bitter Root), and *Superstition* came in its Turn to support its baneful Parent;—then every Thing great or valuable was effaced in *Rome*. For a Prince, or governing Assembly, blinded with any *Superstition*, have their Minds directed to strange unaccountable Measures; their Views are taken off from the plain natural Happiness of a State, depending upon the Numbers of an industrious, frugal, and free People, and are led to odd unnatural Methods of procuring supernatural Blessings.—When an Army is going upon a dangerous Attack, it is not giving an *Agnus Dei* to every Officer, or, had they so many, to every common Soldier, that will gain a Victory, or keep any one of them from being knocked on the Head. The *Armada*, vainly called *invincible*, though loaded

loaded with them, became the Sport of the Winds, and the Prey of Sir *Francis Drake*.

WE are apt to laugh at the Aruspicy and Augury of the Ancients, as idle and utterly unworthy of People of Sense.— Yet if we observe the Conduct of most Men, we shall find them take very silly Accidents for Predictions, or Omens, Signs and Warnings of Providence, and in consequence thereof, be as inconsistent in their Actions, as any of those Ancients with whom they find so much Fault:— Might not one of those, whose Religion we now despise, very justly say to us, “ Why do you, Gentlemen, Believers in *modern* Miracles, refuse Belief to our Gods, or to the *ancient* Miracles recorded; since you have all the Evidence *History* can afford (and what more have you, or can you have for any Thing past,) that these Miracles were really wrought, and that the Oracles and Prophecies uttered from their Shrines, were truly accomplished ?” — The only good Answer that occurs to me, is, That if you believe an Oracle given concerning the ordinary Events of human Affairs, you always assist, and frequently yourself bring about the Accomplishment of it. — Had not *Codrus*, the noble Prince who sought Death for his Country, firmly believed the *Pythian* Oracle, he probably would not have been killed: — And if the *Lacedemonians* had not believed the same Oracle, they might probably have carried on the War, after his Death, with greater Success than before. — *Belief*, or Opinion, is the grand Spring of Action. To be able to infuse and model it at Pleasure, is high Authority, and the next Step to absolute Power. No Wonder some of the Ancients made it THE GREAT MERIT in some of their Religious Mysteries (such as the *Eleusinian*, the *Bandidian*, and others), and the Condition upon which Adepts were to be admitted to participate of their solemn Rites, and be made Partakers of the promised Bliss.

THE very rude Ages of Mankind found few Things too hard

hard for their Belief: They could easily be persuaded of any Thing, especially in religious Matters, of which they had formed no Ideas, and were therefore ready to receive *any* that were offered to them:—Yet *their* BELIEF is adduced as a good Reason for the *Belief* of Posterity.—But Matters altered as the World polished and grew more knowing; insomuch that I do not remember that any of the later Deifications of Persons well known to have been once meer Men, ever obtained a thorough Credit, or passed with the Gentlemen of the Age. There would be *Believers*, without doubt: But the Faith did not prove general; and the Worship, if there was any, was the Effect of Compliance with the Laws, prevalent Authority, or Flattery to the Living:—Though even then, the Palm-Shoot which I mentioned before, that sprung from *Augustus's* Altar in *Spain*, shewed, as he said pleasantly himself, how rarely they did sacrifice to his *Numen*.

In *Italy*, at this Day, the greatest Number of Prisoners in the *Holy-Office*, (for so they term that last and highest Tool of ecclesiastical Tyranny, the *Inquisition*) are poor, curious, credulous Women, for consulting Astrologers, Magicians, Cunning-Men, &c. to know their Fates. Religion is so little known or thought of in that Country, that it produces no Heretics; and the Holy Office and its *Familiars* would have but little to do, had they not assumed the Cognizance of Witchcraft, Necromancy, Astrology, &c. as incompatible with the Faith and Worship of Christianity.

WHILST *Agrippa* was in the East; where, with his wonted Greatness of Soul and unbiassed Equity, he protected the *Jews* of *Asia Minor* against the *Greeks*, who hated and harrassed them on account of their Religion; one *Scribonius*, pretending to be the Grandson of *Mithridates*, though it is difficult to conceive how a *Roman* Name should be allied to that Descent, claimed the Kingdom of *Bosphorus* against *Asandres*, who had usurped it from *Pharnaces*. *Asandres*, to colour his Usurpation, had married

married the Daughter of the dethroned Prince, and enjoyed his little Dominions in Peace, till he was upwards of ninety Years old, when, dreading the Consequences of *Scribonius's* Enterprize, he killed himself. *Polemon*, King of *Pontus*, was preparing to attack *Scribonius*, by *Agrippa's* Order : But the *Bosphorans* themselves put an End to the Life of this new Pretender. They then turned their Arms against *Polemon* ; upon which *Agrippa* marched to *Sinope*, and by the Terror of his Name, and of the *Roman* Power, soon forced them to submit. *Polemon* married the Widow of *Arfaces* ; and *Agrippa*, in consideration of his Alliance with this Heiress of *Mithridates* and *Pharnaces*, made him King of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*.

AGRIPPA, persevering in his Plan of complimenting the Prince with all the Honour of his Atchievements, sent an Account of this Exploit, not to the Senate, but to *Augustus*, who thereupon directed a Triumph to be decreed him : But, stedfast in his Maxims, he again refused that high Distinction, and his Example became a Precedent equal to a Law.—From this Time the *Roman* Generals received only the *Ornaments* of Triumph, that is, the Tunic embroidered with Palms, the purple Robe, likewise embroidered, and the Crown and Sceptre of Gold. The Pomp and Pageantry of a triumphal Procession was reserved for the Emperors and their immediate Descendants.

TIBERIUS, whose Birth and Services now intitled him to the Consulship, was promoted to that high Office for the Year DCCXXXIX. He had for his Colleague *VARUS*, too well known afterwards by his Disaster in *Germany*.

UNDER these Consuls, *Augustus* returned to *Rome*, leaving *Drusus* in *Gaul* to finish the numbering of the People, and check the Incurfions of the *Germans*. He entered the City in the Night, according to his usual Custom, to save himself and others the Trouble of a pompous Ceremonial which had been prepared for his Reception. The next Day, after receiving the Compliments of the People in his Palace, he went to the Ca-

pitol, and offered up to *Jupiter* the Laurels with which his Fasces were crowned. From thence he repaired to the Senate, to give an Account, as the old *Roman* Generals used to do, of his Administration in the Province he was come from: Only, as he had got Cold, instead of speaking himself, he made his *Questor* read a Memorial drawn up by his Order.

IN every five or six Years of Liberty, we hear of some *Gēnius* shining forth, some noble Youth bursting from among the Crowd, and distinguishing himself in the *Forum* or in the Field: Sometimes, as an Orator and Statesman, seeking Fame from the Impeachment of a rich and powerful Criminal; or, a Leader, returning from unexpected Conquests and surprising Victories.—Thus *CICERO* shone in the Accusation of *Verres*; and thus *D. JUNIUS BRUTUS* pushed his Conquests to the Western Ocean.

BUT now, no Dawnings of Merit but were quashed or eluded by a jealous, though coaxing, Usurper.—*Cesar* must be all in all.—*Cesar's* Name occupied the Forum and Courts of Justice, whilst his Person and Family engrossed the Thoughts and Tongues of all the Soldiery. Thus the rising Spirits of the young *Romans* were curbed, depressed, and mislead, and the Youth who would have proved a Patriot and a Hero in the happy Days of Freedom, now became the finest Dancer, the prettiest Fop, or the most curious Cook in the Empire.—That once awful Power of the Senate, which made the greatest Monarchs tremble on their Thrones, was now no more; and with it sunk the noble Spirit of Emulation which had formerly animated the chief Citizens of the Republic to merit a Seat in that august Assembly. The Sons and Grand-Sons of Senators, finding that they now succeeded only to an empty Title, stripped of all its former high Prerogatives, either declined being Candidates, or, if chosen, alledged various Pretences to excuse their not attending.

AUGUSTUS, whose Plan required the keeping up a *Shew* of

of Dignity in this first Council of the State, rightly judged that it would be imprudent to suffer the Descendants of ancient and illustrious Families to withdraw, and be succeeded by Upstarts, who would but ill support the Splendour of their exalted Station. He therefore resolved personally to inquire into the Reality of the Motives which made several absent themselves, and to this End passed all the Senators in Review; examining with his own Eyes the Condition of those who pleaded a bad State of Health for their Excuse, and requiring from such as alledged the Want of a sufficient Fortune, a Declaration of what they were worth, attested by Oath, and certified by Witnesses, who were likewise to swear to the Truth of it. To many of these last, he generously made up the Deficiency of Fortune out of his own Purse, if their Wants did not proceed from bad Conduct, and of the former he excused such only as were really infirm.

PUBLICLY professing that the Objects of his greatest Veneration were, next to the Gods *, those excellent Men whose Virtues had raised *Rome* from the smallest Beginnings to the highest Pitch of Grandeur, he repaired, or rebuilt, the Monuments destined to transmit their Memories to Posterity; preserving, which was indeed very modest, and extremely popular, not only the old Inscriptions, but also the Names of their original Founders, without even adding his own. He likewise ordered the Statues of all the great *Roman* Commanders to be ranged and consecrated in the two Porticos of his Forum. This Thought was truly fine, and intended to answer a most noble End:—For he published a Declaration wherein he protested †, That his Design in collecting the Representations of all the great Men that *Rome* had produced, and putting them together in the same Place, was to shew the Citizens by what Models he and his Successors were to be judged. *Pompey* was not excepted from this Homage paid to Virtue. *Augustus* did not

E e e 2

indeed

* SUET. in Aug. §. XXXI.

† Idem, ibid.

indeed leave his Statue in the Hall where *Cesar* had been killed : but he placed it under a Marble Arch, fronting the Theatre which *Pompey* himself had built.

THE same Moderation was now conspicuous in all his Actions.—When he recommended his Children to the People, he always added this Condition, *If they deserve it* *. He blamed them for instilling Notions of premature Honours into his adopted Son *Caius Cesar*, who, though but a Child, already shewed a great deal of Pride and Haughtiness. *Tiberius* was reprimanded for placing this young Prince next to him at the Games he gave to celebrate *Augustus's* Return ; and the People were rebuked for rising to salute *Caius*, and flattering him with repeated Acclamations.—In the Senate, he would bear not only to have his Opinion contradicted, but even strongly opposed : Nor would he be angry at being told, as he was on some Occasions, that Senators ought to be at Liberty to speak freely in all Affairs of the Republic †.

A false Report having been made to him concerning a *Roman* Knight, *Augustus*, in consequence thereof, taxed him with having impaired his Fortune : The Knight proved, that, on the contrary, he had added to it ‡. The Emperor then attacked him on another Score, alledging his Disobedience to the Laws, in being a Batchelor. The Knight answered, that he was married and had three Children ; adding, “ Another Time, *Cesar* ! when you would have Informations against honest Men, employ honest Men to procure them.” *Augustus* was silent, and sensible he was in the wrong.

SISENNA, being reproached in full Senate with the bad Conduct of his Wife §, did not scruple to address himself to *Augustus*, telling him, that it was with his Consent, and by his Advice he married her. The Emperor, naturally hot, was piqued, rose up, and left the Assembly for a few Moments ;
chusing

chusing rather, as he owned afterwards to his Friends, to be guilty of ill Manners, than to run the Hazard of being carried too far by Passion. He was indebted for this Command of Temper to *Athenodore* of *Tarsus*. When that Philosopher, grown old, and weary of the Court, begged to retire to his native Country, there to spend the Remainder of his Life, *Augustus* desired he would leave him some useful Advice. “*Cesar*,” said *Athenodore* to him *, “when you find Anger rising within you, repeat the twenty-four Letters of the Alphabet, before you speak or act.” *Augustus* thanked the Philosopher for his Advice; and taking him by the Hand, “Stay with me,” said he, “I still want your Advice.”

EVERY one knows the famous Story of *Mecenas*, who, seeing him just ready to pass Sentence of Death upon several Persons, and not being able to get up to him, wrote upon his Tablets these two Words, *Surge, Carnifex*, “Arise, Executioner!” and threw them to him. *Augustus*, recovering himself at this strong Remonstrance, broke up the Sitting, and departed with a Docility as much to be admired, as the Liberty his Friend had taken.—Naturally hasty, ambitious, cruel, and very variable, he had great Ebbs and Flows both of Health and Temper. His Features and Colour would often change, in a Moment, from the smiling Serenity of a Deity, to the pale and haggard Look of a Demon.—And such was his Life; until he finally gave himself up to the Advices of *Athenodore* and *Areius*. For though his Passions took some Sallies after that, they never did great Mischief, and he was in fact a *changed Man*. His chief Happiness lay in listening to the Counsels, and bearing with the Freedom of his Friends.—Nay, he at last attained that uncommon Pitch of Wisdom, as to give Way in little Struggles of Wit and Humour, and to allow himself to be *out-done* by the Men of Letters, though of no great Eminence.

HAD

HAD we known *Augustus* only by the latter Part of his Life, from the Time that this Mildness and Moderation commenced, we certainly could not believe that he had shed Seas of Blood in his Youth, and was then distinguished by his Cruelty amidst the most cruel of Men. This total Change is one of the most extraordinary Events recorded in History.—It is not difficult to find Examples of sweet Tempers and easy Dispositions spoiled by too much good Fortune, and especially by an unlimited Power : But to find bad ones mended by it, is extremely rare.—Can we, even now, think this amazing Alteration sincere, unfeigned, the Effect of a real Love for Virtue?—*Augustus's* cunning artful Temper, his deep Hypocrisy and Dissimulation, would incline one to suspect the outside Shew.—But the Ambition of reigning may account for both his Virtues and his Vices. Crimes were necessary to attain the desired End ; and he committed them :—That End attained, Virtue became useful to secure the Enjoyment of his Power ; and he practised it. If his later Goodness did not render him perfect, it was at least a Benefit to others ; and from the Time of his becoming completely Master of the Empire, he may boldly be proposed as a Model and Example to all the Princes of the World.

THE Dignity of High-Priest being at last vacant by the Death of *Lepidus*, who died this Year, *Augustus* added that Title to all his others, and thereby united in himself the sacred, civil, and military Powers *. The first Use he made of this new Authority was to take from the People all Ali-ments of Superstition ; fit only to create Uneasinesses and Disturbance. Strict Search was made after all Books of Divination, and pretended Oracles, of which upwards of two thousand, clandestinely handed about, were seized and burnt. Every Man was forbid to keep any Book of this Kind above a certain

certain Number of Days *, at the End of which it was to be carried to the City Pretor, to be examined by the College of Fifteen †. The Books of the *Sybil*s alone were preserved, and of these only such Parts as were thought proper. The Copies of them having been damaged by Age, *Augustus* ordered the Priests who had the keeping of them, to transcribe them with their own Hands, that the prophane Vulgar might not be made acquainted with them. The new Copies were locked up by his Order, in gilt Cases, and placed under the Statue of *Apollo*, in that stately Monument of his Magnificence, the Palatine Temple ‡.—In the same Manner, as their High Mightinesses the States General keep the *Autographa*, or authentic Manuscript of the *Dutch* Version of the sacred Scriptures, in a strong Chest in their great Hall, and permit the Deputies from the several Synods of the Clergy of the United Provinces to inspect them for the Solution of their Doubts, on a certain Day once in three Years.

AUGUSTUS was always well pleased when he saw the rich Men of *Rome* lay out their Money upon public Works.

L. Balbus

* *TACIT. Annal. Lib. VI. 12.*

† First two, then ten, and afterwards fifteen Persons were appointed to keep and inspect the *Sibylline* Verses :—A State-Trick, like the Augur's College :—Both a Check upon the Rabble, and a Cure for a Pannic.—The *Sibylline* Books bought by *Tarquinius Priscus* were consumed, with the Capitol, in the *Vitellian* Sedition.—In the Consulship of *Cn. Octavius*, and *Cn. Scribonius*, Ambassadors were sent through *Greece* and *Italy*, and especially to *Erythræ*, to collect *Sibylline* Verses. They amassed about a thousand; and to add Authority to the new Canon, a Report was spread, that, at the Nick of Time, when the Ambassadors were making their Perquisition, *Apollo's* Temple at *Erythræ* was burnt, and in a Corner of the Wall were found the Originals of the three Copies formerly sold to the ancient *Tarquin*.

‡ This Temple, and the noble Library annexed to it, for which *Augustus* had, as he well deserved, the Compliments of all Men of Learning, must have been finished by the Year 728 at farthest: For the much lamented *Marcellus*, *Octavia's* Son, dedicated there a superb Set of Jewels (*Dactyliothecam*); and he died in 729.—*Augustus* was so fond of this Place, which was contiguous to the Palace, that he frequently assembled the Senators, and convened the Judges of the Courts of Judicature, in the Portico belonging to it.

L. Balbus celebrated this Year the Dedication of a Theatre, which he had built at his own Expence, and was called after his Name. He received, as an Acknowledgement for it, the Thanks of the People, and, from *Tiberius* who was then Consul, the Honour of giving his Opinion first in the Senate.—Just Estimators of Things will, however, set a greater Value upon another Monument of *Balbus's* Magnificence; a noble Benefaction to his Countrymen the *Spaniards*.—He was originally of *Cadiz*; and built a new City near the old one, which was very small, with an Arsenal upon the Continent, over against the Island upon which that City is situated.—He could not make a more noble Use of the immense Riches, which he and his Uncle had acquired by their Attachment to the Family of the *Cesars*.

AGRIPPA, returning from the East, received a fresh Proof of *Augustus's* Affection and Esteem, by being continued in the Tribunician Power for five Years longer. But Death too soon put an End to his growing Honours:—For, being sent directly against the *Pannonians**, who had taken Arms, and having pacified them by his bare Presence, on his Return to *Italy*, he was seized in *Campania* with an acute Disorder, which carried him off at the Age of fifty-one, in the Beginning of the Year DCCXL. for which *M. Valerius Messala Barbatus*, and *T. Sulpicius Quirinius* were Consuls. The Moment *Augustus* was informed of his Illness, he set out from *Rome* to visit him, but learnt his Death upon the Road; so that all he could do for this best and faithfullest of Friends, to whom he owed every Thing, was to honour his Memory with magnificent Obsequies, at which he pronounced the funeral Oration: and as *Agrippa*, whilst living, had been closely united to his Person and Family, he would not suffer his Body, when dead, to be interred in any other Tomb than that which was destined for himself.

AGRIPPA

* The present *Hungary* answers in a great Measure to the ancient *Pannonia*.

AGRIPPA died with the well-deserved Character of the worthiest Man of his Days, who had used his Interest with *Augustus*, both for his own and the public Good.—He set *Augustus* as far above himself, as *he* was above others by his Virtue and Alliances; and while he exerted all his Wisdom and Bravery to exalt his Prince, he employed the Power and Honours he had received in return, in doing good to others. His Conduct made his Greatness neither irksome to *Augustus*, nor invidious to the *Romans*. Though he steadily asserted the Rights of his Sovereign, he gained the People by good Offices, and every Kind of Popularity *. Great in Peace, and great in War; equally illustrious in Battle by Sea or by Land, it was he that conquered *Pompey*, and the Gain of the Battle of *Actium* was chiefly owing to his Skill and Valour. *Gaul*, *Spain*, the East, the Countries bordering on the *Rhine* and *Danube*, always saw him prosperous and triumphant. He wanted only able Historians to give a proper Account of his Actions. In Peace, ever studying the public Good, he made his Name immortal by Works far beyond what was ever done by a private Man. Qualified to hold the first Rank in a Republic, he held the second under *Augustus*, whose Son-in-Law, Collegue, and intended Successor he became, merely by Dint of his own Merit.

WHAT *Plutarch* says pleasantly of the great *Cato*, that his Misfortunes lay chiefly in the female Part of his Family, was strictly verified in *M. Agrippa*. He had married, chiefly by *Antony's* Interposition, *Atticus's* Daughter *Pomponia*, by whom he had only one Child, *Vipsania*, who was married to *Tiberius*, and became the Mother of *Drusus*, the only Son of that Emperor. His Father-in-Law died on the last Day of *February*, DCCXX, amidst the Preparations for the *Actian* War. The next Year, the Lady was left pretty much alone, while her

Husband was acquiring Honour by Sea and Land, and gaining those Victories, which raised the young *Cesar* to be Lord of the World. However, for her Amusement, she continued the Studies in which she had been carefully educated by her Father, who was one of the most learned and refined Scholars in *Rome*; and, to assist her in reading the Poets and discovering their Beauties, she took the Assistance of a young Man, who had been brought up in her Father's Family, and to whom he had given his Liberty, on Account of his Genius and good Behaviour. The Youth was originally from *Atticus's* well-known Estate in *Epirus*, though born at his *Tusculan Villa*, and therefore taking, according to Custom, his Patron's adoptive Name, was called *Q. Cecilius* the *Epirote*. The amiable Turn and pretty Spirit of her young Teacher, her own Solitude, and their former Acquaintance, made the Fair-One sometimes turn her Eyes upon other Beauties, than those pointed out in *Homer* or *Sappho*. In short, a greater Assiduity, and longer Lessons than usual, having been observed by the Servants, the Man of Letters was forbid the House, and the Lady either died of Grief and Shame soon after, or was divorced by *Agrippa*, at his Return; for, in a short While, he married *Claudia Marcella*, one of *Octavia's* Daughters, and *Cesar's* Niece: How she behaved, is not mentioned in History:—I suppose well. After the Death of his Brother-in-Law, *Marcellus*, he was married to *JULIA*, the Shame of her Sex. As for *Cecilius* the Teacher, he took Refuge under the Protection of *Cornelius Gallus*, who received him with open Arms, and found him worthy of his Friendship. This very Thing was among the chief Crimes objected to the unfortunate *Gallus* by *Cesar*:—A sure Proof that he was guilty of only very slight ones, when the Protection of a *Literato*, overpowered by a Lady, was the grand Article of the Charge. After *Gallus's* untimely Death, *Cecilius* opened a School for the *Roman Youth*, and was the first who read public Lectures on *Varus*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, and

the other modern Poets,—his Acquaintances, no Doubt, in *Cornelius Gallus's* Family.

By *JULIA*, the Daughter of *Augustus*, *Agrippa* had three Sons, *Caius* and *Lucius Cæsars*, and *Agrippa*, who, being born after his Father's Death, was for that Reason called *Agrippa Posthumus*; and two Daughters, *Julia*, who followed her Mother's bad Example; and *Agrippina*, married to *Germanicus*, the only one of *Agrippa's* Children who did not fully the Glory of their Father.

THE Disposal of *JULIA* in Marriage was always Matter of much Deliberation to *Augustus*.—*Antony* said he first promised her, when little more than an Infant, to his eldest Son by *Fulvia*, *Antyllus*; and that he afterwards offered her to *Cotyson*, King of the *Getes* or *Goths*, our Forefathers, a powerful *German* Nation, and, to make a double Match, sought the Princess his Sister for his own Wife.—If this be true, it must have happened at the Time of his greatest Distress in the *Sicilian* War, when he was in Danger of being swallowed up by the Conjunction of *Antony* with *Sextus Pompey*, which in effect drove him to a political Marriage, little more to his liking, but more honourable, with *Scribonia*, twice a Widow. This *Antony* published in one of his Manifestoes;—I suppose to elude the Objection of his illegal Marriage with *Cleopatra*, who was a Foreigner.—Afterwards she was married to *Marcellus*, when his Chin was scarce covered with Down; and, upon his premature Death, a new Consultation was held to determine who was to be her Husband, which of course must be the second Person, or Heir apparent of the Empire.—*Cæsar* himself inclined towards the quiet and candid *C. Proculeius**, though of no higher Quality than a *Roman* Knight. He thought him *equal* to the Station, and at the same Time had full Confidence in his Integrity, and no Apprehensions of receiving Trouble in the future Exercise of his Power.

* TACIT. Annal. Lib. IV. SÆT. in Aug. LXIII.



Vol. III. p. 413



UNDER these Circumstances *, and the great Youth of his Grand-Sons, or Sons by Adoption, *Augustus* was in a Manner forced to pitch upon *Tiberius*, who, on his Side, was fond of his Wife *Vipsania*, then with Child, and well acquainted with *Julia's* dissolute Life; by Advances she had made to him. Ambition, however, got the better of every other Consideration. He repudiated the Wife he loved, to take one who deserved only his Hatred and Contempt, but who paved the Way to Empire for him.

IMMEDIATELY after his Marriage, he was ordered to *Pannonia*, which he easily reduced with the Assistance of the *Scordisci*, a People bordering upon the *Pannonians*, and like them as to their Arms and Manner of fighting. He disarmed the conquered, and sold most of their Youth for Slaves, to be carried into distant Countries. The Senate would have decreed *Tiberius* a Triumph: But *Augustus*, more reserved, granted him only the *Ornaments* of a Triumpher.——According to several Authors quoted by *Suetonius*, *Tiberius* was the first Person to whom this new Kind of Decoration, substituted by the Emperors in lieu of a real Triumph, was given in Form.

CLAUDIUS TIBERIUS NERO was a Youth of a graceful Figure. He early discovered superior Parts,—not of the flashy Kind; but sagacious, discerning, and full of a Circumspection beyond his Years. These Talents would have raised him, even if he had not been *Livia's* Son:—But with that Birth, they gave him a vast *Eclat*, until he was obscured by the closer Connections of *Augustus's* own Children. He would have made a great Man under the Republic, and an accomplished Gentleman under proper Restraint. The least Check served to over-awe him.——His Nephews, his Mother, the Proneness of the Senate to Slavery, rendered him so bad a Man as he proved to be.——He had in his Veins a Mixture of the Blood.

* TACIT. Annal. Lib. X. SÜET. Tib. §. III. VII. XXI.

Blood of the two noblest Families in *Rome*, and two Families whose Ancestors had been remarkably at Variance.

IN the Time of the second *Punic War*, when the *Roman* State was brought to the Brink of Ruin, and *Hannibal* had led his victorious Troops almost to the Gates of the City; his brother *Asdrubal*, a brave and experienced Soldier, crossed the *Alps* with a great Army, and a vast Treasure, not doubting but that their joint Force would carry all before it. The News of his March, and of two *Carthaginian* Armies being at once in *Italy*, with two Sons of *Amilcar* at their Head, one of whom had spilt more *Roman* Blood than any other Commander had ever done, was very terrifying. The two Consuls, *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius*, (who had been at Variance, but, at the Intercession of the Fathers, had sacrificed their Resentments to the public Service, and been openly reconciled), were sent to oppose them, and, if possible, to hinder their Junction. *Claudius Nero* marched against *Hannibal*, who was lying with his veteran Army in the South End of *Italy*, in *Brutium* (now *Abruzzo*); and *M. Livius*, afterwards called *Salinator*, took his Way towards the *Alps* to keep *Asdrubal* in play. *Claudius*, who was in the Height of Life and Vigour, soon came to Blows with *Hannibal*, and, having attacked him at unawares, drove him into his Camp with considerable Loss, and pressed him so close afterwards, that he was obliged to decamp in the Night, to get out of his Hands. The Consul, however, followed him close for some Days, and kept hard at his Heels, which ever Way he turned, till he thought *Hannibal* was fully persuaded that his whole Aim was to keep him in View, and, if possible, take him at a Disadvantage. He then executed one of the boldest Designs that could enter into the Heart of Man. He picked out the Flower of his whole Army, to the Number of six thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse, and leaving the rest under the Command of *Q. Catius*, his Lieutenant, to make Head against the dreadful *Hannibal*, as

if he himself had still been in the Camp, undertook a terrible March all the length of *Italy*, to join his Collegue and destroy the Invader. His March was rapid, and it is hard to tell whether the News of it gave more Hope or Fear to his Fellow Citizens. It looked like Madness to leave a weakened headless Army in the Neighbourhood of *Hannibal*, or to think to deceive him; and should the Enterprize upon which he was going prove abortive, what was there more to oppose the Enemy? The Consul's superior Spirit, and the Alacrity of the Troops, was the only Answer he could stay to make to these Surmises. Marching Night and Day, he at last joined the other Consul, undiscovered by *Asdrubal*, and entered the Camp before it was light. A Council of War was immediately called, and it was proposed that he should take a Day or two to refresh his fatigued Troops, and observe the Manner of the Enemy. But, unable to bear the least Delay, whilst his abandoned Army might be in Danger, *Claudius* advised, nay, begged his Collegue to lead instantly to the Foe. They did so; the Sign of Battle was given; and when they came up with *Asdrubal*, he was upon his March, having moved before Day, upon a Suspicion that the *Romans* had been re-inforced: But having lost his Way, and wandered by the Banks of the River *Metaurus*, they soon overtook him. *Claudius* then attacked with the Cavalry, and retarded their March. The *Carthaginian* General took a Rising-Ground upon the River Side, and began to form a Camp, and cast up a Trench. But *M. Livius* coming up soon after with the Legions, he was quickly forced to quit that Work, in order to range his Elephants and draw up his Men in Order of Battle. The Shock was violent. The Consul *Livius* and *Asdrubal* were opposite to each other, with the veteran Squadrons of both Armies.—The eager *Claudius*, having been beat from the Rising-Ground, called out to his Men, *Was it for this that you made such hasty Marches?* and led them again up the Ascent; but was again repulsed.

He.

He then took a few Cohorts, and wheeling round the Foot of the Hill, got behind the Enemy, and attacked their left Wing with such Fury, that the *Roman* Troops left in the Front saw them flying before they had Time to think who had broke them: Then, following his Blow, he advanced where *Asdrubal* and *Livius* were engaged. It was almost Noon, and the Heat excessive, when *Asdrubal's* mixed Army of *Spaniards*, *Genoese*, and *Gauls*, perceived they had an Enemy at their Backs, as well as in their Front. They had maintained an obstinate Fight, were almost exhausted, soon began to reel, and afterwards fell into Disorder, and fled. A dreadful Carnage ensued, especially of the *Gauls*, who were least able to endure the Heat. *Asdrubal* did every Thing in the Power of a gallant Man, and a great Commander, to retrieve the Battle: But when he saw it irrecoverably lost, that he might not survive his Fortune, nor suffer any thing unworthy of his high Character, he set Spurs to his Horse, and rushed upon a *Roman* Cohort, where he greatly fell, like the Brother of *Hannibal* and the Son of *Amilcar*. Fifty-six thousand Men are said to have fallen with *Asdrubal*.—The Consul *Claudius Nero*, having taken off his Head, set out the very Night after the Battle, reached his former Camp in six Days, and threw the Head, an unwelcome Spectacle, into the Trenches of the *Carthaginians*.

WHEN the News of this Victory was first brought to *Rome*, it was so sudden and so glorious, that none could believe it: But many Messengers arriving with the same Accounts, and relating all the Particulars of the Action, their Doubts gave way, and the City fell into such an Excess of Joy as had never been known. All the Temples were adorned, the Altars loaded with Incense and Victims, and from that Day forth the *Romans* conceived such good Hopes of their Affairs, that they, who but a Moment before had trembled at the bare Name of *Hannibal*, who alone of all their Enemies had ever

thrown a Spear within the Walls of *Rome*, seemed now hardly to remember that such a Man was in *Italy*.

SUCH was the Service which the *Claudian* and *Livian* Families did to *Rome* in the greatest Danger she ever knew. But, some Time after, when these two great Men, who had managed their Consulship with such Unanimity, were chosen *Censors*, they gave Occasion to doubt the Sincerity of their former Reconciliation. They agreed well enough in the greater Part of the censorial Business, such as convening the Senate, inspecting and repairing the public Buildings, farming out the Revenue, and numbering the Citizens:—But, in reviewing the *Roman* Knights, among whom they both were, when they came to the Tribe *Politia*, to which *M. Livius* belonged, and the public Crier hesitated to call the Censor's Name, “Cite,” said *Nero*, “*Marcus Livius*,” which being done, he ordered him to sell his Horse; the usual Ignominy to a Knight, who had been once condemned by a Sentence of the *Roman People*.—Whether this Affront proceeded from some Remains of the old Grudge, or from pure censorial Severity, is still doubtful: But when they came to the *Arnian* Tribe, *Livius* ordered *C. Claudius Nero* to sell his Horse, for two Reasons; one, because he had given false Evidence against him at his Trial, when he was condemned; and the other, because he had been insincere in his public Reconciliation with him.—Of a Conjunction of these two Families sprung *TIBERIUS* and *DRUSUS NEROS*.

It is scarce possible to carry on a Tract of so constant Dissimulation, as that Nature seizes not some tempting Opportunity to break through, and shew the hideous Face unmasked. A Proposal made to *Tiberius* by his Brother, the noble-minded *DRUSUS NERO*, to take Measures for restoring the Common-Wealth to Liberty, was such an Opportunity. *Drusus* was the Idol of *Augustus*, and of *Rome*. His high Character, acquired by the Reality of those Virtues of which

Tiberius had only the Appearance, gave Uneasiness to the Dissembler,—nor did he at all relish the Design. He therefore thought it a happy Conjuncture, at once to ruin a Rival and ingratiate himself with the Sovereign. The *engrained Traitor* broke forth, and he carried the Letter, written to him in full Confidence by his generous Brother, to *Augustus*.—The Prince was then become wise; he had great Experience of Affairs; and consequently great Allowances to make to a high-spirited Youth, without Malice, though dazzled with Patriotism and Hopes of Glory.—He doated on *Drusus*, and could not think of hurting him; so that all that *Tiberius* got by his Perfidy, was to be known void of natural Affection, and capable of any black Deed for Power.—The worst and most detestable of Mankind is a humane-like Traitor, a Villain possessed of the Appearance of Virtue, a Cheat in her Livery, and one able to do the worst of Things by the Trust that follows her amiable Form.

It appears from all *Augustus's* Behaviour toward the two Brothers, that he looked upon *Tiberius* as an Alien, and upon *Drusus* as his own Child. The Reason he publicly gave for adopting him*, (in the Year DCCLV. after the Death of *Lucius* and *Caius Cæsars*,) though honourable at first View, implies that it was not from personal Affection; and, in his last Will, the Clause which made *Tiberius* his Heir, and gave him the Empire, bears a Complaint of hard Fate, which had snatched his dearest Pledges from him, and forced him to leave his Succession to a Man he could not love, the Son of his fiercest Enemy.

HORACE, in his sublime martial Ode†, written by *Augustus's* express Command, celebrates *Drusus's* Victories before those of the elder Brother, and introduces the Praises of the younger with a striking Simile of a young Eagle newly sprung from

* Hoc *REIPUBLICÆ* causâ facio.

† Lib. IV. Carm. 4.

from the Nest, or a Lion's Whelp first entered to Blood, which, if *Drusus* were indeed of the *Claudian* Family, reflects all the Honour upon *Tiberius*, *Livia's* first Husband, and *Cesar's* implacable Enemy: But if the Suspicions concerning a Commerce between *Cesar* and *Livia*, before their Marriage, were well-founded, then the high Compliment falls directly and personally on *Augustus*.—It would have been an unpardonable Indiscretion in the Poet, to have let drop a single Syllable that bore the most distant Insinuation of this Kind.—A Mistake we need not fear in *Horace*. All he could do was to give a *Preference*, as if by Chance,—in the Heat of Fancy, to *Drusus*, and leave a *Possibility* of a flattering Application.

ANCIENT *Germany*, far more extensive than the present Empire of that Name, was divided from *Gaul* by the *Rhine*; from *Rhetia* and *Pannonia* by the *Danube*; from *Sarmatia*, on the East, by the *Vistula*; and reached as far North as the *Romans* then had any Knowledge of that Part of the Globe; even beyond the Countries since called *Scandinavia*. This immense Tract of Land contained a great Number of different Nations, the chief of which, or of those at least with whom the *Romans* had any Wars worth noticing, were the *Sicambri*, the *Uspii* and *Tencteri*, the *Brueteri*, the *Catti*, the *Cauci*, the *Cherusci*, the *Frisons*, and the *Suevi*, on the other Side of the *Rhine*; the *Nervi*, the *Trevians*, the *Tribocci*, the *Vangions*, the *Nemetians*, the *Ubians*, and the *Batavians*, on this *.——

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* The *Sicambri* were no longer beyond the *Rhine* when *Tacitus* wrote (which was about the Year of *Rome*, DCCCL); nor does that Historian particularize the Situation of the *Uspii*, or of their Associates the *Tencteri*, who were admired for their Cavalry. They were brought up to manage a Horse from their Infancy; it was the Object of their earliest Emulation; nor would they give it over even in their old Age. Among them, Horses were the chief Part of a Child's Inheritance, and belonged of right, not to the first born, but to the bravest and best Warrior.

The *Brueteri*, a powerful and warlike Nation bordering upon the *Ems*, were extirpated

It is remarkable that all these last People thought it a great Honour to be of *German* Origin, and were particularly careful to

extirpated by their Neighbours the *Chamavi* and *Angrivarii*, who took their Place.

The *Catti*, who seem to have been the Ancestors of the present *Hessians*, and to have inhabited the same Country, were disciplined (a), as well as brave. It was an universal Custom among them to let their Beard and Hair grow, with a Vow never to shave till they had killed an Enemy. Some of the bravest of them would also wear an iron Ring, as an Emblem of Chains and Captivity, on the like Condition of not leaving it off, till they had acquired a Right to be delivered from that Badge of Ignominy, by the Death of an Enemy slain in Battle. Their Warriors, thinking it beneath them ever to conceive a Thought that did not relate to War and Arms, had no fixed Habitation, nor gave themselves any Sort of Trouble about cultivating the Land; but went and lived with the first Family they found.

The *Cauci* extended from the *Ems* to the *Elbe*. *Pliny* (b) represents them as the most miserable People that can possibly be imagined. According to him they lived in a low marshy Country, which the Sea threatened every Moment to overflow: they had no Land fit to cultivate, no hunting, nor any domestic Animals; but subsisted wholly by fishing: Their Country, says he, quite naked, did not afford them even Wood; so that they had nothing to make Fire with, but a bituminous Mud, which they used to dry, by squeezing it with their Hands. This was, probably, what we call *Turf*. *Tacitus*, without directly contradicting *Pliny*, gives them a very high Character. He says (c), they were the most illustrious People of *Germany*, powerful and numerous, Lovers of Justice, void of Avarice and Ambition, quiet, peaceable, and friendly to their Neighbours, whom they neither plundered nor annoyed, though superior in Strength, and truly brave when Self-Defence required their entering into Wars, to support which they were equally strong in Horse and Foot.—I cannot make these two widely different Pictures, both drawn by great Masters, suit the same Original, but by supposing that *Pliny* was acquainted with only the maritime *Cauci*; that is, with the least Part of the Country; and that *Tacitus* speaks of the Inlanders, whose Territories extended a great Way.

The *Cherusci*, a warlike and resolute People, are famous in History for the Achievements of their Countryman and Chief, *Arminius*, that brave Defender of the *German* Liberty.

The

(a) Alios ad Prælium ire videas, Cattos ad bellum. TACIT. Germ. 30.

(b) Lib. XVI. c. 2.

(c) Germ. 35.

to distinguish themselves from the *Gauls*, in whom the Mildness of the Climate, *Cesar's* Conquests, and the *Roman* Customs, introduced

The *Frisons* still keep their old Name, and nearly the same Country as formerly.

The *Suevi* held all the Heart of *Germany* from the *Danube* to the *Baltic*. They were an extremely numerous Nation, divided into several People, and each of those People subdivided into several Tribes. *Cesar* has given a pretty full Description of them, and *Tacitus* a much fuller. I shall mention only two Particulars concerning them. The first is, their Manner of dressing their Hair; a trifling Circumstance, were it not the Characteristic which distinguished the *Suevi* from the other *Germans*; and among the *Suevi* themselves, the Freeman from the Slave. They let their Hair grow very long, plaited it, and then turned it up behind, rolling it round on the Top of the Head. The People of Distinction among them took some Pains to have that Roll and the Plaiting very neat. This was the only Part of Dress they minded; a Part, says *Tacitus* (a), for which they are not to be blamed, as their Design in it was not to appear more amiable to the Women, but more terrible to the Enemy.

The other remarkable Singularity of the *Suevi* is the Worship which some of them, particularly the *Angles*, paid to the *Earth*, which they imagined to be a Goddess, and conceived that she sometimes visited Men, to inquire into the State of their Affairs.—In an Island in the Ocean was a Wood, called the *Chasse Wood*, where was kept a Carr covered over, and richly ornamented, which the Priest only dared to touch. This Priest made the People believe that he knew, by certain Signs, the Time when the Goddess came to her Sanctuary, and was seated in her Carr, which was then drawn about the Country by Heifers, with a great Deal of religious Pomp and Ceremony. Holidays were kept on these Occasions, and Joy and Festivity reigned in every Place the Goddess was pleased to honour with her Presence. All Wars were suspended, every offensive Weapon was carefully locked up, and then only this fierce People could endure Tranquillity and Peace. When the Priest judged that the Goddess began to grow tired of her mortal Company; he conducted her back to the Wood, which was looked upon as her Temple; and then the Carr, its Coverings, and the Goddess herself, said they, were washed in an adjacent Lake. This Part of the Ceremony was performed by Slaves, who instantly disappeared;—swallowed up by the Lake.—A cruel Artifice, to conceal the Priest's juggling, and strike the People with a superstitious (b) Dread of the tremendous Object of their Worship, a Sight of which was not to be obtained but by certain Death.

The *Nervi* inhabited what is now the Province of *Hainault*; the *Trevians* occupied the present Circle of *Treves*; *Straßburg* is the Capital of what was the

introduced by the Victors, had taken off the Edge of that Courage for which they held the *Germans* in very high Esteem.

THE Wars between the *Romans* and the *Germans* seem to have begun in the Year 650, during the Consulship of *Cecilius Metellus* and *Papirius Carbo* *, when the *Cimbrians* broke into *Gaul*, and attacked the Winter-Quarters of the Legions in that Country. *Tacitus* observes, that when he wrote, which was two hundred Years after this Event, *Germany* had cost the *Romans* an infinite Deal of Blood, and was then very far from being entirely subdued.—Nor indeed was it ever.—On the contrary, it at last became triumphant: For from thence came the *Franks*, *Goths*, and *Vandals*, who, after the War had lasted five hundred Years, totally subverted the *Roman* Power, and established on its Ruins most of the Monarchies now subsisting in the finest Parts of *Europe* †.

THE *Germans*, following the Example of the *Cimbrians*, never gave up their Design of crossing the *Rhine*, and settling in richer and better Countries than their own. With this View, *Ariovistus* first entered *Gaul*, and after him the *Usipi* and *Tencteri*. Their bad Success there, and *Cesar*'s attacking *Germany*, checked them for a while, but could not extinguish the ardent Desire of their Countrymen to get Footing in a less rigorous Climate. *Agrippa* was sent to stop their Incursions; and, like *Cesar*, the more effectually to keep them within Bounds, by spreading Terror in their own Country, he passed the *Rhine* about the Time of his first Consulship. After that, whilst *Octavius* was at War with *Antony*, *Carinus* conquered the *Suevi*; for which Triumphant Honours were decreed him. Some Years after the Battle of *Actium*, *Vinicius* avenged on the

the Country of the *Tribocci*; *Worms* of the *Vangions*; *Spire* of the *Nemetians*; and *Cologne* of the *Ubians*. The *Batauians* lived in an Island down the *Rhine*, of which *Betaw*, or *Betuvia*, is a considerable Part.

* TACIT. Germ.

† BUCHER. *Belgium Romanum Eccles. & Civ.*

the *Germans* (but we are not told which of them in particular) the Blood of some *Roman* Traders, whom they had massacred. In the Year of *Rome* 733, *Agrippa* was sent back to *Gaul*, again molested by the Incursions of the *Germans*. He calmed all Things, and probably then permitted the *Ubii* to settle on the left Side of the *Rhine*. These People, formerly protected by *Cesar* against the *Suevi*, had from that Time taken a Liking to the *Romans* *; and *Agrippa* depended so much upon their Fidelity, that he removed them into the Empire, and assigned them the Guard of the *Rhine*, with Orders to hinder the *Germans* from passing it. Their Settlement soon increased, and became a very flourishing *Roman* Colony; long known by the Name of *Cologne*. *Tiberius* †, who seems to have succeeded *Agrippa*, did nothing memorable at that Time; but the War began to grow serious under *Lollius*, in the Year of *Rome*, 736.

M. LOLLIUS, praised by *Horace* ‡, but with so little of his remarkable Delicacy, that it seems rather a Panegyric written by Command, than what the judicious Poet really thought his Due, concealed the greatest Vices §, under the most specious Mask of Virtue, and was much sonder of getting Money, than of doing his Duty. It seems highly probable, that this covetous General attempted to practise unjust Extortions upon some of the People just conquered by *Agrippa*, and on whom this last had doubtless imposed some slight Tribute. *Lollius* sent Centurions beyond the *Rhine*, where, under Pretence of levying that Tribute, they oppressed the People ||, Enemies to Servitude, to such a Degree, that they seized them and put them to Death. The *Sicambri*, with their faithful Allies the *Usipii* and *Tencteri*, then passed the *Rhine*, ravaged several Places belonging to the *Romans*, and surprised *Lollius*, whose Troops were put to flight, with more Shame, indeed,

* TACIT. Annal. Lib. XII. & Germ.

† Carm. Lib. IV. Od. 9.

§ VELL. II. 97.

† SUET. Tib. §. IX.

|| DIO. Lib. LIV.

indeed, than Loss. The Eagle of the fifth Legion remained in the Possession of the Conquerors.

THIS was the real Cause of *Augustus's* Journey to *Gaul*.—His Presence, and the Preparations which *Lollius* made to retrieve his Honour, soon restored Tranquility. The Enemies made Peace, and repassed the *Rhine*, after giving Hostages;—a weak Tie upon People unused to pay any Regard to the Faith of Treaties. *Augustus* staid near three Years in *Gaul*, and, when he returned to *Rome*, left behind him *Drusus*, who, young as he was, had already given distinguished Proofs of his military Talents, in the *Rhetian* War.

THE Emperor's Departure was a Signal to the *Sicambri* to renew their Incurfions:—Nor were the *Gauls* quiet. The Quit-Rent and Poll-Tax, which *Drusus* was collecting by *Augustus's* Order, made them sensible of their Servitude; and not being yet thoroughly fashioned to the Yoke, they found, in the Assistance of the *Germans*, a strong Inducement to attempt to recover their Liberty. The Ferment seems to have been general all over *Gaul*; but the Revolt broke out only in the two Provinces bordering on the *Rhine*, called by *Augustus* the two *Germanies*.

DRUSUS soon subdued the rebel Towns; and this first Success adding great Weight to his Authority, and stopping the Progress of the Revolt through the rest of *Gaul*, he took the Opportunity of a general Festival, to convene an Assembly of the Nation, and endeavour to reconcile them entirely to the Dominion of the *Romans*.

THE Occasion of this Festival was the Dedication of a Temple and Altar, which all *Gaul*, before these last Troubles, had been prevailed upon to erect to *Augustus*, and which were then finished. This celebrated Monument, than which few are more remarkable, was built at the Conflux of the *Saône* and *Rhône*, on the very Spot where the Abbey of *Ainai* now stands,

stands. Sixty of the Provinces of *Gaul* contributed to the Expence, and set up the same Number of Statues, representing them. It was a solemn Homage paid by all *Gaul* to the *Roman Empire*.—The Assembly convened by *Drusus* answered his Wishes. A Priest, called *C. Julius Vercundaridubius* in the Epitome of *Livy**, by Birth an *Eduan*, was appointed in Honour of the new God, and annual Games were instituted. With these seemingly unimportant Affairs, *Drusus* knew how to intermix others of a more serious Nature; and managed so well, either by dextrously winning the Affections of the People, or keeping their Chiefs near him by way of Hostages, that the *Gauls* not only remained quiet, but even supplied him with Necessaries for the *German War*.—He then crossed the *Rhine*, chastised the *Uspii* and *Sicambri* in their own Country, and subdued the *Marcomanni*, a People bordering on the *Main*, in the Country now called the Circle of *Franconia*.

DRUSUS then resolved to enter *Germany* by Sea; at once to carry the War to the Borders of the *Ems* and *Weser*, without harrassing his Troops by a long and difficult March. He seems to have long conceived this great Design, to facilitate the Execution of which, he made the Canal † that now communicates from the *Rhine* to the *Issel*, extending from the Village of *Isseloort* to *Doefburg*. This Canal received a great Part of the Waters of the right Branch of the *Rhine*, which, by that Means, became much less considerable than before. But at the same Time, *Drusus* opened a third Mouth for that River into the Sea, mentioned by *Pliny* under the Name of *Flevum Ostium* ‡.—The Face of that Country has been greatly altered since. What is now called the *Zuider Zee* was then chiefly Land, watered by the *Rhine* joined to the *Issel*, falling into a Lake called *Flevo*, from whence, disemboguing

VOL. III.

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and

* CXXXVII.

† CELLARI Geograph. Ant. Lib. II. c. 3.

‡ LA MARTINIERE; Dict. Geograph. *Art.* FLEVO, FLEVUM, FLEVUS.

and becoming a River again, it at last opened into the Sea, probably at the Place now called the *Vlie*, between the Isles of *Vlieland* and *Schelling*.—From thence to the Mouth of the *Ems* is a short Passage.

HAVING prepared a Fleet upon the *Rhine*, he fell down that River, and passed through his own Canal; from whence coming into the *Iffel*, and following the Route I have described, he was the first Roman that entered the German Ocean. He subdued, or gained over, the *Frisons*; took Possession of the Isle of *Byrchanis*, now *Borckum*, near the Mouth of the *Ems*; and, ascending that River, conquered the *Bructeri* in a naval Fight. He then visited the *Cauci*, on the right hand Side of the *Ems*, where he was in great Danger: Being unacquainted with the Ebbing and Flowing of the Sea, his Ships, which had come up with the Help of the high Tide, were left dry when the Tide went off. His new Allies the *Frisons* helped him out of that Difficulty.

BEFORE he left the Country, he built a Fort at the Mouth of the *Ems*, on the left Side, opposite the Place where the Town of *Embsen* now stands; and having brought his Fleet and Army safely back, he distributed his Soldiers in Winter-Quarters, and went to *Rome* to receive the Pretorship, with the Applauses justly due to his Exploits in this his first Campaign in *Germany*, which was in the Year DCCXL.

EARLY the next Spring, he returned to his Army, repassed the *Rhine*, again engaged and defeated the same Enemies as before, built two Forts, in which he left Garrisons, one at the Junction of the Rivers *Lippe* and *Alm*, near *Paderborn*, and the other close to the *Rhine* in the Country of the *Catti*; after which he advanced toward the *Cherusci*, and penetrated to the *Wefer*. But the Fear of wanting Provisions, and the Approach of Winter, prevented his passing that River. For these Successes the Senate decreed him the Ornaments of Triumph, the Honour of an Ovation, and the Power of Proconsul when his

Year of Pretorship should be expired.—His Troops had given him the Title of *Imperator*, or *victorious General*. But *Augustus* was more tenacious of that Honour than of any other, except the Triumph, which he never granted after *Agrippa's* declining it, two Years before. Perhaps he was apprehensive that this Title might make the Commanders of his Armies apt to forget they were only his Lieutenants, and not Generals in chief.—Whatever Ground there may be for this Conjecture, which seems to be founded on Facts, it is at least certain, that when *Augustus* himself took the Title of *Imperator* for *Tiberius's* Conquest of the *Pannonians*, and *Drusus's* Victories in *Germany*, he would not permit either of *them* to assume it.

DRUSUS's third Campaign in *Germany*, in the ensuing Year, was equally successful. In the fourth, in DCCXLIII. he crossed the *Weser*, and reached the Borders of the *Elbe*, where, say *Dion Cassius* and *Suetonius* *, a Phantom appeared to him in the Likeness of a Barbarian Woman, and, with a menacing Voice, said to him, “Rash Man! Whither does thy
“inconsiderate Ardor hurry thee? The Fates forbid thy
“passing this River. Thy Exploits and thy Life must end
“here.”—It is possible that one of those *German* Prophetesses, as they were called, (of which Number was the famous *Veleda*), might act this Part; or, perhaps, more probable, that the Story was feigned in order to do Honour to the singular Circumstance of a *Roman* Army's being ready to pass the *Elbe*:—For *Drusus* was certainly a Man of too much Courage and Penetration to be frightened by such a Trick. Either Illness, or Accident, I cannot say which, for the Cause of his Death is differently accounted for, stopt his farther Progress. *Dion Cassius* ascribes it to Illness only. The Epitome of *Livy* says he was killed by a Fall from his Horse; and *Suetonius* informs us †, but at the same Time candidly refutes the Report, that *Augustus* did not escape Suspicion of having poisoned him,

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through

* Claud. §. I.

† Claud. §. I. & Tib. §. L.

through Fear of his great Popularity and Republican Spirit, of which he had given a strong Proof in his Letter to *Tiberius*, mentioned before. *Tacitus*, who spares no-body, acquits *Augustus* entirely of all such injurious Suspicions, when he says positively, speaking of *Marcellus's* Death, that *Augustus* never was cruel towards any Part of his Family, or ever caused the Death of any that belonged to him *.—Had this Youth been the Son of *Octavius*, like *Marcellus*, his Step-Mother *Livia* would have been suspected to have poisoned him.

As soon as *Augustus*, who was then at *Pavia*, (*Ticinum*) †, heard the News of *Drusus's* Illness, he immediately dispatched *Tiberius*, who was returned from conquering the *Pannonians*, *Dacians*, and *Dalmatians*. It were to be wished, for the Honour of *Tiberius*, that his brotherly Affection had been equal to his extraordinary Diligence on this Occasion: For, with only one Attendant, though he had the *Alps* and *Rhine* to cross, he travelled in a single Day and Night two Hundred Miles, through barbarous Countries, most of which were either open Enemies, or unwilling Allies. *Drusus*, who was still alive, though near his End, collected Strength enough to pay his Brother the Compliment of ordering the Army out to receive him, and to pay him all the Honours due to a Superior in Age and Command. He expired soon after at the Age of Thirty, infinitely regretted by the Soldiers, and lamented by every *Roman*.

His Army wanted to bury him in a military Manner in the Encampment where he died, between the *Rhine* and the *Sala* ‡; but upon *Tiberius's* shewing the Emperor's Orders, Preparations were made to conduct the Body to *Rome*. Centurions carried it on their Shoulders, to the Quarters of the Legions

Legions next the *Rhine*; *Tiberius*, on Foot, preceding the funeral Pomp: From thence, advancing towards *Italy*, the Senators and Magistrates of the Towns upon the Road received it at the Entrance of their Territories, and attended it to the next Frontier *. *Augustus* himself, in the Depth of Winter, accompanied it from *Pavia* to *Rome*.

NOTHING, that Magnificence or real Grief could suggest, was omitted to honour the Hero. Two funeral Orations were pronounced, one by *Tiberius* in the *Forum*, the other by *Augustus* in the *Flaminian Circus*. The Body was carried to the *Campus Martius* by *Roman* Knights of the greatest Distinction, and Sons of Senators; and after being burnt there, the Ashes were gathered up, and deposited in the *Julian Tomb*. *Augustus* likewise wrote his Epitaph in Verse, and Memoirs of his Life in Prose; but, unfortunately, they are lost.

THE Senate decreed every Kind of Honour to his Memory. The Surname of *Germanicus* was given to him, his Children, and Descendants: Statues were ordered to be erected to him in many Places; with a triumphal Arch of Marble, and Trophies, on the *Appian* Way, and a Monument near the *Rhine*, rendered famous by his Exploits. He seems even to have been deified: For History mentions an Altar raised to him in the Country where he had signalized his Valour †.

He married the younger *ANTONIA*, second Daughter of *Antony* and *Octavia*.—They were perhaps the loveliest Pair that ever did Honour to a Country, or adorned a Court.—The finest Figure of a Man, in all *Rome*, was *DRUSUS NERO*, and the most striking Beauty was the younger *ANTONIA*. The manly Grace and stately Stature of the Father combined with the Sweetness of the Mother to mix their Charms, and create, in her, the loveliest of Women. But their outward Form, how amiable soever, was far from being their superior Quality. *DRUSUS* possessed in Reality the Virtues which our

* TACIT. Annal. Lib. III.

† *Id.* lib. III.

Fancies paint in a Hero. His Nature was noble, generous, and magnificent, humane without Reserve, and so fond of well-founded Fame, that, in a Day of Battle, he used to ride fiercely along the Front, to find out and engage the General of the Enemy, that he might carry home the *Opima Spolia*, like *Romulus* and *Marcellus*.——ANTONIA joined to her exquisite Form every Virtue that can adorn a Woman; cautious in admitting, but steady in retaining Friendship; prone to do good Offices; ardent in her Love; and tempering the Severity of her Morals with a Sweetness and Affability which heightened every Charm.——I never think of them but with Veneration.——In the Midst of a luxurious Court and dissolute Town, in the Heat of Youth and Height of Strength, it is certain that the young Prince never touched a Woman, but his lovely *Antonia*.——And it is as certain, that, after his untimely Death, his inconsolable Confort, though in the Prime of Life, would never listen to a second Lover, nor hear any Proposal of another Marriage.——Full of the Idea of her adored *Drusus*, she shut herself up in the Apartment of her Mother-in-Law *Livia*, remained constantly under her Eye, and never heard the Name of *Drusus* mentioned, without shedding Tears, so long as she lived; though she survived near thirty Years after this woeful Separation.——Amiable and happy Pair!——As you were blessed in your Lives, embalmed be your Memory!——And may every accomplished Couple that tread in your Steps, taste your supreme Felicity!——*Drusus* had, by this best of Women, three Children; *Germanicus*, already mentioned; *Claudius*, who became Emperor; and *Livia*, or *Livilla*, who married her Cousin-German *Drusus*, Son of *Tiberius*.——Besides the Forts upon the *Ems* and *Lippe*, he built above fifty others along the Borders of the *Rhine* *;—probably the Beginnings of several of the Towns now in those Parts.

THE Affairs of *Germany* being left in an unsettled and uncertain

certain State by the premature Death of *Drusus*, *Tiberius* was ordered thither in the Year DCCXLIV. (for which *C. Asinius Gallus* and *C. Marcus Censorinus* were Consuls), to complete the Work gloriously begun by his Brother. *Augustus* had no one else in his Family, to whom he could entrust a Business of such Importance:—Nor, indeed, could he have chosen a fitter Person; for he was very brave, and piqued himself on being prudent. His Instructions seem to have been, rather to pacify Matters, than widen the Breach; to establish Peace and Tranquility, rather than to make Conquests;—so far as might be consistent with the Rights and Dignity of the *Roman* Empire.

L. DOMITIUS, who, probably, commanded the Army from the Time of *Drusus's* Death till the Arrival of *Tiberius*, had prided himself upon passing the *Elbe*; and carrying the *Roman* Arms into Regions where they had never before penetrated. He gained some Advantages in this Expedition, for which the Ornaments of a Triumph were decreed him *.—But *Augustus*, while he rewarded his Valour, did not approve of his Conduct.—Like a wise Prince, he was more studious how to govern well his vast Dominions, than to enlarge them beyond Measure. He would readily have agreed to make the *Rhine* his Boundary, and thought it no way advantageous to the *Romans* to go beyond the *Elbe*, lest, by rousing the warlike Nations on the other Side of that River, they should draw upon themselves too great a Number of Enemies.

HISTORY does not say, whether *Tiberius* fought any Battles on this Occasion, or whether the Terror of his Name and Arms was alone sufficient to reduce the *Germans*, already intimidated by the Losses they had sustained. Certain it is, that he forced Part of the *Suevi* and *Sicambri* to submit, and transported forty thousand of them to this Side of the *Rhine* †. Such was the stubborn Fierceness of these Barbarians, that many of them,

* TACIT. Annal. Lib. IV. §. XXI. & in Tib. §. IX. DIO.

† Id. ibid. Lib. II. SUET. in Aug.

them, especially their Chiefs, not able to endure being so far distant from their native Country, nor the Kind of Captivity they were kept in, chose rather to kill themselves. The *Sicambri*, who had been the principal Cause of renewing the War, seemed quite extinct after this Transmigration; nor did their Name appear again for a long while in the Wars of the *Romans* in *Germany*.—The *Marcomanni*, another very numerous Swarm of *Suevi*, terrified at the Disgrace of their Countrymen, and fearing a like Disaster, left the Neighbourhood of the *Rhine* and *Main*, and retired into *Bohemia*, under the Conduct of *Maroboduus*. By this means all became calm from the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*, and acknowledged the *Roman* Laws.

TIBERIUS, who completed this great Work, received at last, with *Augustus's* Leave, the Title of *Imperator*, the Honours of a Triumph, and a second Consulship. The Triumph, according to the Laws of *Rome*, was due and decreed to *Augustus*, whose Lieutenant only *Tiberius* had been: But he would not accept it, contenting himself with the Title of *Imperator*, which he now took for the fourteenth Time. He indeed made it a Rule not to triumph for Victories, which he had not gained in Person; thinking it ridiculous for any one to claim that transcendent Honour, when merited by the Labours and Danger of another. His Example, in this, was followed by his Successors. Every considerable Advantage, gained by their Lieutenants over an Enemy, gave them a Right to decorate themselves with the Title of *Imperator*; but not to have a Triumph decreed them.

AUGUSTUS's Victories over the *Germans* procured him the Honour of enlarging *Rome*;—a Privilege which was allowed to none, but such as had extended the Frontiers of the Empire: And as there was no longer either War or Disturbance in any Part of the vast Dominions of the *Romans*, he had likewise the Glory of closing, for the third Time, the Temple of *Janus*, which remained shut about twelve Years.

B O O K XV.

LET us now take a cursory View of the State of the *Roman* Empire about this Time.

ITALY, the Seat of Dominion, was guarded by three Fleets; one stationed at *Ravenna* in the *Adriatic*; another at *Cape Miseno*, near *Naples*; and the third secured the Gulphs of *Genoa* and *Marseilles*, near to the *Gallic* Shore. This last consisted of a Squadron of Ships of War taken from *Antony* at the naval Engagement at *Actium*;—stout Ships, well manned, and whose Rendezvous was at *Frejuls* in *Provence*. But the greatest Strength, and Nerves, as it were, of the Empire, lay upon the *Rhine*. There, besides a great Number of Ships, eight Legions (the Legion consisted of six thousand Men) lay as a common Safe-Guard to *Gaul* and *Germany*. The wide Country of late-conquered *Spain* was bridled with three Legions. That District of *Africa* which had not been given off to young *Juba* was kept in Awe by one Legion,—and in case of a Revolt, by two. A like Number was thought sufficient to keep the once powerful, and now enervated, Kingdom of *Egypt* in its Duty. *Judea*, *Syria*, and all the vast Tract from *Egypt* to the *Euphrates*, bowed before four Legions; who were also deemed sufficient to protect the *Iberian*, *Albanian*, and *Pontic* Kings, from the Insults of the *Parthians* and *Tartars*. *Thrace* had its own Princes,—the Posterity of *Sadacel*, *Rhescuporis*, and *Cotys*: But the Banks of the *Danube* were fortified with a Force equal to that upon the Borders of the *Euphrates*; which was four Legions;—two in *Bavaria*, *Austria*, and *Hungary*;—and two, or sometimes three, in *Servia* and *Bulgaria*. The new Conquest, *Dalmatia*, nearest to *Italy*, just on the opposite

Shore, had a Body of twelve thousand Men, settled in it by *Augustus*. They lay, as it were, at the Back of the Legions in *Upper Germany*; and, at the same Time, were at hand in case of any Commotion in *Italy*. The City of *Rome* had its proper Guard, three Cohorts of trained Bands, making twelve hundred Men; and the Pretorian Bands, who were the Prince's Life-Guards, amounting to four thousand five hundred. These were understood to be all native *Italians*, principally levied in *Tuscany*, *Romagna*, *Urbino*, and the *Campagna di Roma*.—Beside these standing Forces, it was generally allowed, that the Auxiliaries obliged to take Arms, and march out of the several Provinces, at the Call of a *Roman* General, were equal in Number to the native Armies of *Rome*: So that, exclusive of their Marines and naval Power, the military Establishment under *Augustus*, (the Produce of the Virtue he had finally destroyed), was about one hundred and fifty-five thousand legionary Troops, all supposed to be native *Romans*;—and, taking in the Auxiliaries, the whole amounted to three hundred and ten thousand fighting Men.

It is now worth while to learn the *Use* that was made of this great Force, and what *End* it principally served. “From the Time,” says the accurate *Tacitus*, “that *Augustus* settled the Affairs of the *Cæsarean* Family, the *Roman* People had fought upon this Foot, That their Victories brought Glory, and their Defeats Solitude to ONE Man*, while the Body of the State was little affected by Disasters, or bettered by Success. During the Reigns of *Tiberius* and *Caligula*, the People tasted only the bitter Fruits of Tyranny, in Time of Peace. The Attempt of *Furius Camillus Scribonianus* against *Claudius* was suppressed almost as soon as begun, (in five Days). *Nero* was driven from the Throne, more by

“ News

* Nam ex quo Divus Augustus res Cæsarum composuit, procul, et in unius Sollicitudinem aut Decus Populi Romani bellaverat.

“ News and Messages, than by Force of Arms. But after the
 “ Death of *Galba*, in the Struggle between *Otho* and *Vitellius*,
 “ not only the Legions and Fleets of the Republic, but the
 “ Pretorian Cohorts, the Life-Guards, and the City Trained-
 “ Bands, were led out to Battle.”——Let us review them when
 about to enter upon Action, and observe the *Figure* which
 the once warlike *Romans* made, after a few Reigns of Slavery
 and Idleness.

OTHO, says the same sagacious Author, ordered many of
 the chief Men in Office, and the greater Part of those of con-
 sular Dignity, to prepare to accompany him on his Expedition;
 —not as Officers to take Part in the War, but as Companions
 and Counsellors.——The Town was immediately filled with
 Anxiety and Trouble:—No Rank was exempt from Apprehen-
 sions. The Chiefs of the Senate, ancient Men, bowing
 under Years, were become unwieldy with long Peace; the lazy
 Nobility had been long disused to Arms, and had forgotten
 what War was:—Nor were the Gentry much better acquaint-
 ed with the Service. But all of them, the more they strove to
 hide their Terror, the more they betrayed it.——Nor were
 there wanting Fools among them, who, through a vain Osten-
 tation, purchased costly and resplendent Arms, and trained
 Horses; while some others provided Kitchen Utensils, and
 Waggon of Females, as Part of their Camp-Equipage.

BUT, without going so low down, the *Romans* became quite
 another People during the latter peaceful Period of the Life of
Augustus. Before that, the Body of the Citizens was strictly
 a *Militia*. All the Youths bore Arms, learned to ride the
 War-Horse, to dart the Spear, and wield the *Roman* Sword.
 —It had been so all over *Italy*.—Now, the Reverse took Place.
 The Name of Soldier was, for the best of Reasons, become
 odious. They took another Turn. They gave themselves up
 to Shews; loved the Theatres better than their Farms; be-
 came mean, worthless, and debauched; and fought only with

their Tongues, like our *Cavaliers* over their Cups.—The military Power was confined to the standing Army, which made the Loss of a Legion almost irreparable; and the Command of the Troops was generally given to Soldiers of Fortune, Men of obscure Birth.—The Season of the *Roman Republic's* producing Heroes was past and gone. The Toils and Dangers abroad, which first hardened the aspiring Youth; the Struggles and Prizes at Home, which inflamed their Ambition; and the Spirit of Liberty, which breathed vital Vigour through the whole, were now no more.—Though her external Form remained, the deplorable Revolution, which had altered her inward Parts, rendered *ROME* incapable of producing any more *Metelli*, *Scipios*, or *Catos*:—But she produced many polite artful Men, of a nice Taste in Dress, Equipage, and Cookery; abject Slaves of Power, and Flatterers of the *Cesarean* Family.

UNDER the Republic, the Citizens depended on *themselves*, their *own* Virtue, Spirit, and Activity, for the Honours of their Country, and the Establishment both of their Fortunes and Reputation. Now they depended on the Will or Caprice of one Man, whom they called *THE PRINCE*.—Under the Republic, the annual Succession to Offices circulating among the Citizens, put it in the Power of the great Men to oblige one another, by employing their Friends in Provincial Business, and taking Care of their Interest. This mutual successive Intercourse begot a friendly Correspondence, and linked the chief Men by mutual good Offices.—That Chain was now broken; and instead of applying to a noble *Roman*, or high-spirited Commoner, your Equals, for a Favour; you must now cringe to a Creature of *Cesar's*,—perhaps some favourite Freed-Man, some little Minion or Parasite, to recommend your Request.—What a Picture of slavish Submission is *Seneca's* Address to *Polybius*, the driveling *Claudius's* Favourite!

THERE were still Appearances of the two old Parties, the
Friends

Friends to the Republic, and the Friends to *Cesar*. Without Shew or Profession, the latter were secretly favoured and preferred; whilst the former were kept out of Power, and excluded from the Honours of their Country.—As, soon after the Restoration, a Stigma of Hypocrisy was put upon all the Parliament's Party; so now, the Courtiers affected to talk of the zealous *Pompeians*, as they termed them, that is Friends to Liberty, as half-mad;—Men without Discretion; ignorant of the World, and of the Nature of Government. *Cesar*, however, artful and wise, allowed it to go no farther than *Sneering*; and this Moderation was the true Reason of his Safety, and the substantial Measure that secured his Government. It could not, at first, protect his Person from the Attempts of particular Men, Youths bred up in high Notions of Liberty and Honour; though, in Process of Time, it prevented even these: But it effectually broke the Union, and consequently eluded the Force of the old republican Party, which Cruelty and Oppression must have cemented, and by irritating their Spirits have brought Matters to a new Struggle and Crisis, that would have again involved him in the Risques and Devastations of another civil War. He therefore actually courted the chief Men in the *Pompeian* Party, to come and take Part with him in the Management of Affairs; and, as I said before, employed some of them, who had borne Arms against him, as his chief Ministers. *Piso*, *Messala*, and *Domitius*, were of this Number.—A Prince, who cannot forgive, has no Title to Love, nor Abilities to rule.

AUGUSTUS's great Talent was a true Discernment of the Tempers, Spirits, and Abilities of Mankind.—It was a principal Part of his Skill in Government, to know the chief Men that composed his Court, and to indulge them in such of their Inclinations as did not immediately shock his Power.—Thus *Agrippa* and *Piso* were humoured in their Love of Power and Magnificence (but their Power must be shewn abroad, and
their

their Grandeur at Home); *Messala* in his Love of Liberty, and the old Forms of the Common-Wealth; *Asinius Pollio* in his haughty Liberty of Speech, and Contempt of the common Restraints; the other *Pollio* (*Vedius*) in his Luxury; and each, as his Genius led him, might build or triumph, domineer in the Senate, debauch, or declaim against the present Corruptions, and extol the past Age, without Fear of Punishment from *Augustus*, who yet knew them all perfectly, and, for his own Sake, bore with them, and with the greatest Dexterity played them upon one another.

WE have a pretty remarkable Instance of this in *Seneca* *, with Respect to *Asinius Pollio*.—*Timagenes*, one of the learned *Greeks* who were acceptable to the Great at *Rome*, was an Historian and Philosopher by Profession. He lived with *Augustus* for some Time, but could not refrain from venting *Sarcasms* against him, his Wife, and all his Family. They were picked up and spread: for that rash Kind of Wit is generally taking and much repeated. *Augustus* often warned him to be more discreet; and, at length, upon his persisting in his ill-natured Jokes, forbid him the Court. *Asinius Pollio* then took him under his Protection, and kept him till he grew old. Notwithstanding his snarling Temper, he was much caressed by all the People of Fashion; nor did the Shutting of *Cesar's* House prevent his Admittance into any other. When *Augustus* was told whither he was gone, he never quarrelled with *Pollio* about it, but only said he had taken a wild Beast into his House: And when the other was making some Excuse; No, no, *Pollio*, said he, enjoy him, enjoy him, he is good for diverting the Spleen. Sir, said *Pollio*, if you desire it, I will immediately forbid him my House. By no Means, replied *Augustus*, do you think that I, who made up your Friendship, would desire any such Thing?

THERE was a great Similitude of Character and Fortune between

* Lib. III. c. 23. De Ira.

between *Asinius Pollio* and *Cornelius Gallus*. Both were Men of obscure Birth, great Parts, and high Spirit; both learned, haughty, and owing their Exaltation to personal Merit.— Their Friendship was proportionable. *Pollio* sent his Compositions from *Spain* to *Gallus* at *Rome*, and desires *Cicero*, if he has a Mind to read a *Pretexta* of his, to ask *Cornelius Gallus* for it *. This Friendship was probably the Reason why the Surname of *Gallus* was given to *Pollio's* Son, *Asinius Gallus*, who, as far as the Court and Times he lived in (those of *Tiberius*) would allow, shewed that he had inherited both his Father's Eloquence, and his resolute Spirit. *Pliny* tells us of his giving 9000 l. † for a Cedar Table.—*Asinius Pollio* died at his Seat at *Tusculum*, in the 755th Year of *Rome*, and 80th of his Age.

THE *Romans*, in general, were now reconciled to their new Government. Their once high Notions of independant Liberty were gone, and their present Ease and Tranquillity seemed to the many a far preferable State.—On the other hand, *Augustus* omitted no Pains to make them really satisfied and happy. Every Art was used to keep up the old *Forms*, and every Method practised to extirpate Abuses and establish a proper Order. The Senators, though required to be very regular in their Attendance, when any important Affair was to be debated, were now indulged with an annual Recess from Business during two Months of the Year, *September* and *October*; at which Time the Senate was reduced to what we should call a Committee, consisting of only an hundred Members chosen by Lot, instead of four hundred, which was the lowest Number otherwise necessary to make a Decree.

A NEW Prerogative was likewise granted to the Pretors;— that of proposing to the Senate a Subject to be debated. They had this Privilege of Course, while the Republic subsisted; because the Consuls being then often obliged to be absent from

Rome

* *ASIN POLL.* Epist. ad *Cicer.*

† *HS* xj.

Rome upon Business of the State, the Pretors, who were next to them in Dignity, of right took their Places, and, at those Times, not only proposed Affairs in the Senate, but presided there.—But, as the Consuls now resided constantly in *Rome*, the Pretors had no longer any Function in the Senate : A Circumstance which hurt them the more, as the Tribunes, whose Office was inferior to them in point of Rank, enjoyed this Distinction, of which they were deprived. They represented this to *Augustus*, who thought their Complaint well-founded, and redressed the Grievance.

BRIBERY, to obtain Offices, had not yet been entirely extirpated, either by the Change of Government, or the new Laws against it. In the Year of *Rome* 744, *Augustus* tried a Method, which a Passage in *Cato's* Life had, probably, suggested to him. Every Candidate was to deposit a Sum of Money in his Hands, to be forfeited in case they were convicted of illicit Liberalities. This Medium betwixt a mean Connivance, and a Rigour which might have branded great Names, was extremely applauded.

THE Case was otherwise in regard to a Subtilty he devised, in order to elude the Law, which forbid putting Slaves to the Torture in criminal Processes against their Master. Rightly judging that this Law tended to favour secret Plotting and Conspiracies, the only Danger he now had to fear, he caused a new one to be passed, purporting, that the Slaves of Persons accused of Crimes against the State, might be sold to the Republic or the Emperor; by which Means they were no longer screened from being put to the Rack, and there interrogated. This was a palpable Subterfuge, a flagrant Evasion of the Letter of the Law, and an enormous Abuse, by which the Lives of Masters were thus put into the Power of their Slaves; and many complained of it as such:—But the more moderate excused it, as a Precaution necessary for the Safety of his Person.

WHAT greatly contributed to palliate this, and to give a Sanction to all *Augustus's* other Regulations, was, that he did not proceed in any of them with the least Shew of absolute Authority, but constantly submitted them to the Examination of the Senate, and ordered them to be fixed up in the Senate-House, before they were passed, that every Senator might read and consider them, and speak his Opinion freely. This Shew of Moderation was extremely pleasing, and highly politic. It gained the Hearts of the People, and secured their Compliance with whatever he desired.

THUS did he maintain that wise Medium so difficult to be allied with sovereign Power:—For it is above all Things necessary, says *Plutarch* *, for a Prince to keep up the Authority of Command. But that Authority is not less maintained by refraining from what does not belong to it, than by exerting its legal Rights. He who softens Things too much, or carries them too far, is, properly speaking, no longer a Prince, but becomes either a Flatterer of the People, or a despotic Master; and consequently must be either despised or hated.

THESE Maxims were now the Soul of all *Augustus's* Conduct:—He was Prince in what concerned the public Good, and a private Man in what related only to himself.—A Tax being imposed by his Order, and levied under his Authority, he gave in a Declaration of his whole Estate, just as if he had been a common Citizen †.—The Senate and People having voluntarily taxed themselves in order to erect Statues to him, he received the Money, and laid it out in emblematical Representations of public Welfare, Concord, and Peace, with

VOL. III.

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which

* Δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἀρχόντα σώζειν πρῶτον αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχήν. σώζεται δὲ ἐχ' ἡττον ἀπεχομένη τῷ μὴ προσήκοντος, ἢ περιεχομένη τῷ ἀπρόσῃκοντος ὃ δ' ἐνδιδίδας, ἢ ἐπιβέβων, ὃ μένει βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ ἀρχὼν, ἀλλ' ἢ δημόγιος ἢ δέσποτης γιγνόμενος, ἐμποιεῖ τὸ μισεῖν ἢ καταφρονεῖν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις.

PLUT. in Compar. Thesei & Romuli.

† Dio. Lib. LIV. Suet. in Aug. §. 53—57.

which he embellished the City. He even ordered the silver Statues, formerly erected to him, to be melted down; and bought, with their Produce, Tripods of Gold for the Temple of *Apollo Palatine*.—Such also were the Uses which he made of the Presents he frequently received, either from Bodies of Men; or from private Persons: For there was, if I may be allowed the Expression, an open Commerce of Liberalities between him and all the Citizens. At the Beginning of every Year he received Gifts from whoever brought them, and returned others, just as Relations and Friends often do, to shew their mutual Regard. The whole State seemed to be his Family; and with what was thus given him, he purchased Statues to adorn the Squares and Streets of *Rome*.

DION CASSIUS * and *Suetonius* † mention a strange Singularity concerning this Prince. They say, that, in consequence of a Dream, he turned Beggar on one Day of every Year, holding out his Hand, and receiving little Bits of Money which the common People gave him.—So true is it, that even the greatest Geniuses often have their unaccountable Oddities,—their superstitious Weaknesses, if I may so term them; and that they almost always pay, in one Shape or other, the Tribute of Humanity.

CARES more becoming his exalted Station, were those which he took to provide for the Convenience and Safety of the City. He made the celebrated *Messala* Superintendant of the Aqueducts ‡ and Common-Sewers; one of those noble and truly useful Ornaments, for which *Rome* was principally indebted to *Agrippa*, who had bequeathed to the Emperor a great Number of Slaves, all of whom were now given to the Republic, for laborious and servile Works.

THE Grandeur of *Rome* appeared both by its vast Extent and stately Streets; but more by the Magnificence of the public Works under Ground, I mean the amazing Aqueducts and

* Ubi supra.

† In Aug. §. XCI.

‡ FRONTIN. de Aquæduct.

and Common-Sewers; dug like Channels for subterraneous Torrents. For if we attentively consider the surprising Plenty of Water in so vast a City, first in the public and private Baths, then in the Fish-Ponds, Canals, Gardens, Villas, then think how far the Streams were brought, what Arcades were reared, what Mountains dug through, what Valleys filled up, we must acknowledge the *Roman* Aqueducts to have been the most stupendous Work in the known World*.—When the first Restorer of Learning, the elegant *Petrarch*, went to visit *Rome*, he was afraid the Sight of its Ruins would fall far short of the Idea he had formed of its Magnificence from Books. But the very Ruins surpassed his Imagination; and upon viewing them carefully, he said, That instead of wondering how such a City should conquer the World, he was rather surprized it should be so long in doing it†.

To prevent the frequent Mischief which had arisen from Fires in *Rome*, *Augustus* divided the City into fourteen Districts, over each of which one of the annual Magistrates, either a Pretor, a Tribune, or an Edile, was to preside; and under these were the Commissaries before appointed, who now received a Jurisdiction over the City-Slaves, till then commanded by the Ediles only, when their Assistance was wanted to extinguish a Fire.—But even this not proving sufficient, a regular Patrole, consisting of seven Cohorts, composed of Freed-Men only, and commanded by a Knight, was established about twelve Years after. This Institution, which was an excellent Safeguard against Robberies and Murders as well as Fires, proved so extremely useful, that it became a perpetual,

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and

* Quid loquar aerio pendentes fornice Rivos

Quâ vix imbriferas tolleret Iris aquas?

Hos potius dicas crevisse in Sidera Montes:

Tale gigantæum Græcia laudat Opus.

RUTILII NUMANTIANI ITINER.

† Jam non Orbem ab hac Urbe domitam, sed tam serò domitam, miror.

LIB. II. Ep. 14.

and, ere long, an honourable, Establishment. When *Dion Cassius* wrote, free-born Citizens did not scruple to belong to it. They had regular Pay, and Guard-Rooms in the City. The Commander of the Patrole is mentioned, and his Functions and Prerogatives are described, in the *Roman Law*.

AUGUSTUS was equally attentive to the Welfare of the Provinces, and of Individuals. The *Asiatics* having suffered greatly by Earthquakes in the Year 740, he paid their Tribute out of his own Money; sending to the public Treasury the Sum to which it amounted *. It is true this Payment, made out of the Prince's Coffers to the Treasury of the Republic, was a Kind of Joke; the Emperor having equally the Command of both.—But the Province was not the less really exempted from a Year's Tribute.

BEING told that *Gallus Tetrinius*, a Senator, of whom he had but little Knowledge, was excessively afflicted at having lost his Sight suddenly, and had resolved to starve himself; he went to him, comforted him, and prevailed upon him to lay aside that dreadful Resolution †.—*T. Arius*, a rich Man, (which is all we know of him ‡), having discovered that his Son had formed a Design to murder him, resolved to judge the Criminal himself; and, to proceed with the greater Solemnity, erected in his own House a domestic Tribunal, composed of Men of known Probity;—the *Roman Law* giving Parents a Right to judge their Children. *Augustus* was invited, went, and took his Seat as Counsellor and Assistant-Judge for *Arius*. The Fact being proved, Sentence was to be given:—Upon which *Augustus*, to remove all Possibility of Partiality, proposed that every one should give his Opinion in Writing, lest his, if known, should influence the rest; and then, to avoid

even

* *DIO. Lib. LIV.*

† *SUET. in Aug. §. LIII.*

‡ Unless *T. Arius* be the same with *L. Tarius Rufus*, (mentioned by *Pliny*, *Lib. XVIII. c. 6.*), who, from the lowest Origin, raised himself by his Merit, and *Augustus's* Favour, to the highest Honours, and the Consulship. An inadvertent Copyist may easily have written *Tarius* instead of *T. Arius*.

even the most distant Suspicion of his being at all biased by Interest, (for there was no room to doubt but that *Arius*, according to the general Custom of that Time, would have made him his Heir after the Condemnation of his Son,) he solemnly protested, before the Billets were opened, that he never would, at any Time whatever, accept of any Gift or Legacy from *Arius*. In his Sentence, he inclined as much as possible to Lenity; considering who was the Prosecutor, rather than what Punishment the Crime deserved; and likewise judging that the Prince's Presence ought always to be accompanied with Favour and Indulgence. He, therefore, instead of adhering to the strict Letter of the Law, (according to which the Criminal must have been sewed up in a Sack, with a Dog and a Serpent, and then thrown into the Sea), proposed Banishment, as a sufficient Punishment for the intended Guilt of a raw Youth, who had been trepanned into Villainy, and who, trembling and disconcerted when only preparing to commit the Crime, had, even in that, shewn his Remorse; and given Room to hope that the Sentiments of Nature were not quite stifled in his Heart. *Arius* gladly approved of this Clemency, and banished his Son to *Marseilles*, where he continued to him the same yearly Allowance as before his Transgression *.

IN the general Reformation of Abuses, *Augustus* introduced a new Custom relative to the last Wills of Persons who died abroad. It was a common Practice with the *Romans* to make their Wills at *Rome*, and leave them with their Friends, or, if they were great Men, to deposit them in some sacred Place, such as the Temple of *Ops* or *Vesta*. But *Lucius Lentulus*, dying in *Afric*, left *Augustus* Co-heir with his Daughter, and wrote a Codicil, signed by Witnesses, desiring him to give certain Legacies to Persons named therein. *Augustus* assembled some of the most eminent Lawyers, among whom was *Trebatius*, reputed the greatest Civilian then in *Rome*, and asked their

* *SENEC. de Clement. Lib. I. §. 15.*

their Opinion, what he ought to do? and whether the Use of Codicils annexed to Wills was agreeable to the Tenor of the Roman Law? *Trebatius* answered in the Affirmative, and gave as his Reason why that Custom ought to be introduced, that the Great Men of *Rome*, being frequently obliged to take long Journeys, might possibly be in such Circumstances as not to be able to make a formal Will, though they could write a Codicil. Upon this, *Augustus* fulfilled the Desire of *Lentulus*, and his Daughter made good the Legacies, which, in Law, she was not bound to do. The Custom prevailed by their Example; and, a little while afterwards, the famous *Antistius Labeo* having likewise made Codicils, no Body doubted any more of their Use and Validity *.

AUGUSTUS likewise introduced another Novelty in the Law.—It was usual for dying Persons to intrust their Estates to another, (a *Fidei Commissum* they called it) that the Trustee might enter upon them as Heir, and after a little Time give and surrender them up to a third Person, disqualified somehow for being *immediate* Heir himself; and this Trust, unguarded by any Thing but private Honesty, having been frequently abused, *Augustus*, either out of Regard to the Persons to whom the Estate was finally to devolve, or provoked by some flagrant Pieces of Roguery, or the Trustee having been obtested by the WELFARE OF THE PRINCE, first desired the Consuls to interpose their Authority in a few Instances. They called the Trustee before them, and made him swear, *As you wish Health and Happiness to AUGUSTUS CESAR†, so you swear and promise that you will faithfully render up and deliver to N..., &c.* And this, appearing to be a just and popular Thing, came so much in vogue, that a Pretor or Civil

* INSTIT. JUSTINIAN. Lib. II. Tit. 25. De Codicillis.

† Instead of, *As you wish Prosperity and Grandeur to the Roman COMMON-WEALTH.*—A grievous Fall! A deplorable Change!—The Health of one Man, more sacred and precious than the public Welfare!

Civil Judge was appointed soon after, to take Cognizance solely of such Trusts *.

AUGUSTUS's Mildness, his Moderation, his Beneficence, in short,—for it would be unjust not to allow it *now*,—his VIRTUES, rendered him deservedly dear to every Lover of Unanimity and Peace. It therefore was no longer Flattery, but real Gratitude, which induced every Order of the State, public Communities, as well as private Persons, Cities protected by the Empire, and Kings in the Alliance of the *Romans*, to vie, as it were, who most should celebrate and honour the Author of their common Felicity.—*Suetonius*, than whom I cannot follow a better Guide, has collected into one View †, according to his usual Method, all that relates to these Demonstrations of the public Affection for *Augustus*.

He sets out with declaring, that he does not mention the Decrees of the Senate, because they may be suspected not to have been quite free Acts.—But the *Roman* Knights voluntarily celebrated *Augustus's* Birth-Day every Year, by a Festival which lasted two Days.—All the Orders of the State went annually on a certain Day, in consequence of a Vow they had made for his Preservation, and threw their Offerings into the Lake *Curtius*; a Piece of Superstition, of which we find Examples of one Kind or other in almost every Country.—His Palace having been burnt, all the Magistrates in a Body, the several Tribes of the People, the veteran Soldiers, and Numbers of private Individuals, hastened to carry him Money to help to rebuild it. He thanked them for their Kindness; and to shew them that he neither despised their Offer, nor would put them to Expence, reached his Hand to each Heap, and took from it the Value of a Farthing or Half-Penny.—The *Augustalia*, which still subsisted in *Dion Cassius's* Time, was one of the Festivals instituted for his Return to *Rome* from a long Journey.

* INSTIT. JUSTINIAN. Lib. II. Tit. 23. De Fidei Com. Hereditat.

† In Aug. §. L II—LX.

Journey.—But nothing could be more pleasing than the Manner in which the glorious Title of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY was given him.

THE People first sent a solemn Deputation to him at *Antium*; requesting him to accept this Title; but he modestly declined it: Upon which, on his Return to *Rome*, they assembled, and, with an unanimous Acclamation, gave it him, just as he was going into the Theatre. The next Day, *Messala*, in full Senate, and, in the Names of all the Senators, turning to him, said, *CESAR AUGUSTUS**! *The Senate and Roman People, wishing all Happiness and Prosperity to you and your Family (for that Wish includes the lasting Happiness of the Republic†), with one Voice salute you FATHER OF YOUR COUNTRY.*—*Augustus* was moved even to Tears, and answered ‡; *Having now attained the utmost Height of my Wishes, what more can I request of the immortal Gods, but that you may have for me, till the last Moment of my Life, the same Sentiments as you now express?*—He was undoubtedly right; and that Day was certainly the most glorious of his Life.—Can any Triumph, be it ever so pompous, be compared to this pathetic Expression of universal Love and Affection?

SEVERAL Fathers of Families ordered, by their Wills, that their Bodies should be carried to the Capitol when dead, and
Sacrifices

* Quod bonum faustumque sit tibi domuique tuæ, Cæsar Auguste, (sic enim nos perpetuam felicitatem Reipublicæ—precari existimamus) Senatus te consentiens cum Populo Romano consulat PATRIÆ PATREM.

SUET. in Aug. §. LVIII.

† It was customary at new Institutions, Creations of Magistrates, &c: first to form Wishes for the Prosperity of the Nation, and the whole State. *Messala* here pays *Augustus* a very high Compliment, in praying only for *his* Prosperity, that of the Republic being *of course* included in it.

‡ Cui lacrymans respondit Augustus his verbis—Compos factus votorum meorum, P. C. quid habeo aliud deos immortales precari, quam ut hunc consensum vestrum ad ultimum vitæ finem mihi perferri liceat? SUET. ubi supra.

Sacrifices be offered there in their Names, to discharge their Vows if they left *Augustus* alive at the Time of their Death. Many Cities altered the Beginning of their Year in Honour of him, reckoning for the first Day that on which he visited them. In the Provinces, besides Temples and Altars erected to him, Games were instituted to celebrate the Glory of his Name every five Years. Most of the Kings, who were Allies of the *Romans*, founded in their Dominions Cities to which they gave the Name of *Cesarea*. One of the most famous of these was *Cesarea* in *Palestine*, built by *Herod*, who, being neither *Jew* nor *Gentile*, but whatever best suited his Turn, celebrated the Dedication of it by Games attended with all the Superstitions of Paganism.

IN the Midst of this Profusion of Applause, *Augustus* received a fourth Prorogation of the Imperial Power *, which he had pretended to accept at first only for ten Years. The second Prorogation was in 734, for five Years; and this was followed by a third in 739, when *Agrippa* was continued in the tribunician Power, for the same Space of Time. These twenty Years being now expired, he again feigned a Desire to resign; but suffered himself to be prevailed upon once more, to bear for ten Years longer a Burthen so pleasing to his Ambition;—and which, after all, it *now* was for the Benefit of Mankind that he should bear.

PERSONS in power are very apt to pretend that they wish above all Things to retire from Business,—to taste the Sweetness of domestic Quiet:—They are weary of Grandeur,—a Croud is troublesome, and a snug Privacy is their supreme Ambition. I do believe that *Augustus* saw the Happiness of a private Life, and promised himself another Sort of Pleasure in the Enjoyment of it. This made him frequently mention it in the Senate;—so frequently, that it lost its Effect. He himself perceived the Ridicule; and, at last, begged the Fathers to allow

him at least the Satisfaction of *talking* of a Time so agreeable in Prospect, until the favourable Conjunction should arrive, which would permit him to taste the Blessings of Retirement;—but which, by the bye, never did arrive during his long Life. He loved to have the Prospect of Ease, as it were, in Reversion; but had neither the Virtue nor Courage, like *Charles* or *Bladford*, actually to resign.

THE highest Benefit that can be bestowed on Men, is a Body of wholesome Laws, and a Form of Government adapted to them. The next is, saving it when in Danger, redressing it when corrupted, or restoring this inestimable Blessing, when lost: And the third is, putting those Laws duly in Execution. The Ancients thought so highly of those who founded States and Cities, as Legislators,—who could induce rude Mortals to exchange their Piteousness for the Sweetness of social Life; that they honoured them as Gods.—No more amiable or alluring Picture can be drawn of their Merit, or of the noble Returns made to it, than *Hercules* has set before *Augustus*.—It was, says he, after a Course of glorious Deeds,—after employing their Lives in the Service of Mankind, in putting an End to dismal Wars, in fixing Limits, assigning Property, founding Cities, and settling mighty States, that *Romulus*, and the Sons of *Jove*, *Caster* and *Pollux*, with Father *Bacchus*, were consecrated as Gods, and worshipped by the admiring World.—Could a Prince fond of true Honour, as *Augustus* undoubtedly was, be moved with any Thing, or attached to real Goodness, it must be by this bright Reward of IMMORTALITY by the general Suffrage of Mankind.

THIS Year, (the DCCXLIVth of *Rome*), deprived *Augustus* of his beloved Sister OCTAVIA;—though he had in some Measure lost her twelve Years before, by the inconsolable Mourning in which she passed all the Time that she survived her son *Marcellus*.—Worthy of the highest Praises in every other Respect, she gave an inexcusable Loose to her Grief on
this

this Occasion.—From the Moment of his Death, she never ceased to bewail and lament; obstinately refusing to hear any Thing that could be said to mitigate her Sorrow, and even forbidding every one to attempt to comfort her. Wholly intent upon that one melancholy Thought, she would suffer no Picture or Representation of the dear Object, nor so much as let his Name be mentioned in her Hearing. All Mothers became odious to her, and particularly *Livia*, whose Son seemed destined to inherit the Grandeur which *Marcellus* would have had. Delighting in nothing but Solitude and Darkness, she seemed as if dazzled by the too great Lustre that environed her Brother; and far from seeking Comfort from that Quarter, hid, and, as it were, buried herself from him. Though she saw around her three Daughters* married, and several Grand-Children; yet she persisted in wearing Mourning all her Life, still looking upon herself as childless in the Midst of so numerous and flourishing a Family†.

AUGUSTUS, who had always loved her tenderly, paid all imaginable Honours to her Memory. He pronounced her funeral Oration in the Temple erected to *Julius Cesar*; and *Drusus*, who was then alive, pronounced another in the Forum. Her three Sons-in-Law, *Drusus*, *Domitius*, and *Julus Antonius*, bore her Body to the *Campus Martius*, where the funeral Ceremony was performed. The Senate honoured her Memory with such Profusion of Decrees, that even *Augustus* himself thought it incumbent on him to put a Stop to them. —He had built in her Life Time, to perpetuate her Name, a noble Edifice, called the *Octavian Portico*‡; so vast, that it

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contained,

* *Marcella* married to *Julus Antonius*; and the two *Antonias*, one married to *L. Domitius*, and the other to *Drusus*.

† SEN. Consol. ad Marc. c. 2.

‡ There were two Porticos in *Rome*, Buildings of vast Magnificence, which bore the Name of *Octavia*. The Portico here spoken of was contiguous to the Theatre of *Marcellus*. The other, which stood near *Pompey's Theatre*, was built

contained, as we are told, some magnificent Temples.—*Sauron* and *Batrachus*, two *Lacedemonian* Architects then at *Rome*, had the conducting of this grand Work.—They were Men of Spirit, in affluent Circumstances, and carried on the Fabric with great Magnificence, hoping they should be permitted to inscribe their Names on some Part of it. This however, was refused them.—But as Ambition is ingenious, they carved in *Bas-relief*, on the Chapter of the two most remarkable Pillars, a *Lizard* and a *Frog*, the Animals whose Names they bore.

LIVIA, endowed with greater Fortitude of Mind, behaved very differently from *Octavia*, under the very same Circumstance, the Loss of her Son *Drusus*, which happened soon after. She wept for his Death, and was sincerely grieved; but without being troublesome to any one: And above all, she avoided adding to *Augustus's* Concern, which was already sufficiently great. She accepted the Honours offered to alleviate her Sorrows, Statues decreed to the deceased, and the Privileges of a Mother of three Children*; and during the Remainder of her Life, she never ceased to extol her beloved *Drusus*, called to mind his Image and Resemblance on all Occasions, took Delight in speaking of him, and in hearing others praise his Virtues.—In the Beginning of her Grief (which is the Time when our Calamities generally bear hardest upon us, and we are most impatient), she admitted the Philosopher *Areius*, her Husband's Friend, to visit her, and acknowledged

built by *Cn. Octavius*, the Son of *Cneius*, who was Curule Edile, Consul, and Decemvir for holy Things;—the same who led the naval Triumph over *Perseus*, the last King of *Macedon*. It was burnt down, and magnificently rebuilt by *Augustus* (a), in Honour, I suppose, of his Progenitors.

(a) POMPON. FESTI, Fragm. in O.

* *Augustus's* Laws, in order to increase the Number of Citizens, granted several Privileges to the Fathers and Mothers of three Children; such as, their being exempt from certain Taxes levied upon collateral Inheritances, and the Advantage of having the Preference in Nominations to Employments and Offices, &c.

ledged that her Sorrows were much assuaged by him.—The old Philosophers had the Character which the wisest and most moderate of our Clergy now enjoy.

THE Year in which *Octavia* died was likewise the last of *MECENAS*'s Life.—Though this old Confidant and faithful Minister had, of late, lost somewhat of his former Influence; yet *Augustus* was too well acquainted with his Merit, and piqued himself on too much Constancy in his Friendship, not to regret the Companion of all his great Undertakings. *Dion Cassius* may have been misled by common Fame, when he makes a too great Intimacy between the Emperor and his Minister's Wife the chief Cause of this Alteration. *Tacitus* says nothing of this Report, which he certainly would not have omitted, if he had thought there was any Foundation for it.—It is true that *Mecenas* was all his Life the Dupe of his Passion for *Terentia*, a capricious fantastical Woman, whose Humours gave him perpetual Uneasiness; whom he quarrelled with, and was reconciled to, every Day, and put away one Moment to take her again the next; so that, as *Seneca* says*, he was married a thousand Times, and never had but one Wife.

THESE continual Wrangles could not but hurt the Health of a Man whose Constitution was naturally weak, and had been impaired by Effeminacy and high Living. Sleep had forsaken him; and all Methods to procure Repose,—Wine, the Murmuring of a Cascade, the distant Sound of gentle Music, proved ineffectual.—Whether his Indisposition, which really rendered him unfit for Business; or an Increase of the supine Habit he had indulged himself in; or a Disgust at length conceived, either by the Master when he had given all, or by the Minister satiated with Employments;—whether it was one or all of these I cannot say, nor can I precisely the Time when, *MECENAS*, who had been in all the Mysteries of State,

State, and was himself the prime Projector, declined in Favour, was no longer consulted in Affairs of Moment, nor held the same Place in the Cabinet as he had formerly done.—However, nothing in all this amounted in any Shape to a Disgrace.—The same Appearance of Grandeur and Interest continued, and *Augustus* shewed him the same Countenance to the last. But the Life and Substance were fled, and another was consulted upon the greatest Matters, with the Familiarity and Confidence used to a Favourite.—He was succeeded by a Gentleman very much of his own Character, CRISPUS SALLUSTIUS, a Nephew of the Historian, by a Sister, and adopted by him into his Name and Family.

THIS new Favourite, in his private Life, was rather luxurious than splendid ; very different from the ancient Frugality, both in the Elegance of his Dress, the Affluence and Delicacy of his Table, and the Richness of his Furniture.—But under all these Appearances of Indolence and Pleasure, was a Strength of Mind equal to the greatest Affairs, and bearing by so much the keener Edge, as it pretended to nothing but Ease and Indulgence. Though he had Access to Honours of every Kind, yet, like *Mecenas*, he despised the *Peerage*, and without the broad Border about his Robes, excelled the consular and triumphant Senators in Power and Dignity. While *Mecenas* stood, he was next in Confidence, and afterwards succeeded quietly to the great Trust.—It was to him that *Tiberius*, at his Accession, gave the dangerous Commission of killing the young *Agrippa*.—He died in the Year of Rome, 773, after experiencing the same Fate as his Predecessor, in holding rather an Appearance, than the Reality of the Favour of the Prince, with whom he lived six Years.

MECENAS, whilst in Power, which was till very little before his Death, had the Management of all Transactions that were to be accomplished by Persuasion or Address. In these

these Cases, the Negotiator's Appearance had a great Influence. One would scarce look for any Harm from so soft a Man, or think him inclined to be severe on any one.—Some would even be apt to despise his Understanding (which gave him a great Advantage in treating), and believe that such an honest, dissolute, careless Fellow would mind little more than his Pleasures, and could have no deep Designs.—Affairs which required Activity, Gravity, and Force, were committed to *Agrippa*.

THOUGH we are not acquainted with Particulars, I can make no doubt but that *Cesar*'s chief Friends must better their Fortunes, even amidst the Horrors of the Proscription. When so much public and private Money was flying about, and so many noble Estates were changing Masters; while the Tribunes and Subalterns were all getting rich; it is scarce probable that the General *Agrippa*, the Minister *Mecenas*, the Lord High Chamberlain *Cornelius Gallus*, the faithful *Proculeius*, *Statilius Taurus*, *L. Aruntius*, and many others who were zealously attached to the Conqueror, reaped none of the Fruits of the Siege of *Perugia*, and the Victories at *Philippi* and *Actium*. On the contrary, it appears that a great Part of the Property of *Sicily* had fallen, and not undeservedly, to the Share of *Agrippa* *. But the Inundation of Wealth, which, in a Manner, overwhelmed all *Cesar*'s Followers, came pouring from *Egypt* and the *East*, after the final Reduction of *Alexandria*.—It was then that the Treasures of the *Ptolomean* Race, swelled with *Cleopatra*'s Rapines, and all the Spoils of the Eastern Provinces collected by *Antony* and his Lieutenants, fell in one Day a Prey to *Cesar* and his Friends.

THE

* *Fructibus Agrippæ Siculis quos colligis Icci! &c.* HOR. Ep. Lib. I.
Where the Verses

*Si ventri bene, si lateri est, pedibusque tuis; nil
Divitiæ poterunt regales addere majus,*
are taken from *Solon*.

THE AIRS of Luxury and Delicacy which *Mecenas* gave himself, were at first, I judge, a Stroke of Politics, not foreign at the same Time from his real Inclinations.—This artful Management was useful, and protected the Beginning of *Augustus's* Reign, when Conspiracies against him were frequent. Afterwards, it turned to a Habit, and was, I believe, a Kind of expiatory Offering to that dreadful Goddess *Envy*, as well as his contenting himself with the Condition of a *Roman Gentleman*, when, with the greatest Ease, he could have risen to the Consulship and the highest Commands. *Agrippa* was highly ambitious, and jealous of his Power. Had *Mecenas* rivalled it with him in *Shew and Splendour*, an open Breach would infallibly have ensued.—It was believed that even *Marcellus* would not have succeeded peaceably to the Empire after *Augustus*, if *Agrippa*, (who in effect was the Man that made *Augustus* Emperor) had happened to survive him. So that, after all, as it happens in most Things where Men have their Choice, *Mecenas's* Manners, and that particular Character of Supineness, was partly from Nature, and partly, by an honest Hypocrisy,—from Necessity and Art.

MECENAS was a Man of true Taste in Learning, though he chose to write *licentiously* himself.—He was very fond of his two Poets, *Virgil* and *Horace*, who, very far from being mere Wits or Witlings to divert him with Flights or Clinches, (the Use many a Grandee makes of his Man of Letters,) did HONOUR to his Choice. They were Men of real Genius; though perhaps inferior in *that* to some of their Cotemporaries.—But they were Men of sound Judgment and genuine Knowledge. They were both Masters of Life, and of the *Proprieties* of it both in speaking and writing. This made their Works become a Standard of Justness of Stile and Truth of Sentiment. These they scanned and weighed, and corrected, till they feared no Eye of the most knowing Censor. The chaste Elegance of the one, and the happy Flights and sur-



he would be at no Pains to prune, or chastise, his Expressions; but left the wildest Metaphors, and unexpected Turns, just as they dropt from his Pen:—Only he seems to have aimed at winding up his Periods with something peculiarly pretty, which his Master, no mean Critic, for that Reason called his Minister's *perfumed Curls*, and with great Spirit and Pleasantry used to conclude his letters to him in *Mecenas's* own Stile, though, we may believe, somewhat exaggerated in the Copy. —This winding up of a Sentence with a sonorous *Twirl*, was what Mr. *Dryden* says that Wit of *Scotland*, Sir *George Mackenzie*, advised him to use for Ornament to his poetic Compositions. —It is that Species of false Wit, which the *Italians* call *Concetti*; where the Writer plays with his Subject, and trifles with his Reader, whose Attention is called off from the Matter in Hand, and turned upon some *Trinket*, or pretty *Conceit*, that glitters at the End of it.

POLITENESS of Stile, if made the first Concern of a Writer, infallibly enervates and un-mans his Thought and Expression; and even if allowed a secondary Place, it too frequently creeps into the first. But *Mecenas's* great Effeminacy of Manners must of necessity taint his Language. Several of his Works, both in Prose and Verse, were extant in the Days of *Seneca*, who censures them very severely *. —Yet *Seneca's* own Stile, though affectedly philosophical, is at bottom that of a *Courtier*, and a Man of *Wit*. It is polished to a Shadow: The Sense and Sentences are broke and disjointed, exactly in the modern *French* Taste, in opposition to *Corneille* and *Pelisson*. —The crazy Emperor (a Man of Genius) *C. Caligula's* Criticism was just, when he called it *Commisuras meras, et Harenam sine Calce*. —*Meer Patch-Work*, —*Sand without Lime*. —This must be the Fate of all Affectation.

OLD *SENECA*, who flourished towards the End of the Reign of *Augustus* (contemporary with *Cestius*, *Cassius Severus*, and *Portius*

* Lib. XXI. Epist. 20.

Portius Latro), and was remarkable for an astonishing Memory, had three Sons, *SENECA*, the celebrated Moralist, *ANNÆUS MELA*, and *JUNIUS ANNÆUS GALLIO*. They were all three Men of great Parts, Learning, Spirit, and Industry. The Life and Death of *Nero's* Preceptor is too well known to be mentioned here.——The second Brother, *MELA*, bent upon making a great Fortune, and perhaps affecting Singularity, though elected into the Senate, chose to rise no higher than the *Equestrian* Rank. This Refusal, as it did not impair his Weight or Splendor, qualified him to take the personal Revenues of the Emperors and great Men, in distant Provinces, under his Management, which, now that Plundering was dangerous, and foreign Wars were ceased, was the readiest Method of becoming securely rich. He accordingly obtained his Wish, and acquired the immense Wealth which proved his Ruin. He was the Father of the great *LUCAN* the Poet, condemned to die for having been accessory to *Piso's* Conspiracy. But as the Poet gave himself a voluntary Death, his Estate, which had not been confiscated, fell to his Father, who, by exacting too rigorous an Account of it from *Lucan's* intimate Friend, *Fabius Romanus*, provoked him to turn his Accuser to *Nero*, as conscious of his Son's Crime. To support this, a forged Letter, imitating the Poet's Hand-writing, was produced, and sent by *Nero's* Order to *Mela*, who, knowing his Fate as soon as he received it, immediately killed himself.——His great Wealth was what the Tyrant chiefly wanted.

GALLIO was the superior Genius of the three. He had high Ambition, rose with Splendour to the greatest Honours and Commands of the Empire, and was reckoned the best Orator of his Age; though his Periods were so *strung* as to *chime* to one another. Perhaps this might have some Effect in a Declamation, delivered to an idle Audience, who came neither to judge of Business, nor receive Instruction, but only to have their Ears *tickled*. A true Judge of Eloquence joins

Mecenas's Curls, and *Gallio's Chimes*, as the Blemishes in their several Compositions; to which he declares * he would prefer, not only the manly Flow of the perfect and polished Orators, *Cicero*, *Calvus*, *Pollio*, *Brutus*, &c. but even the Strength and Spirit of the old *Gracchi*, or the sound Maturity of *Crassus's* Stile.—If *Eusebius* says true, *Gallio* too fell at last under *Nero's* Displeasure, and had the same Fate as his elder Brothers.

WITHOUT being Suicide-Mad, like *Seneca*, one cannot but think with him, that such an immoderate Fondness for Life, as *Mecenas* expresses in the following Lines †, deserves Contempt.

Debilem facito manu,
Debilem pede, coxâ,
Tuber adstue gibberum,
Lubricos quate dentes,
Vita dum supereſt, bene eſt.
Hanc mihi vel acutâ
Si ſedeam cruce, ſuſtine.

THIS was, undoubtedly, a wrong Way of thinking.—But whoever is acquainted with Man, cannot be ignorant how much he is made up of Inconsistencies, nor to what Degree Weaknesses really deserving of Pity, may be joined to Talents which merit the highest Admiration.—*Mecenas*, notwithstanding the many Defects in his Character and Conduct, was nevertheless a very great Genius, an able Minister, and, what is more, a faithful Friend to his Prince, to whom he would speak with the greatest Freedom, not fearing to represent to him

* *Cæterum, si omiſſo optimo illo, ac perfectiſſimo genere Eloquentiæ, eligenda ſit Forma dicendi, malim mehercule C. Gracchi impetum, aut L. Crassi maturitatem, quam Calamiſtros Mæcenatiſ, aut Tinnituſ Gallioniſ.*

F. QUINTIL. de Orat. Dial.

† If literally translated, they would run nearly thus: *Let me be lame of Hands, Feet, and Thighs, hump-backed, my Teeth ready to drop out of my Head,—if I live, I am content. Even if impaled, let me but live; 'tis all I wiſh.*

him even disagreeable Truths. His Love for Learning, and the Patronage which he granted to such as excelled in it, have, at all Times, secured him the Praises of the Favourites of the Muses. But what ought, above all, to gain him Esteem and even Affection, is, that he was mild and humane; that he never made a bad Use of the despotic Power with which he was intrusted during many Years; that, in a bloody Age, he was not fond of Blood; and that, by his wise Counsels, and strong Remonstrances, he often put a Stop even to *Augustus's* Cruelty in his Youth.—It is downright Ill-Humour in *Seneca* to refuse him * the Praises he justly deserves on this Account,—to call his Mildness, Weakness †; and to say that he was pusillanimous,—not humane.

It was as much the Fashion in *Augustus's* Days, as it was some time ago, for great Men to write *Memoirs* of their own Lives, and even transmit their Way of living to Posterity, relating how and where they spent the Day, and describing the Situation of their Houses, their Pleasures, and their Retirements.—Such a Piece was that which *Mecenas* wrote *De Cultu suo*, which properly means *Of his Dress*, but is taken more widely for a *Way of Living*.—*Dion Cassius* makes him the Author of the first Hot-Baths that were built in *Rome*, and of the Art of short-hand Writing. The former, a Piece of Delicacy unknown to the ancient *Romans*, suits the effeminate Character of *Mecenas*, but the latter is generally ascribed to *Tiro*, *Cicero's* Freedman.—*Mecenas*, or some of his Freedmen, might perhaps perfect what *Tiro* first invented.

WHATEVER Pleasure or Instruction we receive from the Writings of *Horace* and *Virgil*, whatever Influence they have had in humanizing the World and polishing Life, the Merit belongs to *MECENAS* their Patron. To *Him* we owe these two amiable Writers. Without *his* Encouragement, *his* Praise, *his* Support, nay, without his Chiding and Commands, we should

never

* Epist. CXIV.

† Apparet mollem fuisse, non mitem.

never have seen the most valuable Parts of their Works. We might have had Sketches, whose small Size would have exposed them to perish : But the Works of Labour, as well as Genius, the *Eneid* of the one, and the elaborate Letters and Satyrs of the other, required the warmest Rays of ministerial and princely Favour to bring them to Perfection. They met with both : *Horace* received two noble Liberalities from *Augustus*, and such an Estate from *Mecenas*, as made him refuse Money and the high Employment of Secretary to the Prince. *Virgil* died still richer.

A CLOSE Connection, or rather Intimacy, between *Mecenas* and the Men of Genius, was not mere Clientship, or the Dependency of Inferiors on a great Patron. We know he made them Presents worthy his Generosity, and employed his all-powerful Interest with the Prince to do them Services, which they had the *modest Dignity* not to ask. But it was a *just Sense* of their Worth, on his Part, and a *sincere* personal Attachment on *their's*, that first created, and then kept up the mutual Friendship.

WHEN a great Man, by which we generally mean one in Power, falls, he is instantly deserted : The Persons, whom he called his Friends, avoid and abandon him ; and on these Occasions we are full of unjust Reflections on the Ingratitude of the World, and the Falshood of a Court.—I say *unjust*, because, generally, powerful Ministers, in the Height of their Grandeur, really have few or no Friends,—that is, no Body who truly loves them ;—for this plain Reason, *Because they love no Body*. Flatterers they have in Plenty ; their Levées are crowded, they receive on all hands Professions of Friendship, Gratitude, inviolable Attachment, and so forth, from expecting Dependants ;—but they have not one *real* Friend, nor, for the most Part, is it possible they should. It is Love alone that creates Love :—Whereas they are fond only of their own Grandeur ; of their own Ease or Pleasure. They are pro-

use of their Smiles and Promises, and now and then do a Favour to a Person who can promote any of these ; but have *no Sense, no Feeling* of higher Merit, and, when stript of their Power, meet with a suitable Return.

It therefore was not the *great Minister*, it was the *amiable Man*, that *Horace* loved, and loved to his Death.—Nor was it merely the *elegant Poet* that *Mecenas* admired in *Horace* : It was the *firm Friend*, the *accomplished Gentleman*, the *agreeable Companion*, whom, as his last Care, he recommended with his dying Breath to his Master.—Treat HORATIUS FLACCUS as you would myself.

MECENAS and HORACE, joined by personal Love and Friendship in their Life, were not separated at their Death ; both being buried in the farther Part of the *Esquiliae*, to which Place *Mecenas's* celebrated Gardens reached from the Palace. It was on this Spot, that is to say, from the End of the old Palace to the *Esquiliae*, that *Nero's* famous *golden Palace*, more like a great Town than a House, was built after the dreadful Burning of *Rome*. *Horace* died a very little while before *Mecenas*, as he himself had wished * to do. His Illness was so sudden and violent, that he had not Time to make a Will, and could only declare verbally that he constituted *Augustus* his Heir.—*Mecenas* likewise made him his Heir, and Executor for the Legacies which he left to his Friends.

HORACE was not a *professed Writer*, nor, if I may be allowed the Expression, a *Poet by Trade*.—Making of Verses was not his *Business*.—He did not sit down, as honest *Colly Cibber* confesses of himself, to labour in Poetry as his Vocation; and hammer out his Task of such a Number of Lines.—Far otherwise.—He wrote seldom,—wrote for Pleasure,—as his Inclination prompted,—as Objects tempted,—and never took up his Pen but at the Command of *Apollo*.

He arrived at the rare Pitch of Wisdom, *To know himself*,

as

as well as others.—It is but Half-Enjoyment not to understand the Happiness we possess. A great Fund of natural good Sense, cultivated by Learning, and improved by the best Company, enabled him to judge truly, to know the Value of Retirement, and thoroughly to taste the Blessing.—I cannot sufficiently express my Admiration of his Wisdom.—He might have been rich,—he might have been great,—and he refused both. The Prince's Favour, the Minister's Love, and consequently all the Honours of *Rome*, lay open to him: But he desired to be excused—withdraw into the Country, and remained a *private Man*. He had viewed the Court with a piercing Eye, and saw the Game that was played there, the Hazard of being cheated, or obliged to cheat.—It is the Part of a wise Man, already contented and happy, not to put himself in the Power of Fortune, or set a Stake for which he can have no adequate Return.—If he wins, he gains not much; and if he loses, he is ruined for ever.

HORACE was highly qualified to judge both in Life and Learning. He had received an excellent Education,—without which no natural Parts, nor Converse with the World, could have given him such extended Views of Mankind, not to say of Literature, as appear through his Writings, on all proper Occasions. He was acquainted with every Species of Philosophy, though deeply attached to *Plato*; and had Poetry and History in all their Branches, from the earliest Times, in his Eye; and was thereby enabled to instruct the Wise, as well as entertain the Gay of *Augustus's* Court.—Though he wraps up his Admonitions in excellent Flattery, yet he gives them boldly, and upon more delicate Points than he durst have presumed to have done, had it not been in concert with the Chiefs of the Ministry.—He first soothes, then remonstrates, and then softens again, or turns off the Subject with a Stroke of Raillery to his Muse.—It is worth observing (and what few do observe), that the *Strain* of the Odes addressed to his
great

great Friends is always adapted to their *peculiar* Temper and Manners.—In this lies the true Delicacy of the Poet.—
 —The soaring Views and high aspiring Temper of *Licinius Murena* made *RECTUS VIVES** nicely touch his prevailing Passion †.—To *Dellius*, the ingenious Debauchee of his Age, he offers the Alternative of a grave Life, or a wild One. The first he dispatches in *one Line*, and too deliciously paints the other through all the rest of the inimitable Ode ‡.—
 He tells another Man of Pleasure, of a superior Character, remarkable for his Love of Pleasure and Contempt of Money, that Silver never acquired its proper Lustre but by moderate Use.—To a third Person, a noble daring Youth, rather too aspiring, he writes, that they sail safely who neither launch out into the Main, nor keep too close in with the shelvy Shore; that the happy Man, who followed the *golden Mean*, knew neither the Disgusts of a sordid Habitation, nor the Cares and Anxieties which haunt a superb Palace.—In short, he lived with such Dignity, that his Conduct gave a Lustre to his Writings, which they again *reflected* upon his Character. He was of course *courted* to write, by the greatest Persons about Court; and we find many Apologies, both in his Odes and Letters, to these agreeable Duns, who were claiming a promised Poem.—*Mecenas*, *Julius Florus*, *Censorinus*, were all fond of his Compositions, and exacted the Debt, when he had once said the Word.

His chief Excellency lay in quick and delicate Feelings both in Life and Learning, and in a genteel and happy Expression, strongly descriptive of them. In his Compositions, the Gentleman was charmed to find his own Perceptions so nicely hit off, and the Philosopher was surpris'd to see his sublimest Sentiments in so easy a Dress.

VOL. III.

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If

* Lib. II. Od. 10.

† He conspired against *Augustus*.

‡ Lib. II. Od. 3.

IF some of his Poems trespass against Modesty, not only the Manner of the Age (which more or less gives the Tincture to all Compositions) but much more the peculiar Character of his great Patron, must alleviate the Error.—It would appear very preposterous *now* to compliment a prime Minister familiarly upon his Amours,—and quite flagitious if they were of the male Kind.—Even *B—ke*, profligate as he was, would have thought *Prior* mad, if he had blabbed their *Greenwich* Frolicks in Verse.—Yet *Horace*, a Man of true Discretion, in a Song, addressed to the great Man himself, published to the whole Town that their Governor loved a Wench *, and doated upon a young Player †.

To account for this gross Indecency, we must recollect the Character and Policy affected by *Mecenas*;—I speak with Propriety when I say *affected* by him. It is the Circumstance which almost acquits *Horace* to a Moralist, and altogether to a Courtier. *Mecenas* wished to appear sunk in Luxury and Sloth.—He plainly wanted his Vices to be known. The Purpose he meant to serve by that strange Conduct has been explained in its proper Place: And I adduce the Fact, not as a Justification of the Poet's Complacency in a moral Sense; but of the Propriety of his Conduct towards the Favourite, to whom such Compliments were not only inoffensive, but highly welcome.—Nor is it a small Proof of his Merit, or does it rebound little to his Glory, that the two most celebrated Satyrists and Judges of Life ‡, in two rival Nations of *Europe*, have not only chosen him for their Pattern, and now and then borrowed his Expressions; but have taken his Works so far for their Model, as just to fill them up with modern Names and Materials, and leave the Honour of the Invention, and of the prime Sentiments, to *this* their Master.

HORACE himself fairly owns that he owed the Model of his

* HORAT. Lib. Epod. Od. 3:

† Ibid. Od. 14:

‡ M. Boileau Despreaux and Mr. Alexander Pope.

his chief Work to *Lucilius*, a great Poet, who wrote in the same Strain, painting the Follies and Frailties of his own Life, as well as lashing others; with this Difference, that *Lucilius* attacked great Persons and gross Vices,—Perjury, Rapine, Irreligion, Gluttony;—whereas *Horace* rather attacks the *Indecencies* and *Follies* of Life. *Lucilius* spared not the greatest and most popular Men.—*Horace* was discreet,—selected Fools, Fops, Rakes, and Spendthrifts,—the usual Objects of Contempt and Ridicule: But, in other Respects, he follows his Pattern. His Writings are a real Picture of his Manner of Life, his Adventures, Temper, and Sentiments; and even of the Changes that happened in his Temper and Opinion in the different Periods of his Life. He has disguised nothing;—but, in a Strain of Humour and Pleasantry, has described his own Foibles, his Passions,—has confessed his Inconstancies, and acknowledged his wild Inclinations with the utmost Ingenuity.—What Verse he wrote, was rather, he said, in the Strain of ordinary Chat (*Sermoni propria*), and differed in nothing from common Conversation, but that it had Feet and Measure, which he will by no means allow to be a sufficient Claim to the high Character of a *Poet*. At the same Time, he insinuates, that his Productions were thought the finest and most delicate Pieces of Poetry, of any that had been addressed to *Augustus*, or that his polite Court had for their Entertainment. It is the Height of Address, to make great and uncommon Talents appear in an unenvied Light.—It is enjoying a Reality, by declining only a vain Shew, attended with Ridicule and Uneasiness.

WHAT we loosely term the *Stile of the Augustan Age*, was not formed under *Augustus*. It was formed under the Common-Wealth, during the high Struggles for Liberty against *Julius Cæsar*, and his Successors the Triumvirs, which lasted upwards of fifteen Years. The Men who had been formed under *Augustus* shone under *Tiberius*, and, strictly, spoke the

Language of his Age. *Cinna*, therefore, and *Varus*, *Gallus* and *Pollio*, *Junius Calidius*, *Virgil*, and *Horace*, with all their contemporary Poets, learned the Language of *Liberty*, and took the masterly Tincture, which that Goddess inspires both in Phrase and Sentiment. This gave them that Freedom of Thought and Strength of Style, which is only to be acquired under *Her* Influence; which, when joined to the Politeness that accompanies the slippery Transition from Freedom to blind Obedience, produced the *finished Beauty* we admire in their Works. Those who wrote before them, were rough, and sometimes harsh—though exalted and manly. Those who came after them, were enervated, flimsy, and full of Conceits which *mimic* true Wit:—Or, if they aimed at *sublime*, they were turgid and unnatural;—if at *Turns of Thought*, they fell into meer Witticism.—This is the first Step towards Degeneracy. The liveliest Instance I know of it is *Manilius*, who was quite modelled under *Augustus*, and whose truly great Genius, wide Learning, and exalted Subject, have not been able to guard him from the Infection of Slavery, I mean the *Concetti* or *Sheer-Wit* that then began to be in vogue. Let not therefore *Virgil* or *Horace*, or *Valgius* or *Varus*, be looked upon as *court-bred* Poets under *Augustus*:—No more than *Milton*, *Waller*, or *Cowley* were under *Charles II*. They were free-born Romans, some of them early venturing Life and Fortune in the Cause of Liberty, who were called to Court, and protected and encouraged by the Prince's Ministers; in return for which they did him and them the greatest of all Services. The Roman Model copied by *Virgil* was *Ennius*, as *Lucilius* did by *Horace*.

THE Roman Composition began to degenerate even under *Augustus*.—A general Affectation of what they called *Urbanitas Sermonis*, and we a *polite Style*, enervated their manly Language. It was no longer *natural*, and therefore could not be genuine and nervous, like what flows from the Heart.—For
even

even Politeness admits not of Affectation, but must be natural, to please. After that Period, the Authors who aimed at a sublime Dialect were only turgid, while the politer Class dwindled into Prattle and Witticism. This holds in all Nations. The great original Writers generally *precede* the Period in which Politeness is *much* affected. No sooner is *that* the chief Aim, than both Spirit and Substance is gone, and that modish Phantom occupies their Place.—The Standard *Italian* Authors wrote before the Publication of the *Crusca*: No Writers in *France* are comparable for Strength, Compass, and manly Eloquence, to *Montagne*, *Balzac*, *Bossuet*, and *Boileau*. The Rear is brought up by *Patru*, *Pascal*, and *Pelisson*, who, like *Virgil* and *Horace*, saw the Days of Liberty of Style:—For *Boudinville*, *Montesquieu*, and one or two more *Exotics* in *France*, formed upon *Roman* or *British* Models, by a native Strength of Genius, have emancipated their Style and Sentiments so far above their *politely-crampt* Country-Men, that they should have been born in some ancient *Grecian* State, or in the happy Island of *Great Britain*.—Mons. *Muralt* shrewdly says, that a Time may come when it will be the Mode to write a Book in a pretty polite Style, without any farther Intention. —Had *Balzac* joined a Love of Liberty and Truth to his happy Talents, what Wonders might he not have wrought! We should have read him with Admiration, and ranked him with *Isocrates* and *Cicero*.—Had he pointed out Humanity and Goodness to his eminent Patron, as the sole Road to true Greatness, he would have shone among his Contemporaries. But he cringes among the Herd, and makes the lowest Professions of Submission.

MANY of the Writers in *Augustus's* Time were Men of great and extensive Learning. They spoke *Greek*, as we do *French*, and learned *Homer* among the first School-Authors, as we read *Telemaque*, a Sequel and Semblance of that great Original. They are therefore more polite, but less original Authors

thors than their Predecessors.—*Lucretius* is more original than *Virgil*, who is infinitely more laboured and ornamented.—They had constantly about them, a *Greek*, a Man of Letters, whose Business was to point out to his Patron the most beautiful Sentiments of the *Grecian* Writers. They are by this Means full of Imitations and Allusions to the Doctrines of these ancient Sages, upon whose Model they endeavoured to form themselves. To understand them, therefore, it is necessary to know the Books they were most conversant with, which enable us to enter into the real Opinions and Intention of the Copier; and consequently to see the Faults, or Beauties of the Imitation. Let a Man be never so much Master of the *Latin* Tongue, he can read *Virgil* but through a Veil, unless he has first read *Theocritus*, *Hesiod*, and *Homer*; and will be equally at a loss with *Horace*, if he is ignorant of *Pindar*, and the Fragments of *Archilochus*, *Alcæus*, *Anacreon*, and *Sappho*.—*Plautus*'s Comedies are stuffed with *Greek*, as some of Mr. *Farquhar*'s Plays are with *French*. The Names of the *Dramatis Personæ* are almost all *Greek*; and the Jokes depending upon the understanding these Names (Puns for the most part) shew they were understood.—*Ennius* translated entire Passages from *Homer*, and *Afranius* did the same from *Mænander*.—*Lucilius* said, wittily, that he wrote only for the *Tarentines*, the *Consentians*, and the *Sicilians*;—pretending to be afraid of the accurate Judgment of such learned Men as *Perfius*, *Scipio*, and *Rutilus*, his contemporary *Romans*.

THE Custom which prevailed in *Rome*, of having a Man of Letters in the great Families, most commonly a *Grecian*, had been introduced by Persons of the highest Character; *P. Scipio* the younger, who had *Polybius* and *Panaetus*, and even the severe *Cato*, who had another *Greek*, for their Secretaries and literary Compositions. *Pompey* the Great made *Theophanes* of *Mitylene* his prime Minister; and even *Julius Cesar*, whose sole Rule of Life was Ambition, affected to heap Honours upon

Aristo,

Aristo, and to frequent his Lectures. After these, every Patrician must have his *Grecian* in his House. They had flocked in such Numbers to *Rome*, as to make the Censorial *Cato*, before his Conversion, clamour more against them*, than our Malecontents do against any Foreigners. They became, what indeed could not but be the Consequence of such Encouragement, a great Body of Men, and performed a very important Service to *Rome*:—They civilized their Conquerors, and introduced those polite Manners, which, by making private Life agreeable, compensate for the Mischief they often do in public. Among them were many excellent Men, of sound Heads and benevolent Hearts, the Purity of whose Manners did Honour to their Profession: But most of these *Grecian* Inmates slipped into the Character of our modern *French* Tutors and Valets. Their Poverty and Dependency made them supple and fawning; their natural Vivacity, a small Share of Learning (for the *Generality* had no more), and a good Stock of Quackery, completed the Resemblance between a *French Homme de Lettres*, and a *Grecian Literato*.—There was no Science which they did not profess, nor any Art which they did not practise†.

PHILODEMUS must have been pretty young when he went to *Rome*. He was *Piso's* Man of Letters, about the Time of *Cicero's* Banishment (DCXCV.): and yet *Horace* names him as a very *practical* Lover, in his XIth Satyr, written probably in DCCXVI.—He was a Native of *Gadara* (the Fort) in *Syria*, was bred to Learning, and made great Progress in the *Epicurean* Philosophy. As few of that Sect were Men of Erudition, or gave themselves the Trouble of reading other Books than their own, *Philodemus*, who was thoroughly accomplished that Way, was the more considered. A great Judge of

Men

* *Haud possum ferre, Quirites! Græcam Urbem.*

† *Grammaticus, Pictor, Aliptes,—In Cœlum, jusseris, ibit—*
Græculus esuriens.

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FAST. IV.

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ever, to take no Notice of any Thing, nor to observe the grey Hairs he saw upon her Cloaths; but, after some Discourse upon other Subjects, began to speak of her Age, and asked her, Whether, after a while, she would chuse to be bald or grey-haired? She answered, I, Father, should rather chuse to be grey-haired.—“Why do these then, said the Prince, go about to make you bald so soon?”

AFTER listening for some Time to a grave serious Nobleman, who was endeavouring to persuade her to live regularly, to be careful of her Character, and, in fine, to imitate her Father in his Moderation and Temperance: “My Lord, said she, my Father forgets that he is *Cesar*; but I remember that I am *Cesar's* Daughter.”

JULIA's Intrigues did not begin till she was a second time unequally matched, first to *Marcellus*, a meer Youth, and then to *Agrippa*, an oldish Man, who chose rather to bear with her disorderly Conduct, and even to pass it over in Silence, than to increase the Infamy by a public, and perhaps useless, Resentment.—But after her Marriage with *Tiberius*, whom she first loved, and then hated and despised, she grew infamous, even beyond the Power of Scandal to hurt her. Constitution prompted, her high Way of Life encouraged, and downright Love of Debauchery determined her to carry her Lewdness to an amazing Pitch of Prostitution.—She lost all Reserve—admitted Men indiscriminately—not only known Gallants, but any Male they pleased to bring with them—and when meer Debauch began to grow dull, Frolic was called in to whet it.—She went into the most notorious Stews, took her Station, received Money like a common Wench, and carried this so far as to put a Chaplet upon *Marsyas's* Head, in Gratitude for her thriving in the lucrative Profession*.—At another Time,

* It was the Custom in all free Cities to set up a Statue of *Marsyas*, in the Forum, or Market-place. *Marsyas* was under the Protection of *Bacchus* (*LIBER PATER*), and was represented with his Hand raised, in a beckoning Posture, to signify,

Time, when a grand Night was to be celebrated to *Venus*, to heighten the Relish, the solemn Court, the *Rostrum* from whence her Father had promulgated the Law against Adultery, was pitched upon for the Scene of nocturnal Riot.

THIS unhappy Princess was first seduced by *Sempronius Gracchus*, one of those *artful* Men who abuse the greatest Talents to the worst of Purposes.—He was of the first Nobility, handsome, insinuating, persuasive, eloquent, learned, and delighting in Mischief:—no Man could make himself more agreeable, or put better on that Appearance of Modesty, Respect, and Tenderness, which is so dangerous to a Woman of Sense. He absolutely governed *Julia* for some Time, and dictated the bitter Invectives which she wrote to her Father against her Husband. Whether he wearied and voluntarily quitted his Hold, or whether he was beat out by a more illustrious Rival, I cannot discover; but he was succeeded in *Julia's* good Graces by *Antonius Iulus*, the Triumvir's second Son by *Fulvia*, whom *Augustus* had not only saved at the Taking of *Alexandria*, but re-instated in his Father's Family and Fortune, and in due Course raised to the highest Honours, even marrying him to his Niece *Marcella*, the Daughter of *Octavia*.—But Politics intermixed with Gallantry, as they constantly do among People in Power—A grand Faction was formed by the Lovers, and a Design laid to wrest the Government out of the Hands of *Augustus*, now in Years, whilst his Daughter and her

signify, that the Town wanted nothing †. This Statue used to be crowned with a Garland by those who had prospered in their Business during the Course of the Day; and, in imitation of that Custom, *JULIA*, when she had found a Gallant who pleased her, put a Garland upon the Head of *Marsyas*, which stood in the Roman *Forum*, near the *Puteal*. This being a commodious Place, was frequented in the Evenings by all Sorts of loose idle People, among whom *Julia* went *incog.* that she might pursue her Pleasures in her own Way, as if she had been a common Strumpet.

† *Qui cretâ manu testatur nihil Urbi deesse.*

her Gallants should rule the Common-wealth.——Love is said to be blind:——certain it is that he puts out the Eyes of Lovers in political Management. Whilst inebriated with Passion and Pleasure, and borne on the Wings of Imagination, they see no Difficulties, nor think any Obstacle too strong for their Resolution and good Fortune:— they throw themselves headlong over Precipices, whence they seldom escape with Life. The high Descent of *Antonius Iulus*, the Gracefulness of his Person, and, above all, his superior Spirit and daring Ambition, converted this Amour into a Danger which threatened both the Prince and the Empire. The old Triumviral Quarrel was likely to be revived, and the remaining Partisans both of *Pompey* and *Antony* (no contemptible Body in *Rome*) would have again taken Arms in Favour of his Son. But though *Augustus* was really frightened, and put in the utmost Disorder, his general Conduct was of late too unblameable, and he was now too long and deeply rooted to be pulled up by a passing Storm. The Plot took Air, the Court and Ministry were alarmed, and the Depth of it was easily sounded by Means of the Persons employed by such loving Conspirators.——*Antonius Iulus* was seized and put privately to Death.——*Phebe*, his Confidante with *Julia*, made haste to hang herself;—the rest of the Gallants, among whom were *T. Quintius Crispinus*, a complete Hypocrite, who concealed the greatest Vices under the Appearance of Austerity, and had been Consul some Years before, *Ap. Claudius*, and *Scipio*, who seems to have been Half-brother to *Julia*, for *Scribonia* was married to a *Scipio*, who was of consular Dignity, before she married *Augustus*, were banished to the Islands, and *Julia* herself to *Pandateria*, a desert Rock near the Coast of *Campania*.——*Tiberius*, her Husband, when he heard the News in his Retirement, though infinitely pleased with her Punishment, thought it became him to intercede with *Augustus* in her Favour, which he did by frequent and earnest Letters from *Rhodes*.——But his Dissimulation was understood,

and

and disregarded; and it plainly appeared afterwards to be the grossest Hypocrisy, not only by his relentless Behaviour toward her when he came into Power, but by his depriving her of the small Pension settled on her by *Augustus*, under the shallow Pretence of it's not being mentioned in his Will, and thereby actually starving her to Death.

AUGUSTUS never met with any Thing that cut him so much to the quick, as the Breaking-out of this horrid Scandal in his own Family.—Two Things, of the most heinous Nature, combined to enrage him.—A Plot against his Government, and the utmost Contempt poured upon his Laws, and Ridicule upon his Character, as a Reformer of Manners.—In the first Agony of Rage, he flew, like a Fury, upon the young *Gracchus*, when he was brought into his Presence, and beat him with his own Hands.—The Discipline was rude: *Gracchus's* Spirit kindled;—he lost Patience, and cried out, *Sir! You made the Law, and prescribed the Penalty yourself. Why do you transgress it?—Beating is not the Punishment to be inflicted upon my Crime.*—He was then removed; and the provoked Prince, deprived of his two trusty Ministers, unadvisedly vented his Anguish to the FATHERS, that is, to the whole People of *Rome*. He gave a Detail of his Daughter's Crimes, and of her more criminal Designs, in a circumstantial Relation, which the Lord Treasurer read in open Senate.—Here the most secret Doings in his Palace were exposed. The Veil that should cover exalted Characters, and their Way of Life, from vulgar Eyes, (for it is pellucid to others,) was torn off; and instead of the Majesty which magnifies the most common Things about the Persons of Princes, an Air of Meanness and Insufficiency reflected upon *Cesar* himself, from the horrible Disorders which had so long dishonoured his Family.—He was afterwards perfectly sensible of this false Step, and reckoned it as a grievous Misfortune, which he often bewailed, and said it would not have befallen him, had either *Mecenas*

or *Agrippa* been alive.—A discarded Courtier says on this Occasion, and says not very much amiss, that Princes frequently commend their deceased Ministers, only to depreciate those that are alive.—But at this Time *Augustus*, I believe, both spoke what he thought, and said no more than what was true.—The shrewd Perception of *Mecenas*, and the steady Wisdom of *Agrippa*, would immediately have discovered the Imprudence of a Measure which could serve no good End, and of which it is very strange there should have been a faint Resemblance acted over in modern Times.—There was more Wisdom as well as more Humanity in *Charlemagne's* Conduct towards his frail Daughters, while their Father was engaged in constant Wars and Expeditions.—It is true, their Case was different. These Princesses were neglected, did not chuse to wait for the Marriage Ceremony, and were found big-bellied in their Father's House.—Love, all-powerful Love, both parental and natural, pleaded strongly in their Favour; and the mild Emperor, subject to the same Passion, reflected coolly on his own Youth, and forgave them.—But *Julia's* Wildness was late in Life, after she had been thrice married, and the Mother of five or six Children. Besides that, her Crime was aggravated by atrocious Circumstances of Insult upon her Father's Laws, and an intended Rebellion against his Government,—if not Designs upon his Life.

A Lady of high Quality, whose Situation permits, and whose Inclination leads her to make Pleasure her sole Business, is in a slippery Way, if a proper Temptation offers. A Sentiment of Honour, of her Family, or her Pride, may sometimes save her.—But if such a Woman once gives Way, she hardens by Degrees, until she arrives to the last Step, which is, to lose all Sense of Shame; and then no Infamy or Wickedness comes amiss.—At first, *Julia* sinned for Pleasure,—perhaps for Love;—afterwards she carried her Debauchery to the highest Excess.—But whether it be her long and cruel

Sufferings under a fly hard-hearted Step-mother,—or the Sweetness of her own Temper, the Flow of her Wit, and great Proficiency in Learning, which sat easy on her,—methinks I cannot help pitying her.—Her Sufferings throw, as it were, a Veil over her Guilt, and leave only the amiable accomplished Woman, overwhelmed with Misery, and forced to accept of the insulting Presents of a Mother-in-law, who first ruined, and then hypocritically supported her Husband's Children.—For I cannot doubt but that *Augustus*, who was an affectionate Father, and particularly fond of *Julia*, would have relented at last, and, at the repeated Intercession and earnest Request of the whole Roman People, have recalled her from her Exile.—But the cunning *Livia* steeled his Heart, and the Dignity of his Character, as a Law-giver and Reformer of Manners, served for the Colour, or co-operated as a Cause in the inflexible Refusal.

THE unhappy Princess was accompanied in her Exile by her Mother *Scribonia*, a Woman of high, not to say haughty Spirit, who lived to a great Age; for when her Grand-nephew, *Scribonius Libo*, of the first Nobility, but a weak inconsiderate Youth, was carrying from the Senate in a Chair, after his Condemnation, for a foolish Sort of Conspiracy (founded upon Prophecies and Astrology) against *Tiberius*, and deserted by his Friends, his old Aunt stood by while he was deliberating whether he should make away with himself, or wait the Executioner. Why, Child! said she, what Pleasure have you to do other People's Business for them?—He did not take the Advice, but fell by his own Hand, to prevent a cruel Death from his Accuser.

JULIA's infamous Conduct and horrid Design were made known to *Augustus* in *September*, and, I believe, the Passion and Terror into which *Antony Iulus*'s Conspiracy threw him, did not permit long Time to be consumed in the Trial. She was banished in *October*. Her eldest Son, *Caius*, was then

reviewing the Legions on the *Danube*, and her second Son, *Lucius*, was in Town.—*Posthumus Agrippa* (so called from his being born after his Father's Death) was but about nine Years old, and her Daughter might then be about fifteen.

THIS was a terrible Year to *Augustus*. His Daughter's Infamy had stabbed him to the very Heart; and the Disturbances in *Arabia*, *Parthia*, and *Armenia*, which increased daily, and urgently required a very speedy Remedy, had already put all the *East* in Confusion, and threatened the Empire with a dreadful War.—But, for the better Understanding of this Affair, it will be proper to resume Things farther back.

THE great *Lucullus* had beat *Tigranes*, King of *Armenia* at the Head of an hundred and fifty thousand Foot, and fifty-five thousand Horse, in the Cause of *Mithridates*.—He was again beaten by *Cn. Pompey*, in a Battle in the Night.—His Son *Artuafdes* played the Traitor in the *Parthian* Invasion by *Antony*, was enticed, caught, bound with golden Chains, led in Triumph at *Alexandria*, and executed by *Antony's* Order.—His Son *Artaxias* tried to make his Way to the Throne by Arms, was defeated, fled to *Parthia*, raised a new Army, and recovered his Kingdom from the *Romans*. Supported by the *Parthians*, he reigned for some Years; but with such Oppression and Cruelty, that his Subjects, conspiring, put him to Death, and then applied to *Augustus* for his younger Brother, *Tigranes*, educated at *Rome*, to be their King. This happened in the Winter that *Augustus* spent in *Samos*.—He gave Commission to his Son-in-law *Tiberius* (with the Help of *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*), to place *Tigranes* on the *Armenian* Throne *.—*Tigranes* enjoyed the Crown but a very little While.

* The malevolent *Dion Cassius's* Saying, “that *Tiberius* did nothing worthy of his vast Preparations, and that the *Armenians* killed their King *Artaxias* before his Arrival,” would seem to imply, that this Application to *Augustus* was made during the Life of *Artaxias*.

While, and his Son and Daughter, who were joined in Matrimony, after the *Eastern* Manner, not much longer :—so that *Tiberius* was to be again intrusted with the Care of settling *Armenia*. But taking Umbrage, as I said before, at the premature Promotion of *Caius* and *Lucius*, *Cesars*, and unable to bear the Insults and Debaucheries of his Wife, he took his famous Resolution to abandon Business and *Rome*, and retired to *Rhodes*. In the mean Time *Artuafdes*, whom I take to have been a younger Son of *Tigranes*, was, by *Augustus*'s Command, made King of *Armenia* ; and he having been driven out by an opposite Party, and the *Romans* who supported him routed, CAIUS CESAR was at length honoured with the Commission to resettle that great Kingdom, and put it in the Hands of a Friend to the Common-wealth.—*Phraates*, the Tyrant, who, in DCCXVIII, had killed his old Father *Orontes* (turned melancholy upon the Death of the noble *Pacorus*), and put twenty-nine of his Brothers to Death, was at this Time King of *Parthia*. In the very Beginning of his Reign, he had repulsed *M. Antony*, who entered *Parthia* with sixteen Legions, sent Supplies to the *Armenians* and *Arabs*, and assisted them to expel the *Roman* Garrisons, and the *Roman-made* King *Artuafdes*.—But, some Years after, growing wiser and milder, he gave Way to the *Roman* Power, quitted *Armenia*, suffered *Tigranes* to be quietly put in Possession of the Throne, delivered up the *Roman* Eagles taken from *Crassus* thirty-three Years before, and even sent his four Sons as Hostages, in Appearance, to *Rome* ; but, in Reality, to secure them from the Fury of a provoked Nation :—and now, when *Augustus* was grown old, and had no Reputation as a Warrior to keep him in Awe, he sent an Army into *Armenia*, under Pretence of assisting *Tigranes*, and seized the chief Places of Strength.

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Velleius mistakes the Name, and puts *Artuafdes*, the Father, instead of *Tigranes*, the youngest Son.

THE Preparations of the *Romans* were suited to the Strength of the hostile Nations they were to encounter, and to the Dignity of the Commander, the presumptive Heir of the Empire; then only in his nineteenth Year. At his setting out, which was either toward the latter End of this Year, or in the Beginning of the next, *Augustus* took Leave of him with these remarkable Words*: “I wish you, my Son, the Valour of *Scipio*, the Love of the People to the Degree which *Pompey* had it, and my Fortune.”——But his Wish was far from being accomplished.

THE Care of the royal Youth and Heir-apparent of the Empire, with the Direction of the whole Expedition, was committed to *M. Lollius*, a Man of great Capacity, with all the Appearances of Virtue, and a seeming Severity of Manners. He had gone through the Honours of his Country unblemished; and gained the Reputation of a brave and skilful Commander in the Expeditions he had been employed in by *Augustus*, as Pretor and Proconsul:——for the Check he met with in *Germany*, where he lost the Eagle of the fifth Legion, tho’ more dishonourable than detrimental, could not efface the favourable Opinion which that Prince had conceived of his Merit and Abilities.——But hidden Vice, like a pent-up Fire, breaks out with more Violence the longer it has been smothered.——A bad Habit, *openly* indulged, loses its Keeness; but Avarice, Ambition, or Revenge, commit the greatest Ravages after close Restraint, under the Masque of Virtue. Opportunity then invites them to quit the unnatural Disguise; and *M. Lollius*, the disinterested Consul, the severe and just Judge at *Rome*, proved the most sordid rapacious Governor that had ever fleeced the Kings of the *East*.——Covetousness is a certain Sign of ill-Sense at Bottom.

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LOLLIUS was very exact in keeping his Accounts, and, either to palliate his Extortions, or to put a proper Value on his Jewels, he had an exact Register of their Prices.—I should rather suspect of the several Values at which they were estimated by the Princes who made him Presents of them.—This Register his Grand-daughter, the beauteous *Lollia Paulina*, had in her Custody, and was at any Time ready to shew by it that the Set of Jewels, which she wore at an extraordinary Marriage-feast, was worth upwards of three hundred and twenty thousand Pounds of our Money.

CAIUS CESAR was a Youth of the most promising Turn both of Body and Mind.—He was graceful and strong in Person, having the manly Aspect of his Father *Agrippa*, without his Sternness. He was of quick Understanding, and had that eager Love of Fame which is inseparable from a noble Mind.—He was now inflamed with the Thoughts of the Conquest of *ARABIA* called the HAPPY, and received Informations of the Nature, Situation, and Produce of the Country, from all Hands.—The learned King of *Mauritania*, *JUBA* the younger, had written *Memoirs* of it for his Use; and *Dionysius*, the great Geographer and Poet, a Native of *Charax*, on the *Euphrates*, was sent before, to procure and put in Writing proper Information of every Thing necessary for the young Prince to know.—The Gold, the Jewels, the Incense, and other Spiceries, brought from *Arabia*, put Men mad with the Thought of it; and, which embellished the Prospect, the People were not supposed to be very martial, and therefore promised an easy Conquest.

BEFORE *Caius* set out, he had *Augustus's* Approbation for not giving into foreign Rites, or sacrificing at *Jerusalem*:—for which, and for his own not sacrificing there, *GOD*, says *Orosius*, punished *Rome* with intense Famine—which, by the way, did not happen till near six Years after *Caius's* Expedition, viz. in DCCLVI.

FROM *Palestine*, *CAIUS* went to *Syria*, where *Archelaus* the *Cappadocian*, and all the Kings of the *East*, waited on him, or rather on his Director *M. LOLLIUS*, with immense Presents.—Here *Caius*, in the Year of *Rome* DCCLII, entered upon his first Consulship, in which he had for his Collegue *L. Emilius Paulus*, who was also his Brother-in-law, having married his Sister the younger *JULIA*.—He was the Son of *Lucius Emilius Paulus*, the Censor,—at first *Cesar's* Enemy, and then his Friend, in consideration of 15000 Talents, (900,000 *Roman Crowns*).—He had begun the beautiful *Basilicon*, or *Royal Portico*, before the Year DCC; but finding he could not finish it, took the proffered Bribe to save his Credit.—He was that Brother of the worthless *Lepidus*; whom this last procured to be proscribed; but who sailed openly away to *Miletus*, where he staid till the Proscription was over.—He and *Munatius Plancus* were Censors in the Year DCCXXII.—He married *Cornelia*, the Daughter of *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *SCRIBONIA*, who was therefore the Aunt of *Caius* and *Lucius, Cesars*.

FROM *Syria*, *Caius* advanced against the Enemy, passed the *Euphrates*, and was the youngest Consul that ever carried the *Roman Arms* to that vast Distance, to make War upon their fiercest Foe.

UPON the News of his Approach, *Phraates* wrote to *Augustus*, that he had been forced to send an Army into *Armenia*, to preserve the Tranquility of *Parthia*, lest the Civil War, likely to rise there, should spread its Flame into his Kingdom; and that he had assisted *Tigranes* to mount the Throne, a Man of the Blood-royal, because the *Armenians* had of their own Accord expelled *Artabases*, the King imposed by the *Romans*.—*Augustus* wrote back, that the *Parthians* had first taken Arms in the *East*; that, contrary to solemn Treaties, they had openly assisted the rebellious *Armenians*, to expel their King, and the *Roman Garrisons*;—and that, as soon as he should think proper to withdraw his Army, and evacuate

evacuate the Cities and Castles which he occupied in *Armenia*, he might expect Peace and a Renewal of Friendship;—but not before.—This Letter was inscribed simply to *Phraates*, without the Title of King.—He replied, and assumed the Designation of *PHRAATES, King of Kings*, to *Cesar*.

IN the Beginning of DCCLIII, *P. Vinicius* and *P. Alphenus* being Consuls, *Artuafdes* sickened and died.—*CAIUS*, at a Loss what to do, asked new Orders, while the *Parthians*, worsted, in no pitched Battle, but in several Encounters, sued for Peace.—*Augustus*, old and cautious, bid him agree to it on these Conditions,—that *Armenia* should be evacuated;—that the Election of its Kings should be left wholly to the *Romans*;—and that the Boundaries of the two Empires should remain as before.—This brought on the famous Interview on the *Euphrates*, where the *Parthian* Prince let *Caius* know the crooked Designs, and insatiate Avarice of his Director *LOLLIUS**, who was thereupon immediately forbid the Court, and, I believe, soon after took a Dose of Poison.—A Man of deep Cunning, possessed of a Prince's Confidence, keeps him blind, and the People in Awe.—*Lollius* wanted to protract his Power, and actually drained all the royal Treasures of Gold and Jewels, and all their Wardrobes of Silks and Velvets.

THE Consul *Alphenus*, whom I have just mentioned, was born at *Cremona*, of very low Extraction; for *Horace*† reproaches him with having been a Shoe-maker.—But his Talents were far superior to that ignoble Profession.—Animated with an inward Sentiment, which told him, that he was born for something greater, he threw aside his Paring-knife, applied himself to the Study of the Law, under the famous *S.*

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* *Horace's* two Epistles to *Lollius* are certainly to *M. Lollius*, the *Sen.*—*Nunc adhibe puro pectore verba PUER!* could never be applicable to the Father;—though some say that Epistle is dislocated, and the latter Part improperly ranged.

† Sat. I. 3.

Sulpicius, and became so conspicuous therein *, that he deservedly attained the first Dignity in the Empire.

TIGRANES, deserted by his *Parthian* Protectors, and unable alone to resist the *Roman* Power, had Recourse to humble Intreaties; flattering himself with Hopes of obtaining Leave to keep the Crown, as *Artabazes*, whom he had dethroned, was dead, and there was no other Competitor. But *Augustus*, to whom he applied for this Purpose, referred him to *Caius*; and the young Prince's Determination was not in his Favour.—The Point was therefore to be decided by Arms, and *Caius* accordingly entered *Armenia* in an hostile Manner. Spirit and Vigour accompanied his first Undertakings, which were attended with Success; but, rashly engaging in a Conference with his perfidious Enemies, he became the Victim of his Credulity, and received a considerable Wound, the Consequence of which proved fatal. He performed, however, the Purport of his Commission; and, in the Room of *Tigranes*, of whom History takes no farther Notice, made *Ariobarzanes*, by Birth a *Mede*, King of the *Armenians* †.

HE then returned to the Confines of the *Roman* Territories;—but not in the Condition in which he left them. His Wound had affected his Mind, as well as his Body; and, out of a capricious Humour, which the Flatterers about him encouraged, he resolved absolutely to remain in those distant Parts, and never more to return to *Rome*. *Augustus* was obliged to exert all his Authority to make him break this strange Resolution; and he at length set out,—but died at *Lymyrum* in *Lycia*, in the Beginning of the next Year.—His Brother *Lucius* died eighteen Months before, at *Marseilles*; as he was going to *Spain*, with a Command of the same Nature as that which *Caius* had in the *East*.—*Marseilles* was originally a *Grecian* Colony from *Phocis*. It was another *Athens*, which

* *POMPON.* de Orig. Jur.

† *VELL. PATERC.* Lib. II. *TAC.* Ann. Lib. II.

which not only maintained its Politeness and Purity of Language in the midst of all the barbarous Nations among which it was seated; but preserved its excellent Policy, and sound Morals.

By the Death of these two Youths, *Augustus* was blasted in all his Hopes, and deprived of every Prospect of future Enjoyment of Life.—The Preface to his last Will shewed that it had sunk very deep, and made Impressions not to be effaced, Firmly intending them for his Successors in the Empire, he had brought them up with infinite Care, instructed them himself in the Rudiments of Learning, and the Art of writing in Short-hand; and, above all, endeavoured to teach them to imitate his Hand-writing*,——doubtless, in order to employ them as Secretaries in nice and important Affairs.—He studiously avoided giving them an effeminate or ostentatious Education:—when they ate with him, they did not lie down, as was the general Custom of the *Romans* at their Meals, but sat at the End of the Table; and whenever he travelled, they always went before, either in a Litter or on Horse-back:—in short, he never lost Sight of them.—To check the Pride with which their Birth and the high Station they were designed for, might fill their infant Minds, he made them go through a Course of Instruction in common with other Children. *Verrius Flaccus*, a celebrated Grammarian, was pitched upon for this Purpose†: but not to give them private Lessons; for his whole School was transferred to *Catiline's* House, which was then a Part of the Palace; and the Emperor's Sons were instructed there in the same Manner as *Verrius's* other Scholars, whom he was allowed to take with him, upon Condition that he should only complete those he then had, and not receive any more; in Consideration of which *Augustus* allowed him a Pension of an hundred Sesterces. (870 l. 5 s. 10 d.) a Year‡.—The Exel-

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* Suet. Aug. LXIV. LXV.

† Suet. de illust. Gramm.

‡ According to *Arbutnot's* Tables. M. *Dacier* makes it but 750 l.

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‡ According to *Arbutnot's* Tables. *M. Dacier* makes it but 750 *l.*

lence of *Verrius's* Method of Teaching consisted chiefly in raising an Emulation among the Youths, not only by prescribing them Trials of Skill, but also by setting up, as a Price for the Victor, a handsome or curious Copy of some esteemed ancient Author.—He corrected the *Fasti*, which were engraven in Marble, and put in the Semi-circle in the lower Part of the *Forum* of *Præneste*, near his own Statue.

TIBERIUS, now *Augustus's* only Resource, was returned to *Rome* before *Caius Cesar* died. His Way of Life in *Rhodes* was perfectly suited to the Pretence he had made Use of to obtain Leave to retire. He took a small House in the Town, and another, not much larger, in the Country; walked about daily in the Places of Exercise, visited the public Schools like a private Man, without any Retinue of Lictors or Ushers; and behaved to the Citizens of *Rhodes* almost as if they had been his Equals*.

ONE Morning, planning out what he intended to do that Day, he said he would see all the sick People in the Town. His Servants, mistaking his Meaning, ordered all the Sick to be brought under a Portico, and ranged in Classes, according to their different Disorders. *Tiberius*, whose Design was to go from House to House, was greatly surpris'd at seeing them all collected together, and sorry for the Trouble they had been put to. He visited them all, one after another, making Excuses even to the poorest, and to those who were entirely unknown to him.

HE never exerted his Authority of Tribune there but once, and that was on no very important Occasion. At a public Lecture, (for he attended constantly all the Lectures of the Professors of Eloquence and Philosophy) two Rhetoricians, or Sophists, happened to have a Dispute in his Presence, in which he interfered and spoke his Mind. The Disputant, whose
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Opinion he differed from, attacked him very roughly, and, without any Respect, told him he was partial. *Tiberius* made no Reply, but went home, returned with his Lictors, seated himself on the Tribunal, cited the petulant Sophist, and committed him to Prison, to teach him better Manners.

AT the Expiration of the five Years of his Tribuneship, which were spent in this Manner, he wrote a Letter to the Emperor, setting forth, that the real Cause of his Retiring was to prevent all Suspicion of his thinking to rival *Caius* and *Lucius Cæsars*; and that, as the Danger was then over, those young Princes being grown up, and fit to hold the second Rank, which was their Right, he humbly desired Leave to return to *Rome*, and to his Family, being weary of his long Absence from them. *Augustus* flatly denied his Request, and advised him to forget his Family, which he had been in so great a Hurry to leave; so that he was forced to remain in *Rhodes*. All that he could obtain, through the Influence and earnest Sollicitations of his Mother *Livia*, was to be appointed *Augustus's* Lieutenant;—a Title which masked the Shame of his involuntary Stay.—From that Time, he lived there even in a lower Station than that of a private Gentleman. He removed farther up into the Country, to avoid the Visits of the Magistrates and General Officers, none of whom passed by *Rhodes* without paying their Respects to him.—Such was his Situation when *Caius Cæsar* was sent into the East. *Tiberius* waited on the young Prince in the Isle of *Cbios*, (*Suetonius* says *Samos*), and soon found that he had been strongly prejudiced against him by the designing *Lollius*. *Caius* received him with uncommon Coldness, and *Tiberius* was thought * to have tampered with some of his Attendants; but more particularly with certain Centurions who had long been attached to him, in order to create Diffensions among the Soldiery. *Augustus*

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* *Dio. Lib. LV.*

wrote to him about it ; and *Tiberius* desired, that, for his Justification, Somebody, he cared not of what Rank or Condition, might be set over him, to watch his Conduct, and give an Account of all his Steps. So great were his Apprehensions, that he avoided, with the utmost Scruple, every Thing that could possibly give the least Umbrage ; even so far as to decline the usual Exercises of Riding and of Arms, and to put on a *Grecian* Dress instead of the *Roman* Gown.

HE spent near two Years in this melancholy Situation, every Day more and more exposed to Hatred and Contempt, of which he received some Proofs from *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, who had afterwards sufficient Cause to repent of his imprudent Behaviour.—He had received his Crown from *Antony*, to whom he continued faithful till after the Battle of *Actium*, and was confirmed in the Possession of it by *Augustus*. But some of his Friends at the *Roman* Court having wrote him Word, that *Caius Cesar*, the Emperor's Grandson, was the Favourite, and that it would not be safe at that Juncture to seem engaged with *Tiberius*, he more than slighted this last, who, when Emperor, inticed him to *Rome*, by means of his Mother *Livia*, impeached him before the Senate, and drove him to the dreadful Extremity of killing himself, after he had reigned fifty Years*. His Kingdom was united to the *Roman* Empire.—The People of *Nismes* pulled down *Tiberius's* Statues; and, at a Feast where all were very merry, one of the Guests offered to go immediately to *Rhodes*, if *Caius* liked it, and bring him back the Head of the Exile ; for so *Tiberius* was called at that Court.

THE Danger increased, *Tiberius* grew more urgent to be recalled, and *Livia* backed his Request with all her Might. But still *Augustus* would not grant it till he had first consulted his Son *Caius*, who, luckily for *Tiberius*, being then undeceived in regard to *Lollius*, made no Opposition.—*Tiberius* was there-

* TAC. Ann. Lib. II. DIO. Lib. VI.

thereupon permitted to return to *Rome*;—but upon the express Condition, that he should live there as a private Man, and not meddle in any Shape with what concerned the Government.—Yet, even under these extremely unfavourable Appearances, he still entertained strong Hopes of his future Rise, founded, says *Suetonius*, upon the Predictions of the Astrologer *Thrasyllus*, with whom he had frequent Interviews during his Stay at *Rhodes*;—for, devoured by Ambition, and keeping his Eye constantly fixed upon the Empire, between which and him he saw but two Lives, he was fond of consulting those Impostors, who pretend to a Knowledge of Futurity. But before he would put any Confidence in this cunning Man, he made him undergo a Trial in which several had miscarried.—These Sort of Things are always done mysteriously, and *Tiberius* used to set about it in the following Manner :

He had a House built upon a steep Rock, close to the Sea*. One of his Freedmen, the only Person in the Secret, an illiterate Fellow, but very strong, led the Astrologer through steep and difficult Paths to a Centry-box, quite on the Top of the House; and if *Tiberius* suspected Fraud or Falsity in what the Conjuror told him, his Freedman threw him instantly into the Sea, which beat against the Rock, and by that Means buried him and his Master's Secrets.

Thrasyllus, being conducted to this Place, had the good Fortune to please *Tiberius*, by promising him the Empire, and by the ingenious Turn he gave to every Thing he said. *Tiberius*, struck with it, asked him, whether he could draw his own Horoscope, and, by comparing the Time of his Birth with the then State of the Heavens, tell what he was at that Instant to hope for, or to fear.—The Astrologer, doubtless apprised of the Fate of his Predecessors, looked at the Stars,—shuddered,—looked at them again,—trembled still more,—and at last cried out, that he was threatened with a great and imminent Peril..

Tiberius, convinced of his Skill by this Experiment, which appeared to him beyond all Equivocation, embraced him, bid him take Courage, and from that Hour made him one of his intimate Friends. Nay, not satisfied with consulting him and listening to his Answers with Docility and Confidence, as if they had been Oracles, he resolved to learn the *fine* Science himself; and had all the Leisure he could wish for, to receive Lessons from his *knowing* Master.

UPON his Return to *Rome*, he gave his Son *Drusus* the manly Robe, and the House he lived in, which had formerly been *Pompey's*. He himself went to live in *Mecenas's* House in the *Esquilie*, and there remained unnoticed, and unemployed, till the Death of *Caius*, that is to say, for near two Years*; for he returned to *Rome* in the Month of *July* DCCLIII, and *Caius Cesar* died on the twenty-first of *February* DCCLV, of which I am now speaking.

ON the twenty-seventh of the ensuing Month of *June* (DCCLV) *Augustus* adopted *TIBERIUS*;—solemnly declaring on this Occasion, that the Welfare of the Republic was his only Motive for so doing:—and indeed there was a great deal of Truth in this Declaration, highly honourable to *Tiberius*.—*Augustus* found that he had a Capacity for War, Resolution to maintain proper Discipline, great Penetration, and the Talent of knowing Men, and what they were fit for†. These were great Qualifications, and seemed to promise Happiness to the Subjects of such a Prince.

I therefore think that the Report then spread, of *Augustus's* choosing him for his Successor, merely to make himself be the more regretted, must be looked upon as a senseless Calumny‡. —*Augustus's* Government did not stand in need of being compared with that of a bad Prince, to make it be esteemed and loved: and it is plain from Facts, that he did not think of

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* TILLEMONT. Aug. c. XII.

† VELL. Lib. II. 104. SUET. in Tib. XXI.

‡ TAC. Ann. Lib. I. SUET. ubi supra.

Tiberius till he had no other Resource.—*Marcellus*, *Agrippa*, the two *Cæsars* his Sons by Adoption, were dead;—so that he cannot, properly speaking, be said to have chosen his Successor; but rather to have received him from the Hand of Chance:—nor did he think he received a bad Present. Not but that he perceived, through all his good Qualities, bad ones which shocked him:—a savage Roughness, so displeasing, that if *Tiberius* chanced to come into the Room whilst he was talking of any Thing gay or merry, he immediately changed the Discourse:—a dull Slowness, which affected even his Speech, and rendered it so disagreeably heavy, that *Augustus*, one Day, could not help exclaiming, “How do I pity the Fate of the
“ *Roman* People; that they must fall under those heavy
“ Jaws *.”—But, above all, his Dissimulation was so deep, that there was Room to fear his apparent Virtues were but masked Vices.

AUGUSTUS was so sensible of these Defects, that he hinted at them in the Senate, when he desired, and obtained, the Tribunitian Power, a second Time, for *Tiberius*, soon after his Adoption. In the Speech which he read, as was his usual Way, he dropped some ambiguous Words concerning *Tiberius*’s Manner and Behaviour, and made such odd Excuses for them, as almost amounted to Reproaches:—and, in his Will, he declared †, that he had adopted *Tiberius*, because a cruel Fate had robbed him of his Sons, *Caius* and *Lucius Cæsars* ‡;—which was saying pretty plainly, that he took him for Want of a better.—In short, it is assured, that before he came to a Resolution to adopt *Tiberius*, he had cast his Eye upon *Germanicus*, the Son of *Drusus*, and Grandson to his Sister *Octavia*, an amiable Youth, beloved and esteemed by the whole Nation. But *Livia* dissuaded him from it:—and, indeed, it must be owned

* *Miserum populum Romanum, qui sub tam lentis maxillis erit!* Suet.

† Tac. Ann. Lib. XV.

‡ Suet. in Tib. §. XXIII.

owned that it would have been hard to prefer the Nephew, the Son of a younger Branch, and but nineteen Years of Age, before the Uncle, who was the elder Branch, a Man of ripe Years, and who had given Proofs of his Capacity in Commands of great Importance.

I must therefore confess, that, as Things were circumstanced, I do not see how *Augustus* could well do otherwise, than make *Tiberius* his Heir.—Not being able to find what he could have wished for, he was forced to take up with what he had.—To which may be added, that, as long as he lived, he had Reason to applaud his Choice; and that his Regard for *Tiberius*, which was long accompanied with a Mixture even of Antipathy, grew stronger, and more sincere, in Proportion as he found him answer his Intentions.

IN his private Life *, *Tiberius* behaved with exemplary Modesty; and, from the Hour of his Adoption, he was so perfectly submissive to the paternal Authority of his adoptive Father, that, looking upon himself as a Person not intitled of Right to any Thing, he made no Gifts, freed no Slaves, nor accepted of any Legacy or Inheritance without first asking *Augustus's* Leave. In public Employments, he became really the Support of the State.

AUGUSTUS, however, in adopting him, did not intend that all his Hopes should center there; for, at the same Time, he adopted the last of his Grandsons, *AGRIPPA POSTHUMUS*; and though *Tiberius's* Son, *DRUSUS NERO* was grown up to Man's Estate, he obliged him to adopt his Nephew *GERMANICUS* †.—By this Means, his Succession was again established on many Props.

As to *Tiberius*, nothing could now give him Umbrage but the Adoption of *Agrippa*; for *Germanicus*, by becoming his Son, had no Right to the Empire till after him; and that only

* SUET. Tib. §. XV.

† SUET. Aug. §. LXV, and Tib. §. XV.

ly Rival, *Agrippa Posthumus*, soon took Care to deliver him from all Uneasiness on his Account. He was of a fierce and savage Temper *, had no other Merit than that of great Strength of Body, which he exerted brutally; no Elevation of Mind, no Dignity of Sentiments, nor the least Taste for any polite or social Accomplishment.—Fishing was his chief Occupation, and he prided himself so much upon it, that he took the Name of *Neptune*. Rash and indiscreet to the utmost Excess, he railed against *Livia*, accusing her of Want of natural Affection for him; and even charged the Emperor with having wronged him of his Father's Inheritance. *Augustus*, ashamed to have a Son and Heir so little worthy of him, and soured by *Livia's* Complaints, banished him to *Sorrento*, on the Coast of *Campania*. But this Punishment, instead of taming the young Prince, served only to increase his Fury: upon which *Augustus* procured a Degree of the Senate, banishing him irrevocably for Life, and removed him to the Island of *Planasia*, now *Pianosa*, on the *Tuscan* Coast, where he was kept a close Prisoner, till *Tiberius*, immediately after his Accession to the Throne, sent thither a Centurion, who murdered him †.—*Tiberius*, who flatly denied having given any such Order, was soon afterwards greatly perplexed by the Appearance of one of *Agrippa's* Slaves, who had the Assurance to personate his deceased Master, and, as such, formed no inconsiderable Party; but, foolishly venturing to go to *Rome*, and there to hold clandestine nocturnal Cabals, he was seized, carried to the Palace, and privately put to Death.

DISPUTED Nativities are no new Things. No Eminency or Grandeur exempts from the Attacks of Fraud and Impudence.—A common Fellow, some Time after the Death of the noble *Marcellus*, took it in his Head that he would pass himself upon the Public, and upon *Cesar*, for *Octavia's* real Child.

VOL. III.

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* TACIT. Ann. Lib. I. SUET. Aug. §. LXV, LXVI.

† SUET. Tib. §. XXII. DIO. Lib. LVII. TAC. Ann. Lib. I.

Child. He had been given out to Nurse, said he, and being but a weakly Child, the Person, intrusted by *Ostavia*, had given her back, as her Son, his own Child, who was a thriving Boy, and kept *him*, the true *Marcellus*, in his Room,—— a Secret which he had revealed only a little before his Death. This he persisted in affirming with the greatest Impudence, until *Augustus* condemned his pretended Nephew to be a Galley-slave*.

AUGUSTUS received this Year a fifth Prorogation of his immense Power, again reformed the Senate with singular Prudence, numbered the Inhabitants of *Italy*, regulated the Laws relative to the Emancipating of Slaves, and continued his Labours to settle the Civil Government of the State. But all his Happiness was embittered by the perverse Disposition of *Agrippa Posthumus*, one of the greatest Grievs he ever felt; and by the younger *JULIA*, who was beginning to tread in the Footsteps of her Mother:—nor could the Mildness of his Government even now secure him from Plots against his Life.— One of these, which was discovered this Year, and which I shall relate in *Seneca's* Words†, afforded him a glorious Opportunity of displaying the noblest Magnanimity.

CINNA, the Grandson of *Pompey*, but a Man of little Merit, was accused of fomenting and heading a Conspiracy against the Prince. One of the Accomplices, who was the Informer, particularised the Time, the Place, and the Measures taken to kill the Emperor, whilst he should be offering up a Sacrifice; in such Manner that the Crime was proved beyond all Doubt. *Augustus* resolved to do Justice on the perfidious *Cinna*, and to that End convened a Council of his Friends, to meet the next Day.

THE intervening Night brought with it Reflections, which threw him into a violent Agitation.—He who had formerly,

at

* VAL. MAX. Lib. IX. c. 15.

† De Clem. Lib. IX.

at Supper with *M. Antony*, dictated the horrid Edict of Proscription, could not now, without Horror, think of condemning a single Citizen, whose Life had been blameless till then.—So much was *Augustus* changed;—so much had other Habits got Possession of his Soul.—“ Shall I then, (said he, exulting with himself, and venting the different Thoughts of his deeply wounded Mind), shall I then let my Assassin live in Ease and Quiet, and take all the Grief to myself? After so many Civil Wars have respected my Days, after escaping so many Dangers in Battles by Sea and Land; a Traitor would butcher me at the Foot of the Altars;—and shall I not punish him as he justly deserves! ”——There he would stop; and, after a short Pause, interrupted by Sighs, examining and judging himself more severely than he did *Cinna*,——“ If thy Death (continued he, with an indignant Emotion pointed at himself) be the Object of the Wishes of so many Romans, canst thou be fit to live?—When will there be an End of Punishments!——When wilt thou cease to shed the Blood of thy Fellow-Citizens!——Thy Head stands exposed as a Mark to the young Nobility, to immortalize themselves by killing thee.—No! Life is not worth preserving, if so many others must perish to save thee.”

LIVIA, who overheard him, and saw his Agitation, at length interrupted him:——“ Will you (said she) hear a Woman’s Advice?—Imitate the Physicians, who, when the usual Remedies do not succeed, try their Contraries. Hitherto you have gained nothing by Severity. A Conspiracy punished has only produced a new one. *Salvidienus* was followed by the younger *Lepidus*, *Lepidus* by *Murena* and *Cepio*, and they again by *Egnatius*.——I could name more. Try now what Clemency will do.—Pardon *Cinna*.——His Design is discovered; he can no longer hurt you; and your Lenity to him may be of Service to your Reputation.”

AUGUSTUS, charmed with the Advice, which now

agreed perfectly with his real Disposition, thanked *Livia*, sent his Friends Word not to come, took *Cinna* into an inner Room, ordered every one to leave them, and, after bidding him sit down, spoke to him thus : “ I desire, in the first Place, that
 “ you will not interrupt me in what I am going to say ; and
 “ that you will hear me out before you attempt to answer : when I have done, you shall be at Liberty to reply.
 “ —I found you, *Cinna*, in the Camp of my Enemy. Your
 “ Engagements against me were not the Effect of a Choice
 “ which might change, but the Consequence of your Birth.
 “ —Under these Circumstances I spared your Life ;—I restored you to your Patrimony.—You are now in so rich, so
 “ flourishing a Situation, that even Conquerors envy the Condition of the Conquered.—You desired to be made a Priest :
 “ —I made you one, preferring you to Competitors whose Fathers had fought for me ;—and yet, after heaping upon you
 “ all these Favours, you would assassinate me.”

AT this Word, *Cinna* cried out, that such Madness had never entered his Thoughts.—“ You do not keep your Word,
 “ (said *Augustus*) ; our Agreement was, that you should not
 “ interrupt me.—Yes *Cinna*, I again say, you would assassinate me.”—He then told him the Place and Day they had agreed upon, named his Accomplices, the Method laid down, and who was to strike the Blow : and upon *Cinna*’s remaining silent, not in Consequence of their Convention, but through Surprize, Terror, and the Reproaches of his Conscience,—“ What Motive (continued he) could induce you to
 “ form such a Design? Is it that you want my Place?—The
 “ Roman People are indeed greatly to be pitied, if I am the
 “ only Hindrance to your reigning over them :—You, who
 “ cannot govern your own House, who, but lately, were
 “ worsted by a Freedman in an Affair which you had at Heart ;
 “ you, who find nothing easy, unless it be to form Conspiracies against your Prince and Benefactor.—But, let

“ us see; let us examine, whether I am in Fact the only
 “ one that curbs your ambitious Projects.—Think you,
 “ that a *Paulus*, a *Fabius Maximus*, a *Cossus*, a *Servilius*, and
 “ many other Nobles, who do not decorate themselves with
 “ empty Titles, but reflect back upon their Ancestors the Ho-
 “ nours which they have received from them; think you that
 “ they will ever be brought to submit to your Government?”

AUGUSTUS continued speaking to him in this Manner
 for upwards of two Hours, purposely to prolong the only Re-
 venge he intended to take, and then concluded thus: “ A se-
 “ cond Time, *Cinna*, I give you your Life.—I spared you
 “ when you was my Enemy; and now I forgive you, though
 “ to that Name you have added those of Traitor and Parric-
 “ ide.—Let us, from this Day, begin to be sincerely Friends.
 “ Let us vie with each other; I, to support the Good I have
 “ done you; you, to make a suitable Return.—Let us try to
 “ render it doubtful, whether I am most generous, or you
 “ most grateful.”

To this noble Language he added Deeds. The next Year he
 made *Cinna* Consul, obligingly complaining, that he had been
 too timid in not asking it; and *Cinna*, on his Side, took every
 Opportunity to shew his real Sensibility of the Favour, and, from
 this Time, his zealous and unshaken Attachment to the Prince to
 whom he had twice owed his Life.—Dying, he made *Augus-
 tus* his sole Heir, as a Token of his sincere Gratitude.—
 Nor was that the only or the greatest Advantage which *Aug-
 ustus* reaped from his Clemency on this Occasion; for it
 gained him the Hearts of every one so effectually, that no Plot
 or Conspiracy was ever more attempted against him.

THIS greatly and justly celebrated Action is the Subject of
 one of the inimitable *Corneille's* finest Tragedies.—*Lewis* the
 XIVth went to see it acted, the Evening before the Day ap-
 pointed for the Execution of the unhappy Chevalier *de Rohan*;
 and was so struck with the Clemency of *Augustus*, that he

owned

owned afterwards, if any one had asked a Pardon that Night for the Chevalier, it would not have been in his Power to refuse it. But none durst take upon them to move him in that Manner, and the Chevalier perished.——Intense Tyranny, where a Subject dares not petition! and Littleness of Soul, that must be pressed to forgive!

THE hostile Commotions of the *Germans* in the Year of *Rome* DCCLII., and the two following Years, were easily quelled by *M. Vinicius*, who, in Consequence thereof, obtained the Honours of Triumph. That War was indeed but trifling, though the sycophant *Velleius*, to magnify the Exploits of *Vinicius*, to whom his Work is dedicated, calls it an *immense* War*. But in the Year DCCLV, it became so serious, that *Tiberius* was sent into *Germany* immediately after his Adoption. The Season was pretty far advanced when he set out; but, seconded by *Sentius Saturninus*, a Man of Years and Experience, (Father of *C. Sentius Saturninus*, who was one of the Consuls for this Year), he advanced into the Enemy's Country with the utmost Expedition, scoured all the Territories bordering upon the *Lower Rhine*, subdued the *Caninefats*, *Attuarians*, and *Bructeri*, passed the *Weser*, and reduced the *Cherusci*†. These Operations prolonged the Campaign till *December*, when *Tiberius*, after settling his Winter-quarters beyond the *Rhine*, near the Head of the *Lippe*, in order to be in Readiness to pursue his Operations early the next Year, returned to *Rome*, to watch what was doing there, and prevent his being supplanted in the good Opinion of *Augustus*, upon whose Affection he, warily, did not much depend.

EARLY in the Spring of the next Year (DCCLVI), penetrating into the very Heart of *Germany*, he subdued the *Cauci*, and the haughty *Lombards*, who then inhabited the *Marche* of *Branden-*

* *Immensum exarserat bellum. Lib. II.*

† *SUET. Tib. §. XVI. VELL. ubi supra. DIO. Lib. XVI.*

denbourg, on each Side of the *Elbe*, and with the Assistance of his Fleet, which sailed round the Coast, and anchored in the Mouth of this River, from whence his numerous Legions were plentifully supplied with all Sorts of Provisions and Refreshments, spread such Terror around him, that the *Germans* sued for Peace, which was granted. *Velleius*, who served in this Expedition, embellishes his Account of it with all the pompous Expressions he could think of; but owns that there was but one Battle, in which the *Barbarians*, attempting to surprize the *Roman* Army, were repulsed with great Slaughter. *Tiberius* gained a second Time the Glory of reducing the whole Country from the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*; for which *Augustus* took the Title of *Imperator* for the fifteenth Time, permitted *Tiberius* to assume it for the fourth, and allowed *Sentius Saturninus* the Ornaments of Triumph *.

THE *Marcomanni*, who, upon *Drusus's* subduing the *Western* Parts of *Germany*, had quitted their native Land, then threatened with Servitude, and retired into *Bohemia*, under the Conduct of their Chief *Maroboduus*, had extended their Possessions, and increased their warlike Strength, so as even to alarm the Pride of the *Romans*, who could not bear that any Nation near their Dominions (and the *Marcomanni* were now not above two hundred Miles from the Frontiers of *Italy*) should pretend not to be subject to them. Nobly asserting the Freedom and Independency of his Countrymen, who, in Return, chose him for their King, this brave Prince, with seventy thousand Foot and four thousand Horse, well disciplined after the *Roman* Manner, scorned to become tributary, and even bid Defiance to the haughty Masters of the World.—*Tiberius*, who was ordered to humble him, resolved to attack his Territories in two different Parts at the same Time; and to this Purpose directed *S. Saturninus*, who commanded under him, to cross the Country of the *Catti* with a numerous Army, and open him—

* BUCHER. Belg. Rom. Lib. II.

himself a Passage through the *Hercynian* Forest, so as to enter *Bohemia* on the *West*; whilst he, with another Army, assembled at *Carnuntum* (a Place of great Importance on the *Danube*, between *Vienna* and *Presbourg*), should form his Attack on the Southern Side.—If this well-concerted Plan had taken Place, *Maroboduus* must have been undone.

THE two Generals, *Tiberius* on one Side, and *Saturninus* on the other, were within five Days March of the Territories of the *Marcomanni*, when a sudden Revolt of the *Pannonians*, *Dalmatians*, and all the People of those Countries, forced the *Romans* to turn back, in order to prevent more urgent Dangers. A necessary Care was preferred before a Motive of meer Glory; and *Tiberius*, concluding a Treaty with *Maroboduus*, hastened to stem the Torrent of the Rebels, who might otherwise soon have entered *Italy* *.

THE Revolt began in *Dalmatia*, the Inhabitants of which, ill-brooking the Payment of any Tributes, and doubly exasperated by the oppressive Manner in which they were levied, seized the Opportunity which the Preparations for War against *Maroboduus* offered them, as a Means of shaking off the Yoke;—for *Tiberius*, in order to form the Army assembled at *Carnuntum*, had withdrawn the *Roman* Troops from *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*; *Valerius Messalinus*, Governor of both these Provinces, was gone to join him with the greatest Part of his Forces; and, which completely opened the Eyes of the *Dalmatians*, Recruits had been raised from among their Youth;—a Step which made them sensible of their own Strength. Under these Circumstances, encouraged and headed by one of their Countrymen, named *Bato*, they attempted to recover their Liberty; to which End, instead of joining *Tiberius*'s Army, as they were ordered, they fell upon the *Romans* that yet remained in their Country, and killed a great Number of them.—The

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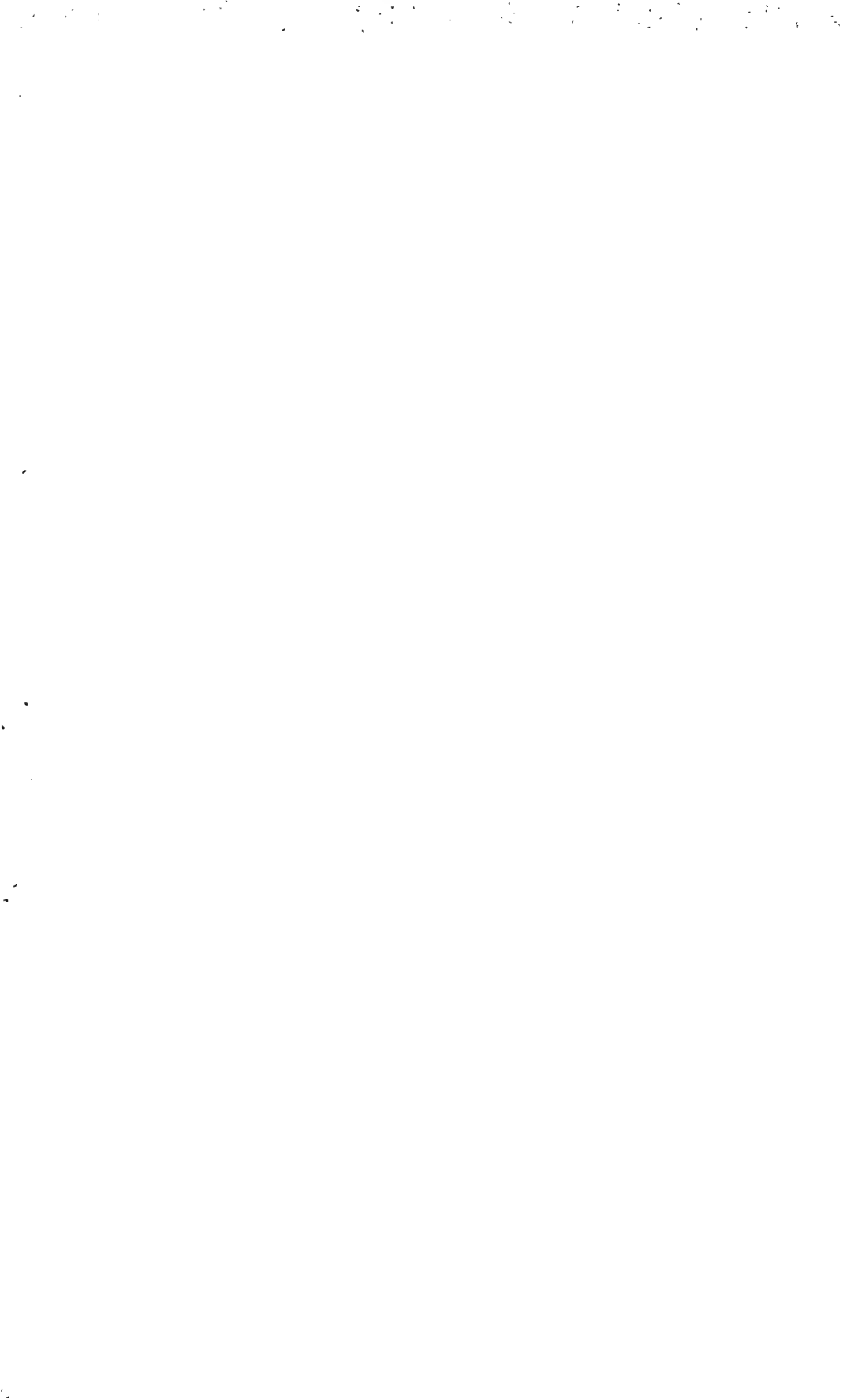
* TAC. ANN. LIB. II.

Pannonians, catching the Signal, immediately joined them, under the Command of another *Bato*.

NEVER did Fire catch with such Violence and Rapidity. In a very short Time the Rebels were in Arms, amounting to two hundred thousand Foot and eight thousand Horse. Judiciously dividing their Strength, one Part was to attempt a Passage into *Italy*, between *Nauportum* (*Ober Laubach*) and *Trieſte*, and another over-run *Macedonia*, whilst a third remained at Home, to defend their own Country. In the first Heat of this sudden Revolt, all the *Roman* Citizens and Traders then among them were murdered, or made Slaves, the Garrisons were cut to-pieces, and their Posts wrested from them. The Towns of *Sirmich* and *Salona*, being in a Condition to defend themselves, resisted, and were besieged; the former by the *Pannonians*, and the latter by the *Dalmatians*.—This was in the Year of Rome DCCLVII.

THE Alarm reached *Rome*;—*Augustus's* Resolution was shaken:—He was heard to say, that, unless Care was taken the Enemy might be before the Walls of the Capital of the Empire in ten Days Time.—Troops were raised with all possible Speed;—the Veterans were recalled to their Standards;—the richest Citizens, and even the Ladies, were ordered to send their stoutest Slaves to be made free and enlisted:—the Senators and *Roman* Knights offered every Assistance in their Power, and many of them went to serve in Person.—But still, these Succours were slow and distant.

CECINA Severus, who commanded in *Mæſia*, was the first that came up with the Enemy, and made the *Pannonians* raise the Siege of *Sirmich*. *Messalinus*, detached by *Tiberius*, marched against the *Dalmatian Bato*, who had been obliged to leave *Salona*, by a Wound he received before that Place. The two Armies met, and the *Barbarians* had some Advantage; but, falling soon after into an Ambush, they were defeated by *Messalinus*, who thereby merited the Ornaments of Triumph.



Vol. III. p. 514



Confusion, except the Legions, whose Valour happily remedied the Imprudence of their Chiefs: bravely facing their unexpected Foes, and then advancing upon them, they routed them in their Turn, and gained a complete Victory.—But it was a bloody one; for a great Number of Soldiers, and several Officers of Distinction, perished in this unfortunate Affair.—*GERMANICUS*, on his Side, conquered the *Mæretians*, a People of *Dalmatia*, in a pitched Battle; and *TIBERIUS* conducted Matters with such Prudence, that the *Pannonians*, reduced to the utmost Distress for Want of Provisions, and beaten from all their Posts, forsook their Allies the next Year, laid down their Arms, and submitted to the Conqueror's Mercy.

A FOURTH, but by no Means the least difficult Campaign, put an End to this War, in the Year DCC LX, by the entire Reduction of the *Dalmatians*.—*Tiberius*, dividing his Forces into three Bodies, one of which was commanded by *Lepidus*, another by *Silanus*, or, more probably, *Sylvanus*, put himself, with *Germanicus*, at the Head of the third. These three Armies over-ran all *Dalmatia*, wasting, burning, and plundering every Thing before them; so that the *Dalmatians* had no Resource left, but to shut themselves up in their two remaining Towns, *Andetrium*, near *Salona*, and *Arduba*.——*Tiberius* invested the former, and, after an obstinate Resistance, carried it by Storm.

ARDUBA, to which *Germanicus* laid Siege, was filled with Deserters, who, knowing that they were not intitled to any Mercy from the *Romans*, resolved to hold out to the last Extremity, and then to die in the Breach; but the Natives of the Place were bent upon surrendering. This Diversity of Opinions produced violent Contests, and these ended in a downright Battle, in which several were killed;——but what was very singular, is, that the Women, more obstinately tenacious of their Liberty than the Men, sided with the Deserters,

against their Husbands ; and when these last, having got the better in their intestine Feuds, opened their Gates to the Romans, they, without hesitating a Moment betwixt Death and Servitude, snatched up their Children with a frantic Fury, and threw themselves with them, some into Fires which they had made for that Purpose, and others into the River which bathed their Walls.

THE *Pannonian Bato* had fled from *Andetrium*, and disappeared ; but the *Dalmatian* of that Name, who had still a few Men about him, though not enough to enable him to try his Fortune any longer, offered to surrender to *Tiberius*, on Condition that his Life, and the Lives of his Followers should be spared. His Terms were granted, and he appeared with a noble Courage before *Tiberius's* Tribunal, where, being asked what were the Motives of his Revolt : “ *Romans !* (said he) it “ was your own Fault ;—You sent Wolves, and not Shepherds, “ to keep your Flocks.”

IN the Course of this War, *Tiberius* gave indisputable Proofs of uncommon Prudence, indefatigable Activity, and, which is very remarkable in such a Character as his afterwards proved to be, of great Humanity and Mildness. *Velleius*, who was an Eye-witness, assures us *, that he took infinite Care of his sick and wounded Officers, and that his Carriage and Litter were intirely for their Use.—An Observation which shews, by the bye, how little the *Romans* had, even then, given Way to Luxury in their military Service ; since there was, in this great Army, no other Carriage of Ease, nor any other Litter, than that which belonged to the Prince, who was the General. *Velleius* adds, that *Tiberius*, of his own Accord, and with the utmost Readiness, furnished all Things necessary for the Sick ; Physicians, Surgeons, Medicines, proper Food, and even the Means of Bathing ; all Sorts of proper and convenient Utensils having been brought to the Camp, by his Order, solely for that

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Purpose. As to himself, he was continually on Horse-back, and only sat down to his Meals. Attentively careful to maintain a proper Discipline, he cautiously avoided too great Severity, choosing rather to advise and reprimand, than punish, overlooking many Things; but cutting short when Abuses were likely to be carried too far, or might become contagious.

—What Pity, that a Prince so well acquainted with Virtue, should ever have preferred Vice and Tyranny!—But it is an obvious Observation, that those Princes leave the greatest Reputations who die before they attain to the Plenitude of Power. Great Talents, while under a proper Restraint, operate gloriously for the public Good and the Honour of their Possessors;—when that Restraint is removed, they too often break out into Irregularities, and become the Means of encouraging those Passions which they checked before.—Had *Caligula* died, like *Titus*, in the third Year of his Reign, or had *Nero* died in the fifth of his Empire, what a Character would they have left behind them! Or, on the other Hand, had *Marcellus*, *Drusus Cesar*, or *Germanicus*, obtained the Empire, who knows whether they would have fully answered the high Hopes conceived of them?—This is strictly connected with another very just Remark, That the greatest and best Princes have been those who, in the former Part of their Life, were private Men.

TIBERIUS's Victory was great, and very opportune*; for besides adding to the *Roman* Territories all that vast Tract of Country then called *Illyricum*, situated between *Noricum* and *Italy*, the *Danube* and the *Adriatic Sea*, *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, it revived the drooping Spirits of the whole Nation, excessively dejected by the melancholy Circumstances of *Varus*'s Defeat, which happened just at the same Time, and hindered the *Germans* from joining their Forces to those of the *Pannonians* and

* Suet. Tib. §. XVI. XVII.

and *Dalmatians*, as they would undoubtedly have done after their Conquest of this too negligent Commander, if these last had still been in Arms.

A TRIUMPH and many other Honours were deservedly decreed to *Tiberius*; and it was proposed in the Senate to give him some glorious Surname, such as the *Pannonian*, or the *Invincible*; whilst others, thinking it still more honourable to celebrate a Virtue, of which he had indeed the outward Appearance, but by no Means the Reality, stiled him the *Pious*, meaning a Son full of tender and respectful Attachment to his adoptive Father. But *Augustus*, who perhaps was not overfond of this ardent Zeal to exalt *Tiberius*, told them, “ That the Name which he reserved for him, after his Death, would be sufficient.”—He was much in the right; for the Name of *AUGUSTUS*, to which the supreme Authority was annexed, could not but obliterate every other empty Title of Honour destitute of Power.

As to the Triumph, *Tiberius* himself deferred it, on Account of the deep Mourning into which *Varus*’s recent Defeat had thrown the whole City. He made his Entry, however, but only in the common Robe of the *Romans*, with a Crown of Laurel, and ascended a Tribunal prepared for him in the *Campus Martius*, around which all the Senators were ranged. There he seated himself at *Augustus*’s Side, between the two Consuls; and after saluting the People, who crowded thither to receive him, he was conducted with Pomp to the *Capitol*, and several other Temples, where he returned Thanks to the Gods.

GERMANICUS, who had seconded him perfectly well in the *Pannonian* War, and who was come to *Rome* in Person with the News of his Victory, obtained the Ornaments of Triumph and those of Pretor, though he was yet but Questor; with the Right of speaking in the Senate immediately after those of consular Dignity, and a Dispensation to be Consul before the Age prescribed by the Laws.

PRIVILEGES of the same Kind, but inferior, because he was younger, were also granted to *Tiberius's* Son *Drusus*, together with a Right to sit in the Senate-house, though he was not yet a Senator, and the Precedency before all the ancient Pretors, after he should be Questor.

*P. QUINTILIUS VARUS**, whose dreadful Disaster now filled all *Rome* with Grief, was born of a lately ennobled Family, and had been Consul with *Tiberius*, in the Year of *Rome* dccxxxix.—He was made Governor of *Syria* after *Sen-tius Saturninus*, whom he likewise succeeded in the Govern-ment of *Germany*†.—Chance, rather than Merit, had thrown him in the Way of Promotion ; for he was not a Man of any Genius. He was indeed of a mild and peaceable Disposition; but had two great Faults, which proved the Causes of his Ruin,—Credulity, and Love of Money. *Syria* had experienced his Covetousness :—he went thither poor, and found the Pro-vince rich ; but returned rich, and left the Province poor.—*Germany*, then destitute of all that might encourage Luxury or excite Cupidity, afforded him little Scope to satisfy this pre-vailling Passion ;—but even there he plundered, as much as possible, a People as brave as they were poor, and to whom Exactions were doubly odious, because they injured their slender Fortunes, and were an ignominious Badge of Servitude, in-consistent with their Glory.

WHILST he thus irritated those bold, rough, and intractable People, he took no Sort of Care to guard against their Resent-ment ;

* This, certainly, was not the *QUINTILIUS* mentioned by *Horace*; for he died long before this Calamity, viz. in the Year of *Rome* dccxliii or dccxlii: nor was he, I think, famed for any Thing but *Virgil* and *Horace's* Friendship. As such only he is marked in *Eusebius's* *Chronicon* by the Name of *Quintilius Cre-mensis*;—Some ingenious Provincial, I suppose, and *Virgil's* Neighbour. *Euse-bius* mentions every Creature, even *Bavius*, named in *Virgil*, of whom he is as fond as his Brother Bishop *Eustachius* is of *Homer*.

† *VELL.* Lib. II. 117. *SUET.* Aug. §. XXIII. *DIO.* Lib. LVI.

ment; idly thinking to model, polish, and civilize, by Laws, a Nation which bid Defiance to the Force of Arms. With this View he treated *Germany* as a peaceable Province, taking his Circuits, keeping his High-days, and administering Justice with Pomp and Ostentation; as if his Fasces and Lictors could have awed Men who hardly knew any other Law than that of the strongest. The Blessings which emanate from a well regulated State were quite unknown to them;—Sweets of which they had not even an Idea:—But, says *Florus* *, in his almost poetic Style, grieved to see their Arms covered o'er with Rust, and their Horses languishing in Inaction, they thought of nothing but revolting against a Government so little suited to their Inclinations.—*Varus's* Supineness gave them great Room to hope for Success.—They wanted only a Chief to direct the Enterprize; and him they found completely in the Person of *ARMINIUS*, a young Nobleman, descended from one of the first Families among the *Cherusci*.

ARMINIUS had every Qualification requisite to conduct a Conspiracy. Personally brave, indefatigably active, full of Life and Spirits, which sparkled in his Eyes and Countenance; he was fertile in Resources, dexterous, cunning, and knew how to feign or dissemble as he pleased. Such a Man was by far an Over-match for *Varus*. His first Care was, to encourage and increase the natural Indolence of this Governor of the *Germans*; well knowing that he is soonest overpowered who fears the least, and that an imprudent Confidence often becomes the Source of endless Calamities. His Birth, his Rank, and his seeming Attachment to the *Romans*, in whose Armies he had served with such Distinction as to merit being made a *Roman* Citizen, and a Knight, procured him, at all Times, a free Access to *Varus*. Improving these Openings, he soon grew familiar with him, commended his Ways of Thinking, extolled the Happiness of *Germany*, then going to acquire,

through

through his Means, a Knowledge of Law and Justice, by which Quarrels, before decided by Arms, would be ended peaceably; by which Barbarism would be banished, and Politeness introduced instead of the rude and savage Manners of an uncivilized People. To confirm these Speeches, he employed some of his Countrymen, on whom he could depend, to pretend Suits against one another, to bring them before his Tribunal, and to receive his Decisions with Thankfulness and Satisfaction. *Varus*, dazzled by these specious Appearances, was weak enough to think that the People loved him, and looked upon himself as a Magistrate in the Midst of his Fellow-citizens, rather than as a General in a dangerous Country, where too much Caution could not possibly be used.

IN the mean Time *Arminius* formed his Plan to destroy the credulous *Varus* and his Legions. He had already made him weaken his Army, by sending small Detachments to various distant Places, where he had procured *Germans* to ask for them under different Pretences; such as to guard a Post, stop the Inroads of Robbers, and other similar Inventions.—When a proper Time was come, the Revolt broke out, by *Arminius's* secret Orders, in some of the most remote Districts; and the few *Romans* who were dispersed in them were immediately killed. *Varus* marched against the Rebels with three Legions, and *Arminius* remained behind, under Colour of following him directly with a strong Reinforcement.—His Troops were in fact already assembled under their particular Leaders; but with a very different View from what he pretended.—He united them instantly into one Body, put himself at their Head, and, as he had projected, soon came up with *Varus* in a narrow Pass, surrounded by Woods and Mountains, between the Towns now called *Dietmelle* and *Horn*, in the County of *Lippe*, in the Territories of the then *Dulgibini*, a People who possessed all the Country from *Paderborn* to the *Weser*.—This was the Place where he had all along intended to attack him.

VARUS might still have escaped, had he but vouchsafed to listen to an Advice which came from so good a Hand, that it is inconceivable how he could slight it.—*SEGESTES*, an illustrious *German*, and a Friend to *Rome*, of which he had been made a Citizen by *Augustus*, having discovered a Part at least of *Arminius's* Plot*, had more than once intimated it to *Varus*; and, on a late Occasion, when they were all met together at a Feast, told him plainly that the Danger was near at hand, and advised him that Moment to arrest, himself, *Arminius*, and the chief Accomplices, to prevent the Blow, and afterwards to examine the Matter more thoroughly, in order to distinguish the Innocent from the Guilty.—“But (says *Velleius*) it generally happens, that God, when he intends to alter the Condition of Men, perverts their Counsels; so that those who perish have the additional Misfortune of seeming to have deserved their Fate, and of being thought not less blameable than unfortunate.”——*Varus*, unaccountably blind, paid no Regard to any Thing that *Segestes* had said.

In the Night after this very Feast, where he had been so fairly warned, *Arminius* executed his Design.—On a sudden, when the *Romans* least expected it, they were furiously attacked by the Troops. they had rejoiced with the Evening before, and thought their Friends and Allies. *Varus's* Legions were composed of excellent Soldiers, Men who might justly be deemed the Flower of the *Roman* Army, for Goodness of Discipline, Bravery, and Experience in War.—But what can Valour do against Obstacles superior to all human Power? against Surprise, the dead of Night, an unknown Country, Mountains, Forests, Bogs, and a dreadful Tempest which happened at the same Time?—The *Romans*, however, resisted with Courage, and, after a considerable Loss, being forced at length to abandon their Camp, of which the *Germans* had got Possession, retreated

treated to an Eminence, where they began to entrench themselves. The Conquerors pursued, attacked them with redoubled Fury,—*Varus* was wounded, and, seeing no Hopes left, fell upon his own Sword;—imitating the Example of his Father, who made one of his Freedmen kill him after the Battle of *Philippi*; and that of his Grandfather, who died in the same Manner in *Spain*.

THE Death of their General entirely disheartened the *Romans*, reduced to a small Number, fatigued by the Difficulties of the Ground, and surrounded on all Sides by their treacherous Foes, whose Pursuit they could not possibly expect to escape, even if they could have forced a Passage through them; some, like *Varus*, ended their own Lives, and others, fighting with the Obstinacy of Men driven to Despair, chose rather to die by the Hand of the Enemy;—but the greater Part, unable to resist such complicated Woes, and encouraged by the Example of an Officer of Distinction, named *Ceionius*, laid down their Arms, and surrendered at Discretion.—*Nu-*
monius Vala, *Varus's* Lieutenant, attempted to save himself with the Cavalry; but was pursued, overtaken, and killed with all his Men.

Two Legions left in the old Camp (situated where the Town of *Flotow* now stands), from which *Varus* set out in order to march against the pretended Rebels, must have undergone the same Fate, had not *Asprænas*, *Varus's* Nephew and Lieutenant, marched them out of the Enemy's Country with great Expedition, the Moment he was informed of his Uncle's Misfortune. He prudently led them directly to the Winter-quarters of the *Romans* in *Lower Germany*, and thereby happily kept in Order the People on that Side of the *Rhine*, whose Fidelity began to waver.—This well-judged Retreat would have done him signal Honour, as Things were circumstanced, if he had not sullied it by a mean and unjust Avarice.—*Velleius* says, he was accused of enriching himself with the Spoils of

the Unfortunate, by appropriating to his own Use all the Baggage which had been left in the old Camp by *Varus's* three murdered Legions.

ARMINIUS made as bad an Use of his Victory, as it was possible for an insolent Barbarian to do. Seating himself upon a Tribunal erected for the Purpose, he ordered the *Roman* Prisoners to be brought before him, loaded with Chains, and condemned them all to die. The Tribunes and Centurions were sacrificed, as Victims, upon Altars set up in the Woods, and the common Soldiers were crucified or hanged.—*Cælius Calvus*, a young *Roman* of illustrious Birth, seeing for what End he was reserved, stretched out his Chain, and, with a furious Blow, dashed out his own Brains.—Above all, the *Germans* took a cruel Pleasure in tormenting those who had been any way employed or concerned in *Varus's* odious Jurisdiction over them.—They put out their Eyes, and cut off their Hands.—One had his Tongue pulled out, and his Mouth sewed up; after which the Barbarian who performed the horrid Deed, holding the Tongue in his Hand, cried out to him, “Cease thy Hissing, Vipër!”—*Varus's* Body was hid and buried by the Soldiers, to screen it from the Insults of the Barbarians;—but it was found, taken up, and treated with the utmost Ignominy; and when it was thought to have been long enough the inhuman Sport and Mockery, not only of the lower Class, but even of some of their Chiefs, among whom was a Nephew of *Segestes*, the Head was cut off and sent to *Maroboduus*, who conveyed it to *Rome*, where it was interred*.

THE Standards of the Legions, with two of their Eagles, fell into the Enemy's Hands; and those Objects of religious Veneration among the *Romans*, were treated with the greatest Contumely and Outrage by *Arminius*. The third Eagle was saved by the Courage and Presence of Mind of him who bore it.—Seeing that all was irrecoverably lost, he snatched it

from

from the Top of the Pike it was supported by, tucked it under his Belt; fled into a Bog, and from thence fortunately escaped *.

THE *Germans* left the Field of Battle strewed with the dead Bodies of Men and Horses, intermixed with broken Swords, Spears, and Javelins; whilst a great Number of Heads stuck upon Trunks of Trees, and the Instruments they had made Use of to torture and put to Death their wretched Prisoners; remained there as horrid Trophies of their bloody Victory †.

THE Grief and Consternation into which this dreadful Disaster threw every Inhabitant of *Rome*, were, as I said before, inexpressibly great. *Augustus* himself set the Example, and perhaps carried it too far:—not sufficiently attending to the Majesty of his Rank, or the Obligation a Prince is under to comfort his People in Times of Calamity, by a serene and composed Countenance, which, without dissembling his Grievs, may shew that he does not think them past all Remedy. He not only put on Mourning, and let his Beard and Hair grow, but would often cry out, in a perfect Agony, “Restore my Legions, *Varus*.”—But I cannot believe what *Suetonius* adds ‡, that he carried Things to such Excess of Phrensy, as to beat his Head against the Walls; though it is certain that, as long as he lived, the Day of *Varus*’s Defeat was to him a Day of annual Sorrow.

THE Terror of the *Romans* was, at first, equal to their Grief §. They imagined the *Germans* ready to cross the *Rhine*, and over-run *Gaul*, or even to penetrate into *Italy* and lay Siege to *Rome*. *Augustus* appointed an extraordinary Guard in the City, and broke his own Company of *German* Guards.—But their Fears vanished by Degrees: they learnt that *Gaul* continued in a State of Peace; that the Borders of the *Rhine* on

* TAC. FLOR.

† TAC. ubi supra.

‡ SUET. AUG. §. XXIII.

§ DIO & SUET.

on their Side were well defended ; and that the Enemy had not attempted any Thing since their Victory, except the Siege of the Fortrefs of *Aliso**, the Garrison of which, after making a brave Defence, sallied out Sword in Hand, when they found that the Place was no longer tenable, and bravely opened themselves a Passage to join the *Roman* Legions. Winter also drew near (for *Varus's* Defeat happened towards the End of the Year), and of Necessity brought on a Suspension of Arms.

THE *Romans* then had Time to consider more fully how they might best repair the Loss they had sustained in *Germany*. To this end they resolved to send fresh Troops to the *Rhine*. — But the Difficulty was, how to raise them ; for though the People had by this Time got the better of their Apprehensions of an Invasion ; yet the dreadful Impression of the Valour and Fierceness of the *Germans* still remained, and none would enlist to go and attack those formidable Enemies in their own Country. *Augustus* was forced to have Recourse to Severity ; even so far as to put to Death some of the most stubborn, to affix Marks of Infamy on others, and to confiscate their Effects.

THE Choice of a General was the easiest Part. — He could not pitch on any other than *Tiberius* ; nor was any one fitter for so difficult and dangerous a War. He likewise made Use of Religion as a Resource ; and vowed the *Great Games*, with this remarkable Clause, used before in the *Cimbrian* War, and in that of the *Allies* ; PROVIDED THE REPUBLIC BE IN A BETTER SITUATION.

SUCH was the End of this Year, towards the Close of which, *Augustus*, to complete his Griefs, was forced to treat his Grand-daughter *JULIA* with a Rigour which hurt him to the Soul.

THE younger *JULIA*, of whom I now speak, was very beautiful : but joining her Mother's Example to the same Inclina-

* Built by *Drusus*, near the River formerly called *Aliso*, now the *Alm*, which falls into the *Lippe*.

clinations, she became rather more infamous;—and *Augustus*, irritated by the former Scandal, had less Patience now.—She was married to *L. Emilius Paulus* (Son of the Triumvir *Lepidus*'s Brother *Emilius Paulus*), who, from being *Augustus*'s Friend and Companion in the *Sicilian War*, conspired against him with *Plautius Rufus* *, or nearly about the same Time as *Cinna*.—To this Husband she bore a Daughter, *Emilia Lepida*, who was married very young, and soon divorced, by *Claudius*, (afterwards Emperor) upon her Parent's Misbehaviour; after which he married *Messalina*, his Cousin *Domitia*'s Daughter by *Messala Barbatus*.—But *D. SILANUS*, whom I take to have been a Son of *Servilia*, pleased *Julia* better than her Husband.—Whether there was any Connection between him and the unfortunate *OVID*, is hard to tell: but all the Three were banished at the same Time.—*Julia* was sent to the little Island *Trimetus*, upon the *Apulian Coast*, where she died twenty Years after.—She was supported in her Exile by *Livia*, who used first to ruin her Husband's Children *in private*, and then assist them *openly*, to shew her Clemency.—Her Husband, the Conspirator, seems to have killed himself.

NEITHER *Silanus* nor *Ovid* were banished by Law, or attainted by any Act of Senate; but forbid the Prince's Palace,—which was equal to a *Lettre de Cachet*. For this Reason the former returned without any formal Pardon; and had *Ovid* been happy in as great Friends, for *Silanus*'s Brother was among the Chief of the Senate †, he might have done the same.—His Offence, tho' notorious then ‡, is still a Mystery to us. He commonly calls it a Mistake, a Chance, a Thing done unwittingly, thro' Simplicity:——and in another Place, he says it was either Fear or a Mistake ||.—It looks as if he had met
with

* SUET. Aug. §. XIX.

† TAC. Ann. Lib. III.

‡ *Causa meæ CUNCTIS nimium quoque nota ruinæ,
Judicio non est testificanda meo.*

TRIST. L. IV. El. x. v. 99.

|| Aut timor, aut error nobis, prius obfuit error.

Lib. IV. El. iv. v. 39.

with *Julia* in Masque, upon one of her Rambles, and that his Behaviour, or rather that of his Companions and Servants, and their Babbling afterwards, had drawn upon him the Displeasure of *Augustus* *.——Tho' all his Apologies are so many Accusations of *Augustus*, or of his Family, as if their Deeds would not bear being seen; yet he mentions that *secret Cause* so often, even in his poetical Petitions for Liberty to return; that it cannot have been any Thing personal to *Augustus* (from whom, had it touched him but obliquely, he would have kept it the farthest in the World), or to any of his Family, beyond what was known to every one, as was the Banishment of his Grand-daughter.——Were it only the Time of *Ovid's* Exile, the same with that of the younger *Julia*, this Circumstance alone evinces that he was not disgraced for any Intrigue with *Julia* the Mother, or for having seen criminal Familiarities between *Augustus* and his Daughter, as some have maliciously suggested.

WHAT may have given Rise to the Story of *Augustus's* too great Intimacy with his own Daughter, is an extravagant Whim of his Great-grandson *Caligula*, who took it into his Head, that his Relation to *Agrippa* dishonoured his Blood, and gave out that his Mother *Agrippina* was not *Agrippa's* Daughter, but the Fruit of an incestuous Commerce between *Augustus* and *Julia*.——But that Prince was too wild to be believed in any Thing: much less in a Matter where his own Life wanted an Example which concerned *Augustus*, whom he liked to blacken.——Whether this was originally a Fiction of *Caligula's* own, or whether there was any such Rumor whilst *Augustus* lived, I cannot tell.

OVID was thrice married. His first Wife was a worthless Creature, obtruded on him while he was yet a Boy. His second

* Infamia quod Crimen viderunt lumina, plector:

Peccatumque oculos est habuisse meum.

Non equidem totam possum defendere culpam:

Sed partem nostri Criminis Error habet.

second was of a good Family, but coquettish, and soon divorced. The third, a Widow, who had been married to one *Perillus*, and had a Daughter by him (married to one *Suillus*), he loved and honoured to the last.—He was by no Means a *Rake*: nor were his Brother-Poets *Propertius* and *Tibullus*. They were real *Lovers*, passionately fond of one Mistress at a Time:—a Pleasure to which a *Rake*, in the common Acceptation of the Word, has no Pretension.

WHATEVER was the real Cause of *Ovid's* Banishment, his writing the *Art of Love*, which seemed to countenance Adultery, was the Pretence.—But it was a mere Pretence; for it had long been published, and *Ovid* had passed the Scrutiny often before *Augustus* at the Review of the *Roman* Knights after that Publication, without Reproof.—But *Augustus* was not to be spoken to upon that Head. He was incensed beyond Patience at his own Daughter, and this repeated Disgrace wrought him to the greatest Fury.—The poor Poet was banished to *Tomi* in *Scythia*, upon the Borders of the *Euxine* Sea.

THE Circumstances of Things, and of the Times, rendered his Fate doubly unfortunate.—I make no Doubt but that he has stumbled upon *Julia* by chance, while she was engaged in some Frolic, and in Disguise; on which Occasion he would not want an Invitation to take Part, whatever it was.—She has followed her Mother's Example; walked the Streets like a common Woman, and probably picked up *Ovid*.—At first, he has not known the high Quality of the Person with whom he was engaging; and coming afterwards to know it, he had not, it seems, the Courage to retreat.—His Person must have been agreeable to her; for their Intercourse was not ended at once, but lasted some time.—He tells us that his Friend's (*Messalinus's*) Advice would have prevented the bad Consequences of it, if, as he told him all his other Secrets, he had also told him this.

THE general Morals were become extremely dissolute.— Gallantry; to give it a soft Name, was the Business not only of the young and gay; but the idle and luxurious of riper Years practised it in the most criminal Shapes.—They had great Patterns before their Eyes.—*Julius Cesar* had grown bald in Sin*:—his Favourites *Mamurra*, *Dolabella*, *Malus*, *Sallust*, and *Antony*:—his Successor the young *Cesar*, *Plancus*, *Cupienius*, *Dellius*, were all notoriously guilty.—In this general Corruption, a lively young Fellow, who felt that he had Genius, and saw himself a Favourite among the Fair, was not contented, like his more temperate Friends *Tibullus* and *Propertius*, to sing the Joys and Griefs, the fond Wishes and frequent Disappointments, of a tender Passion between two Lovers:—but he must needs reduce Gallantry to an Art, profess himself a Master, and, in a very polished and elaborate Poem, give the most pernicious Precepts how to seduce Innocence, and bring on universal Corruption. In short, in his *Art of Love*, *OVID* flies in the Face of Virtue, and openly espouses the Cause of Vice and Immorality.—Though the Rakes about Court, both young and old, might smile and approve; yet there were many of the great and powerful, the virtuous *Messala*, the severe *Pollio*, the stern *Lollius*, who took deep Offence at the Work, and conceived a very bad Opinion of the Author. He was made sensible of the infinite Hurt he had done himself by that lewd Performance;—and in his after Misfortunes gave it as the first Cause of them, calling it his *foolish Art of Love*†. But, with his usual Acuteness, he devises the common Excuse for obscene Writing, used before him by *Catullus*‡, and after him by *Martial*§.

IT

* Ac ne cui dubium omnino sit, & impudiciz eum, & adulteriorum flagrasse infamiâ, *CURIO* pater, quadam eum Oratione, *Omnium Mulierum Virum*, & *omnium virorum mulierem* appellat. SÆTON. in Jul. § LII.

† STULTAM conscripsimus Artem.

‡ Vita verecunda est, Musa jocosa mihi.

§ Lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba.

It was to *Fabius Maximus*, *Augustus's* last favourite Minister, that the unhappy *Ovid* wrote so many Letters from his Place of Banishment, begging him to intercede for him with the Prince.—*Fabius* was himself an Author, and used to read his Writings to *Ovid*, as to a Man of Letters: His Lady, *Marcia*; made a Companion of *Ovid's* last Wife, who had been married out of the *Fabian* Family, to which she was related. They had been Friends from their Infancy. She seems to have had a very fair Reputation, and had been before a Favourite of *Cesar's* Aunt, probably *Marcia's* Mother (certainly a Sister of *Atia's*). *Fabius's* Father, a Man of great Eloquence, had encouraged *Ovid* to publish his Poems.—Upon the News that he was fallen under the Prince's Displeasure, *Fabius* sent for him, and inquired How it was? The ingenuous Poet could not deny it: but after some stammering Words and incoherent Sentences, burst into Tears before his great Friend, and told him all. Soon after, *Fabius* sent him a Note, giving him Hopes, that as his Crime had been occasioned by a Mistake, *Augustus* might be pacified. He was the last Man that this illustrious Exile waited on before his Departure, when the same Hopes were again renewed, which yet never had any Effect.

OVID, in several Parts of his Poetry, has given Proof that he was capable of very lofty Strains.—His grand, tho' unfinished Work, *THE METAMORPHOSES*, is interspersed with Touches of the truest Sublime.—But by a thousand other Instances it appears, that his *Genius* was rather soft than elevated; and that when he gives a Loose to his natural Bent, tho' his Language be pure, a certain *Languor* in Thought, and Drawling of Expression, betrays the Effeminacy of the Poet.

TIBERIUS set out for *Germany* in the Spring of the Year DCCLXI, and behaved there in such a Manner as answered perfectly to his great Reputation in Arms. Being sensible that

the chief Cause of *Varus's* Misfortune was owing to the Rashness and Negligence of that imprudent General, he wisely judged it incumbent on him to be doubly vigilant and cautious*. His Custom had hitherto been, to follow his own Opinion, without consulting any one:—but he now took a different Method, held frequent Councils, and did nothing till he had first advised with his principal Officers. To prevent Luxury from creeping into the Army, when he was preparing to cross the *Rhine*, he settled the Number and Nature of the Servants and Equipages which each might have, according to his Rank; and that he might be sure his Orders were strictly observed, he stood by the River's Side while the Troops passed over, and personally examined every Thing. He himself set an Example of that strict Simplicity which he prescribed to others: for whilst he was beyond the *Rhine*, he never dined or supped otherwise than seated upon the Ground, and he often passed the Night without a Tent. Every Day, he gave his Orders regularly in Writing for the next Day; with an express Injunction, that whoever wanted to have any Part of them explained, should apply directly to him, at all Hours of the Day or Night: in short, his Discipline was exact, and strictly enforced; he revived certain old military Punishments, which had been disused for a Time; and branded the Commander of a Legion with Ignominy, for having sent some of his Soldiers to hunt on the other Side of the *Rhine* with one of his Freedmen.

AN Army so well governed, had no need to fear being surprised by the Enemy. *Tiberius's* Orders were only to secure the Possession of the *Rhine*:—but rightly judging that, in order to hinder the *Germans* from invading *Gaul*, it was necessary to carry the War into their own Country, he entered it with a strong Force, marched on with all the Precaution that Prudence could suggest, and ravaged every Thing before him.

Having

Having thus restored the Reputation of the *Roman* Arms, he repassed the *Rhine* without any Loss, and conducted his Legions back to their Winter-quarters*.

EARLY the next Year, he crossed the *Rhine* again accompanied by *Germanicus*, and again laid waste the Territories of the *Germans*, who confessed themselves conquered, by not daring to make Head against him. *Arminius* was thoroughly sensible that he had not now a *Varus* to deal with.

TIBERIUS kept the Field as long as the Season would permit: and after having celebrated Games there in Honour of the Emperor's Birth-day, as quietly as if he had been among his Friends, he returned to *Gaul*; sure of having fulfilled the Intentions of *Augustus*, who never desired to extend his Dominions, on that Side, farther than the *Rhine*, which he looked upon as a natural Barrier between the *Roman* Empire and the savage Nations on the other Side of that River.

A Letter, which *Suetonius* has recorded, shews how much *Augustus* was satisfied with *Tiberius's* Conduct on this Occasion: "My dear *Tiberius*," says that Emperor to him, "I think no one could have acted more prudently than you have done, amid so many Difficulties, and while such a general Relaxation prevails among the Troops. All who have served under you, do you this Justice, and apply to you what *Ennius* said of the illustrious *Fabius*, That the Vigilance of one Man has restored the Affairs of the Commonwealth †."

AUGUSTUS, as I have already said, disliked *Tiberius* at first: but, charmed with his important Services, he seems at last to have had a sincere Friendship for him.—He could not otherwise have used those very endearing Expressions mentioned by *Suetonius* ‡. "Whether, said he, "I am busied with
" Af-

* VELL. Lib. II. Dio.

† Unus homo nobis vigilando restituit rem.

‡ Ibid.

SUET. Tib. §. XXI.

“ Affairs which require serious Thought, or vexed by disagreeable Events, I regret the Absence of my dear *Tiberius*,
 “ and call to Mind what *Homer* makes *Diomedes* say of *Ulysses*: *With such a Second I should hope to escape, even from*
 “ *amidst a Conflagration; for he is a Man of exquisite Prudence* *.—When I hear how you are worn out with incessant Fatigue, may I perish, if it does not make me shudder. I beg of you to take Care of yourself, lest you should
 “ fall sick, your Mother die of Grief, and the *Romans* be in
 “ Danger of losing their Empire.—It is of little Consequence
 “ whether I am well or ill, provided you be well.—I beseech
 “ the Gods to spare you for our Sakes, and to grant you now
 “ and always a perfect State of Health, if they have not taken
 “ Aversion to the *Roman* People.”

His Expressions of Regard were not confined to Words.—Deeds also proved his Esteem for, and Confidence in, *Tiberius*:—for he made him almost his Equal,—his Colleague; and obtained a Decree of the Senate, confirmed by the People, enacting, that *Tiberius* should from thenceforth have in all the Provinces of the Emperor's Department, and particularly in the Army, the same Authority as *Augustus* himself †.—With this Addition of Power and Dignity he returned to *Rome*, to celebrate the Triumph which had been decreed him long before, for his Conquest of the *Illyrians* and *Pannonians*; but which, as I observed, had been postponed on Account of *Varus's* Disaster.

NOTHING could exceed the pompous Magnificence of this Triumph, which was celebrated in the Beginning of the Year of *Rome* DCCLXIII, *Germanicus Cesar* and *Ponteijs Capito* being Consuls. The principal Chiefs of the vanquished Nations appeared

* Τέτυς δ' ἐσπομένοιο, καὶ ἔπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνθομένοιο

† Ἀμρῶ νοστήσαμεν, ἐπεὶ περὶ διδὲ νοήσαι,

ILIAD. X.

peared in Chains ; and the Conqueror's Lieutenants, who, at his Request, had obtained the Ornaments of Triumphers, accompanied their General, cloathed in those splendid Rewards of their Services. *Augustus* presided over the Ceremony, seated, probably, upon the Tribunal for Harangues ; and when *Tiberius* reached the *Forum*, before he turned toward the *Capitol*, he descended from his Carr, kneeled down before his Father, and paid Homage to him for all his Glory.—He afterwards treated the People at a thousand Tables, and gave them three hundred Sesterces (48 Shillings) a piece.

THE *Germans* remained perfectly quiet, from this Time till the Death of *Augustus* ;——but, notwithstanding that, the *Romans* still continued to keep a great Force upon the *Rhine*. Eight Legions*, divided into two Armies, occupied the two Provinces of *Belgic Gaul*, called the *Upper* and *Lower Germany*. *Germanicus*, then about twenty-eight Years of Age, at the Expiration of his Consulship received the Command of all these Forces, the greatest that were then assembled in any one Part of the Empire ;——nor was less requisite, to maintain on one Hand the Peace and Quiet of *Gaul*, and, on the other, to awe the *Germans*.——The young Prince began the Functions of his important Trust, by numbering the *Gauls*, and taking an Account of their Possessions ; an Office in which he was actually engaged when *Augustus* died.

BUT before I speak of the Death of this first Emperor of the *Romans*, with which these *Memoirs* will end, it may not be amiss just to mention here some Transactions of the latter Part of his Reign, which could not be so well interwoven with the preceding Accounts of Wars.

THOUGH his Constitution was always naturally tender, yet, by taking Care of it, and particularly by his great Sobriety, he preserved Strength enough to the End of his Days, not to linger
out

* TACIT. Annal, Lib. I. & IV.

out an inactive old Age.—He allowed himself some Relaxation, from Time to Time; but never was quite idle.

AT the Age of seventy, he began not to attend the Meetings of the Senate so assiduously as before; but would let that Assembly determine many, though, I believe, not important Affairs, in his Absence.—Four Years after this, he laid aside the troublesome Ceremonial of having numerous Levees, and giving public Dinners.—He likewise desired the Senators not to take any longer the Trouble of going to pay their Compliments to him at his Palace, and to excuse his not meeting them when they dined in a Body:—and in the Year of *Rome* DCCLXIV, in the Month of *September*, when he entered into the seventy-fifth Year of his Age, being able to go but seldom to the Senate-house, he caused his Privy Council to be invested with the full Authority of the whole Senate.

IN the Beginning of his Administration he had fifteen Counsellors, chosen from among the Senators, and changed every six Months. That Council decided only Matters which required great Dispatch, or such as, if of greater Moment, were to be afterwards laid before the whole Senate.—Now he selected twenty Counsellors instead of the former fifteen, and these were to serve a Year.—But the essential Part of the Change made on this Occasion, was the Decree of the Senate, which expressly ordained, That whatever should be done or enacted by *Augustus*, assisted by *Tiberius*, the two Consuls, his two Grand-sons *Germanicus* and *Drusus*, and the Council of twenty, should have the same Force as if done or enacted by the unanimous Voice of the Senate.—He had, in fact, exercised the same Authority before;—but was glad to gloss it over with the specious Appearance of a legal Power.—From this Time, he governed the Empire without hardly stirring from his Room, or, frequently, even from his Bed.

By this Decree, even the remaining Shadow of the awful Prerogatives of that once inexpressibly August Assembly,

THE

THE SENATE OF ROME, was totally annihilated.—The long equally empty *Appearance* of the LIBERTY of THE PEOPLE had been as effectually taken away in the Year of Rome DCCLVIII, when, under Pretence of preventing the Feuds and Quarrels which arose sometimes at the Elections of Magistrates, and happened particularly then, *Augustus* took upon himself to nominate to all the Offices; and in the following Years he recommended to the People, or, in other Words, obtruded upon them such as he chose to have employed; just as the Dictator *Cesar* had done *.

AUGUSTUS's Care, to reform Abuses, was ever vigilant and indefatigable. Above all, he now strove again to abolish Celibacy, which he had attacked before several times; but which, in spite of his Orders, still prevailed in *Rome*.—His Laws, in this Respect, were loudly murmured at; and, in the Year DCCLX, at a public Entertainment, where the Emperor was present, the *Roman* Knights personally complained to him of the Severity of the Penalties he had inflicted upon Celibacy, and, with Clamour, pressed him to repeal them.—To make these Gentry ashamed of their Request, he immediately ordered *Germanicus's* Children to be brought to him †.—They were pretty numerous, though the Prince was then but in his twenty-fourth Year.—*Augustus* taking some of them in his Arms, and setting others upon their Father's Knees, shewed them to the Knights, and exhorted every one present to follow that laudable Example ‡.

A LITTLE

* *Augustus* gave the Privileges of the Nobles to the Knights;—*Tiberius* took the Right of Election from the Commons, and gave it to the Senate;—*Claudius* made every Word of his Freedmen a Law. That is, the Princes despised the ancient Forms of the Republic, and the Distribution of Power and Privileges which had long prevailed, and transferred and changed them as it facilitated their own Rule; or, if weak Men, as their Favourites pleased.

† SUET. Aug. §. XXXIV.

‡ Some Years before this, passing through the Streets with his usual Affability.

A LITTLE While after this, he ordered all the Knights to appear before him, divided into two Bodies; those that were married on one Side, and such as were unmarried on the other; seeing the latter much more numerous than the former, he could not refrain from Indignation. First, he bestowed high Praises upon those who, by an honourable Marriage, were bringing up Children for the Republic; and then, turning toward the Batchelors, “ If (said he to these, with great Warmth) you pretend to follow the Example of the *Vessals*, live like them, and subject yourselves to the same Punishment if you are not as strictly chaste.”——But this did not suit those Gentry, who had no Dislike to Marriage but on account of the Trouble of Domestic Affairs, and the Education of Children; and liked to remain single, that they might indulge their Passions without Controul.

IN DCCLXII, he revived the Law against Diviners and Astrologers, those public Pests, who, by deceitful Hopes and false Expectations, excite the Cupidity of credulous Men, and thereby spread Trouble and Confusion in the State and in private Families; and, at the same Time, still more effectually, to dissuade the People from recurring to them, by shewing how little he himself feared their Predictions, or valued their pretended Art, he published or posted up in *Rome* the *Theme* of his own Nativity; that is to say, a State of the Position of the Stars at the Instant of his Birth.——He likewise enforced the penal Laws against the Authors of defamatory Libels; another Set of Wretches, infinitely noxious to Society.—The famous *Cassius Severus*, Chief of this malevolent snarling Race, was

now

ty, he saw some of the rich Provincials, probably from the Eastern Parts of the Empire, carrying (like the effeminate HENRY III. of *France*) Puppies and Monkeys in their Bosoms, and caressing them as they went along. Shocked to see the Affection and Care which is due to Mankind bestowed on Brutes, he stopped a little, and asked this very significant Question, “ Pray, Gentlemen, do the Women in your Country bring forth any Children? ”

PLUT. in Pericl.

now banished with Infamy. The scandalous Abuse which he made of his Wit, Talents, and Command of Language, richly deserved even a more exemplary Punishment; though he took Care to increase the Hardships of this under *Tiberius*, by still continuing to vent the Overflowings of his Gall, even in his Exile. *Augustus* banished him to *Crete*; but *Tiberius* removed him to the more desert Isle of *Seriphos*, where he lived and grew old in the utmost Misery.—A satyrical Turn is a Vice which very few can ever conquer thoroughly.

I KNOW not whether *Augustus* should be commended or blamed for the additional Rigour which he now inflicted upon banished Persons.—Under the Republican Government, those who were interdicted Fire and Water were at Liberty to retire to whatever Place they pleased.—*Augustus* had already introduced the Custom of fixing them sometimes to a particular District,—but being informed that several Exiles made their Punishment sit very easy, either by going to some Distance from the Place allotted them, or by good Living and other Comforts of Life; he caused it to be enacted, that, for the future, all such as should be interdicted Fire and Water, should be transported to Islands at least fifty Miles distant from the Continent; and that no Person, under Sentence of Banishment, should have more than twenty Slaves, or remain possessed of more than the Value of five hundred thousand Sesterces (about *l.* 4000).—The Islands of *Rhodes*, *Cos*, *Lefbos*, and *Sardinia*, though not at the Distance prescribed by this Law, were, however, used as Places of Exile.—*Dion Cassius* says*, he could not tell why these Exceptions were made.—Perhaps the Emperor might like to reserve to himself, even by the Law, a Power to mitigate the Fate of such Exiles as he should choose to favour.

A JUST and wise Regulation, well calculated for the Benefit of all the Provinces, was that which *Augustus* made about this

Y y y 2

Time,

* Lib. LVI.

Time, in regard to the Encomiums which their Governors used to obtain from the People under them. After oppressing, robbing, and plundering them, they would often either extort by new Vexations, Decrees of Thanks and Approbation, or strive to gain them by a culpable Indulgence; and these Certificates of good Behaviour were a Means of Defence to the Guilty, in case they were afterwards accused of Mal-administration.——
Augustus, who had the Happiness of his Subjects, and the Honour of the Empire really at Heart, to stop this dangerous Abuse, by which Iniquity was countenanced, Criminals were sheltered, and the Majesty of Government was disgraced, forbade all Cities and Provinces to pass any Act or Decree in Favour of the *Roman* Magistrates, till sixty Days after the final Expiration of their Power.

AMONG the many Abuses which this Emperor laboured to extirpate, there was one to which he thought himself obliged to give Way. He had forbid the *Roman* Knights to fight as Gladiators;—but they were so strongly bent upon those horrid Combats, that even the Ignominy affixed to them by the Laws was despised. *Augustus* therefore took off the Prohibition, in Hopes that a few Examples of bloody Deaths might have more Effect than the Fear of Shame.——But he was mistaken.——To give a Loose to Vice, is a bad Way of preventing it.——The Crowds of Spectators drawn together by illustrious Names, the Authority of the Magistrates who gave those Games, and the Prince's Consent, or at least Connivance, were Circumstances which increased and perpetuated the Evil to such a Degree, that, under some of the succeeding Emperors, not only Knights, but Senators, and even *Women* of Distinction, disdaining both the Infamy and the Danger attending those inhuman Fights, became shameful Actors in them.

L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS and *C. SILIUS* were Consuls for the Year of *Rome* DCCLXIV, in which *Augustus* was again continued in the Imperial Power for ten Years longer;
 the

the last Prorogation being to expire with this Year. He likewise caused *Tiberius* to be continued in the Tribunician Power; and treated him in all Respects as the Person he designed for his Heir. The Year before, recommending *Germanicus* to the Senate, he at the same Time recommended the Senate itself to *Tiberius*, as to the future Head of the Empire. He made him take Precedency of the Consuls, in the Senate, in the Council, and upon all Occasions; shared with him the Functions of Censor; and they jointly finished the Numbering of the *Roman* People, who amounted to four Millions one hundred and thirty thousand Citizens*.

TIBERIUS's Son, *Drusus*, was also promoted by *Augustus*. He had been *Questor* in 762, though then five Years under the legal Age; and this Year he was appointed Consul, to enter upon the Functions of that Office three Years after, without going through the intermediate Gradations of *Edile* and *Pretor*.—*Germanicus* had enjoyed the same Prerogatives. —Thus *Augustus*, by heaping Honours upon *Tiberius* and his Children, established the Rights and Power of his intended Successor upon a firm Foundation.—He did it just in Time; for he died the next Year, when two of his Relations, *Sextus Pompeius* and *Sextus Apuleius*, were Consuls.

AUGUSTUS's Age and Infirmities had made the *Romans* very thoughtful for some Time past;—but their Ideas were widely different †. Some flattered themselves with a chimerical Hope of seeing the old Republican Liberty restored;—many dreaded a Civil War, which others longed for;—and the greater Number were very busy about the Characters and Dispositions of the Masters they were likely to have.

THE naturally stern and savage Temper of *Agrippa Posthumus*, whom they first thought of, as nearest of Kin to the Emperor, whose Grandson he was, had been infinitely soured and exas-

exasperated by the Ignominy of Exile*; nor was he either in Age or Experience equal to the Weight of Empire.—*Tiberius* had arrived at Fulness of Years, for he was past fifty, and had given Proofs of his Capacity for War; but they feared in him the stubborn Pride entailed upon the *Claudian* Race, and observed, that many Indications of Cruelty had already escaped him, in Spite of all his Endeavours to disguise it;—that he had been trained up, from his early Infancy, in a reigning House, and had, from his Youth, been accustomed to accumulated Power and Honours, Consulships and Triumphs;—that, during the several Years of his Abode at *Rhodes*, where a real Banishment was masked under the specious Name of voluntary Retirement, his sinister Thoughts were wholly bent upon meditating future Revenge, studying the Arts of Treachery, and practising secret and abominable Sensualities.—Neither *Livia*, *Germanicus*, nor *Drusus* were forgot. “The despotic
 “Haughtiness of the Mother (added they), joined to the Vices
 “of the Son, will make us suffer all the Rigours of Servitude.
 “We shall be Slaves to a Woman inspired with all the Ty-
 “ranny of her Sex, and to two ambitious Youths, who will
 “first combine to oppress the State, and then divide, to rend
 “it piece-meal.”

WHILE the Public was engaged in these and the like Debates, *Augustus's* Illness increased daily, and some suspected his Wife to be the guilty Cause;—as if there was need of Poison to kill; in his seventy-sixth Year, a Man naturally of a very weak Constitution. *Dion Cassius* says, but mentions it only as a bare Report, that *Livia*, knowing *Augustus* was fond of Figs, poisoned some while they hung upon the Tree; and that gathering and eating others herself, she gave the deadly Fruit to the Emperor.

As no Crime is supposed to be committed without some View, Reasons are assigned for *Livia's* perpetrating this.—

It is pretended that she was alarmed on Account of *Tiberius's* Succession to the Empire:—and, in fact, Authors of great Weight * say, that *Augustus's* Tenderness for his Grandson *Agrippa*, a young Prince who, though by no Means amiable, had not been convicted of any real Crime, began to revive towards the latter End of his Life; that he spoke of it to *Fabius Maximus*, and complained of the Necessity he was under of making his Wife's Son his Heir, whilst there yet remained one of his own Blood.—What may give some Room to doubt the Truth of this Story, is the Addition of a Circumstance no way probable. *Tacitus* and *Dion Cassius* say, that *Augustus*, taking with him none but *Fabius*, sailed secretly over to the Island of *Planasia*, where his unfortunate Grandson lived in Exile; that the Interview was very tender; that many Tears were shed on both Sides; and that, in Consequence of this, the Friends of the unhappy Youth hoped to see him restored to the Place to which his Birth entitled him.—But, who can believe that *Augustus* could go from *Rome* to an Island near *Corsica*, without *Livia's* knowing it?—For, according to these Writers, she never was informed of it but through the Indiscretion of *Fabius*, who revealed the Secret to his Wife *Marcia*, and she told it to *Livia*.

THE Inventors of this Story, whoever they were, do not stop here. *Livia*, add they, picked a Quarrel with her Husband *Augustus*, for having concealed from her his Designs in Favour of *Agrippa*. “If you want, said she, to recall your Grandson, why do you render me and all my Family odious to the Person you intend to make your Successor?” *Augustus* was greatly concerned to find his Secret discovered; and when *Fabius* came to salute him the next Morning, wishing him a good Day, a familiar Expression which the *Romans* still made Use of, even to their Master, the Emperor answered, “Fare-
“ well,

“well, *Fabius*.”—The indiscret Confidant understood perfectly well the Meaning of this Word, with which the Ancients used to take their last Leave of the Dead, after closing them up in the Tomb.—Driven to Despair, he immediately returned Home, told his Wife what had passed, and, adding that he could not survive his Breach of Trust towards *Augustus*, killed himself.—*Marcia*’s Grief was extreme at his Funeral, when, with bitter Lamentations, she frequently exclaimed, that she was the Cause of her Husband’s Death. *Pliny* closes this Account with saying, that the Designs of *Tiberius* and *Livia* gave *Augustus* great Uneasiness.—But, to me, the Whole of this Story seems to be a very lame Invention.—*Augustus* makes a pitiful Figure in it;—his Voyage to *Planasia* is visibly a Fable;—and his pretended Mistrust of *Livia* is fully refuted by his Dying-words.

THAT *Livia* had gained an absolute Ascendant over *Augustus* in his Decline, is evident from all History. He had Foibles to cover, which she did;—having none herself;—except Cunning and Ambition.—She had the greatest Command of her own Spirit and Passions, that perhaps ever Woman had.—A great Lady, much in her Confidence, took the Liberty one Day to ask her, By what Means she had obtained so entire an Ascendant over *Augustus*?—to which she frankly answered, “By winking at his Irregularities, and indulging him in his “Amours.”—She had much such a stately Character as *Philip’s* *Molossian* Dame, *Olympias*.—The old King happened to fall in Love with a very beautiful and accomplished young Woman, whom *Olympias* had never seen. He doated on this Mistress to such a Degree, that his Passion became the usual Theme of Conversation; and the common Talk at the Queen’s Court was, that the Lady had bewitched him. *Olympias* had the Curiosity to see her; and after conversing with her for some Time,—“Child! said she, I absolve thee of Witchcraft;

“—thou hast Spells enough in that Person of thine, to charm a colder Heart than the King’s.”

THERE is a Period in Life when Men of a certain Turn become indolent, and above all Things love their Ease.—They grow fearful of course, and fix their Happiness upon an Order of Life in a certain Way, which they start at seeing disconcerted.—This makes them willing rather to let themselves be deceived, than throw off darling Habits to resent it. This is the Source of the Sway which old Servants—kept Mistresses—and Favourites of every Sort, bear over their Betters. *Augustus* could not think of breaking with *Livia*.—She had not contradicted him in any Thing—had complied with all his Humours—had even condescended to serve him in his little *Amourettes*—and was become necessary to the Peace as well as Pleasure of his Life.—Could he part with so accomplished a Woman?—Could he give up so complacent a Wife, after cohabiting with her upwards of forty Years? Though he knew her Artifice and Cunning;—though he knew that she had ruined his Family;—though he might suspect her even of having poisoned his Grand-children by *Julia*, to make Way for her own Son;—yet he bore all; and, to gratify her, banished his only remaining Grand-child, *Agrippa Posthumus*.

AUGUSTUS’s Illness began with a violent Purging, which seized him as he was conducting *Tiberius* Part of the Way to *Illyricum*; whither he was sent, either, as *Velleius* says*, to establish Peace in a Country which he had conquered, or, as *Tacitus* gives us to understand, that the Provinces and Troops might be accustomed to acknowledge him as Successor to the Empire†.

AUGUSTUS accompanied him as far as *Beneventum*, and, notwithstanding his Indisposition, made it quite a Journey of

* Lib. II.

† Omnes per exercitus ostentatur. ANNAL. Lib. I.

Pleasure *. He sailed along the delightful Coast of *Campania*, and among the neighbouring Islands, and staid four Days in *Caprea*, tasting the Sweetness of Quiet and Repose, and enjoying all Sorts of Amusements. Just as he was passing by the Gulph of *Pozzuoli*, a Ship arrived from *Alexandria*; and all the Sailors belonging to it immediately made Rejoicings for him, by cloathing themselves in White, putting Wreaths upon their Heads, burning Incense, loading him with Praises and Blessings, and repeatedly crying out, that through him they lived, to him they owed the Safety of their Navigation, and that their Liberty and Fortunes were Gifts due to his Wisdom and Goodness.—These Acclamations, so moving to a good Prince, rejoiced him greatly; and to reward them, he gave each of those who were with him forty Pieces of Gold, upon the express Condition that they should lay it all out in the Purchase of Goods from that Vessel.

He took several little Diversions of this Kind during his Stay in *Caprea*. Among other Things, he gave *Roman* Gowns and *Greek* Mantles to his whole Court, on Condition that the *Greeks* should wear the *Toga*, or Gown, and the *Romans* the Mantle. He was always present at the Games and Diversions of the young People of the Island, which was a *Greek* Colony, and still retained Traces of its Origin, in the Manners and Customs of its Inhabitants. He likewise treated all the young People; permitting, and even requiring, them to divert themselves freely, and be under no Restraint on Account of his being there. The Treat ended with setting them a scrambling for the Victuals and Deserts left upon the Tables. In short, every innocent Diversion that he could partake of, was devised.

FROM

* SÜETON. Aug. §. XCVIII, & XCIX. VELL. Lib. II. 123. TACIT. Annal. Lib. I.

FROM *Caprea* he went to *Naples*, still more indisposed. He was, however, desirous to see the Quinquennial Games, instituted to his Honour in that famous City, where he staid from the Beginning of them to the End. From thence he continued his Journey as far as he had proposed to go, which was to *Beneventum*, where he took Leave of *Tiberius*.

WHILST *Augustus* was returning towards *Rome*, his Disorder increased daily, and at last became so violent, that he was forced to stop at *Nola*, and there take to his Bed. *Livia* immediately dispatched a Courier to her Son, who had scarcely had Time to reach *Illyricum*. *Tiberius* returned with all possible Expedition; and, if we believe *Velleius* and *Suetonius*, arrived in Time to have a long and serious Conference with *Augustus*. But *Tacitus* says, it is not certain whether he found him alive;—for all the Roads were strictly guarded by *Livia's* Order, and no Accounts of any Thing transpired, but such as she pleased.

AUGUSTUS was not long sick in Bed, but expected Death with great Composure. On the last Day of his Life, after inquiring whether the Condition he was in did not already begin to occasion some Disturbance abroad, he ordered a Looking-glass to be brought to him, his Hair to be dressed, and something to be done to his Cheeks, that they might not seem so greatly sunk as they were. Then calling in his Friends, and seeing them around his Bed, he asked them, Whether they did not think that he had acted his Part tolerably well in the Farce of Life? and immediately added, in a Greek Verse with which the Roman Plays were generally ended, “Let all applaud, and clap their Hands with Joy*.”——

Z z z 2

After

* Amicos admissos percunctatus, *Ecquid iis videretur nimium vitæ commodè transēgisse*, adjecit & clausulam;

Δότε πρότον, ὃ πάντες ὑμεῖς μετὰ χαρᾶς κτυπήσατε.

SUET. in Aug. §. XCIX.

After this comic Farewel, he ordered every Body to leave him except *Livia*, in whose Arms he soon died, saying to her, “ *Livia*, farewell! Remember our happy Union *.”——He expired, as he had always earnestly wished to do, without any Struggle or Convulsion †.

AU-

* *LIVIA*, nostri conjugii memor vive, ac vale.

SUET. in Aug. §. XCIX.

† *LIVIA*, who was distinguished by the Appellation of *JULIA AUGUSTA*, died at the Age of eighty-two, in the sixteenth Year of *Tiberius*, *C. Rubellius*, and *C. Fusus*, each surnamed *Geminus*, being Consuls.——She was descended from the *Claudii*, was adopted through her Father into the *Livian* Family, and into the *Julian* by *Augustus*; so that she was signally noble both by Adoption and Descent. Her first Marriage was with *Tiberius Nero*, by whom she had Children. Her Husband, after the Surrender of *Perusa*, in the Civil War, became a Fugitive; but when Peace was made between *Sextus Pompey* and the Triumvirate, he returned to *Rome*. Afterwards *Octavius Cesar*, smitten with her Beauty, snatched her from her Husband (whether with or against her own Inclination, is uncertain), with such Precipitation, that, without staying for her Delivery, he married her yet big with Child by *Tiberius*. After this, she had no Issue; but by the Marriage of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, her Blood came to be mixed with that of *Augustus* in their Grand-children.——In her domestic Deportment, she conformed to the venerable Model of Antiquity, but with more Compliance than was allowed by the Ladies of old. She was an easy courteous Wife, and an ambitious Mother; well comporting with the nice Arts of her Husband, and the Dissimulation of her Son.——No extraordinary Pomp was lavished on her Funeral, and her last Will lay long unfulfilled. Her *Encomium* was pronounced in Public by *Caligula*, her Grandson, afterwards Emperor.——*Tiberius*, by a Letter, excused himself to the Senate for not having paid the last Offices to his Mother; and, though he rioted in every Excess of private Luxury, pleaded the Multitude of Public Affairs. He likewise abridged the Honours decreed to her Memory; and, of a large Number, allowed but very few. For this Restriction he pleaded Modesty, and added, that no religious Worship should be appointed to her; for that the contrary was her own Choice.——In a Part of the same Letter, he censured feminine Friendships; obliquely attacking the Consul *Fusus*, a Man highly distinguished by the Favour of *Livia*, and dexterous to engage and cajole the Affections of Women;—a gay Talker, and accustomed to play

AUGUSTUS died at *Nola*, on the nineteenth Day of *August*, in the same Room where his Father *Octavius* died. He was seventy-six Years old, wanting thirty-five Days; being born

play upon *Tiberius* with biting Sarcasms, the Impressions of which, as *Tacitus* justly observes^b, never die in the Hearts of Princes.

LIVIA bore *Agrippina* a Grudge, though married to her Grandson, chiefly because of her Mother *Julia*, *Augustus*'s Daughter; and her great and haughty Spirit.—*Mutilla Prisca* was a Confidante of the old Lady; and had introduced her own Gallant, *Julius Posthumus*, into high Favour with her Patroness.—This was the Man pitched upon by *Sejanus*, to irritate *Livia* against her Granddaughter.

HER Liberality both to particular Men, and to Bodies of Men famous for Learning or Piety, was certainly a beautiful Part of her Character.—There was a mystical Word in the Temple of *Delphi* (*ΕΙ*), of which the Letters were at first formed of Wood, afterwards they were cast in Brass; and *Livia* made a Present of them to the Temple, in Gold^c.—She dedicated the magnificent Temple of CONCORD out of Respect to *Augustus*; who, to shew her how highly he valued the Foundress and the Name, adorned the Structure with curious and valuable Consecrations. Among these were four Elephants, carved in a peculiar Kind of Stone, resembling the blackest Glass, and called from *Obsidius*, who first found it in *Ethiopia*, *Obsidian* Stone. There were Statues of *Augustus* himself, which *Pliny* saw^d, of the same Materials; that Prince being taken with the Solidity and Thickness of the Blocks, and thinking the Elephants a wonderful Sight, for the same Reason.—*Livia* herself likewise dedicated there the famous *Sardonyx*, said to be the Ring of *Polycrates*, the Tyrant of *Samos*; who, apprehensive of a Change in his long and constant Flow of Prosperity, thought he might be quit with Fortune, and make a Kind of Expiation to *Nemesis*, the avenging Power, if he deprived himself of his favourite Gem. In this Opinion, he threw his Ring into the Sea; a Fish swallowed it, was caught the next Morning, and brought into the King's Kitchen with the Ring in its Belly.—I know not how it came into *Livia*'s Hands; but she dedicated it in a Horn of Gold, and it was not reckoned a Present of the lowest Order, among many others of immense Value^e.—She built a Portico, or covered Walk, of such immense Magnificence, and adorned with so many curious Ornaments, as to make it, even at that Time, one of the Wonders of *Rome*^f.

^b Annal. Lib. V.

^c ΠΛΟΥΤ. περι τῆ ΕΙ τῇ ἐν Δελφοῖς.

^d Natural Hist. Lib. XXXVI. c. 26.

^e PLIN. Lib. XXXVII. c. 1.

^f STRABO, Geogr. Lib. V.

born on the twenty-second of *September* in the Year of *Rome* DCLXXXIX; or rather, if we consider the Year of Confusion which preceded the Reformation of the Kalendar by *Julius*, which consisted of four hundred and forty-five Days, we shall find that he was somewhat upwards of seventy-six when he died.

THE Duration of his Power, if reckoned from the Time of the Triumvirate, of which he took Possession on the twenty-seventh of *November*, in the Year of *Rome* DCCIX, was fifty five Years and nine Months, within a few Days:—If from the Battle of *Actium*, by which he became sole Master of the World, that Battle being fought on the second of *September*, DCCXXI, he will have enjoyed the sovereign Power near forty-four Years;—but if we reckon from the Time of the servile Act of the Senate, by which he was, *legally* as 'twas called, invested with absolute Authority, he may be said to have governed as Prince and Emperor forty Years, seven Months, and thirteen Days.—All the rest was manifest Usurpation and Tyranny.

WITH Respect to the Character of this famous Prince, the undoubted Author and Founder of the Monarchical Government which subsisted in *Rome* after his Time, I am very unhappy in being obliged to differ from one of the most eminent Men that *Britain* ever produced, the great Lord *Verulam*—but greater in Learning and Philosophy, than in the Conduct of either public or private Life—yet of such Humanity and Candour, that, were he now to live, he would be the first to approve of a Dissent from his Opinions, founded upon, or rather extorted by, TRUTH. He affirms, that if ever Mortal was possessed of a serene, untroubled, permanent Greatness of Soul, it was *Augustus Cesar* *; than which there never was a good

* AUGUSTO CESARI, si cui mortalium, magnitudo animi inerat inturbida, serena, & ordinata.

good Character less deserved, at least in the former Part of his Life.—But it is not given at random, in a careless Way.—No, the Misapprehension, like the Errors of great Men, is founded upon an ingenious Speculation upon a Piece of abstract Philosophy—Men of such Characters, endowed with such and such Qualities, are wont to order their Lives in such a Manner—But *Augustus's* Life was so ordered:—Therefore *such a Man* he was †.—Nothing more fallacious.—Had the great Chancellor been at any Pains to look into the Vicissitudes and alternate Passions of that Prince's *private Life* and *particular Conduct*; had he considered the *Facts* related of the young *Cesar*, and compared them with his *Temper* and *Situation*, he would have pronounced the same Sentence upon him as *Silenus* does in the Feast of the Gods; but he has only viewed the general Fame of his Life, and the latter Tenor of his Government, and from these two formed a philosophical speculative Character of *Augustus*, very different from what he would have done, had he entered into the Detail of his Actions. His exorbitant foolish Ambition in seeking the second Place in the Empire (the *Magistratus Equitum*) from his Grand-uncle the Dictator, before he was eighteen; his Cowardice one Day, and Stoutness another; his Cruelty, Revenge, Suspicion, Assassinations, Profusions, Murders, Adulteries, and the whole Whirl of the blackest Passions that can agitate a human Breast;—These, I say, when compared with his Despair, Forbearance, Oeconomy, Mercy, and Beneficence, shew him to have been the most various, dissimilar, and unsettled of Creatures at first, and, just like an ordinary Man, assuming a new Character at every Change of Circumstances.

AFTER

† Qui ingenio commotiores sunt, ii serè adolescentias per varios errores transigunt, ac sub mediam ætatem demum se ostendunt. Quibus autem natura est composita & placida, ii primâ etiam ætate florere possunt.

FR. BACONI Imago civilis August. Cæs.

AFTER fairly weighing his good and his bad Qualities, his public Actions, and his private Life, it is to me very plain, that *Augustus* was but of a middle Character, occupied sometimes with very small Matters.——He taught his Children Writing and Short-hand himself, as I mentioned before, and was at so much Pains about no one Thing as to instruct them to imitate his own Hand-writing.——It was observed of *Louis XIV.* of *France*, that he applied himself with the same Earnestness to the Plan of a Summer-house, or Draught of a Garden, as he did to the Plan of the Operations of a Campaign, or the weightiest Affair of State.—And I remember to have smiled at a Circumstance related by a Gentleman of Merit, who attended the young Duke of *Anjou*, by Ways and Means made King of *Spain*, in his Journey from *Paris* to *Madrid*. The most Christian King was extremely solicitous about the Departure of his Grandson. He regulated the Route he should take, the Number of the Body Guards, the Equipage of the two Princes (the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry*) who were to accompany their Brother to the Frontiers of *Spain*. When they arrived there, they found that his Majesty of *France* had so well ordered their Way of Living upon the Road, that he had taken upon him in a Manner the Function of a Physician; for they were directed not to dine, but only to take a Breakfast and Supper; and to sup, and go to Bed early*.

AUGUSTUS wanted to be thought a great General, and loved to be complimented upon his Conduct.——There was indeed much Caution in it, with which he supplied the Want of that high Spirit, and Knowledge of Opportunity and Stratagems, which distinguishes great Commanders. His Conquests were all made by Dint of the *Roman* Discipline, and the Bravery of the Men; but not any Thing was accomplished by the

* MARQ. DE LANGALLERIE, Mem.

the Spirit and Vigilance of the General, which makes a small Body equal to great Armies; or brings them off, when nothing but Destruction is before their Eyes.—He was happy, first in *Agrippa*, and then in *Drusus*, who had the Turn proper for Conquerors.—The *Lacedemonians*, those thorough Judges of War, had this Distinction so much in their Eye, that they had Ceremonies appointed to answer it*.—It is true, *Julian* brings *Augustus* in with *Cesar* and *Trajan*, the great Warriors; but it is rather for the many Wars he was engaged in, than his Mastery in them. He had indeed no Pleasure in War, nor did he make any without Necessity, except the *Dalmatic*. He even made the tributary Kings swear that they would not involve him in new ones; and, to avoid them, professed that he did not wish to extend the Limits of the Empire.—He followed his Father's Example in his Largeſſes to the Troops, whom he, however, at the ſame Time, conſtantly ſubjected to the ſtrictest Diſcipline†; even the higheſt Officers often finding it very difficult to obtain Leave to ſpend the Winter in *Rome*. Whole Cohorts, which had fled before the Enemy, were ſeverely puniſhed by his Order; and after decimating them, Barley was given inſtead of Wheat to ſuch as Fortune had favoured with Life. Captains, as well as private Soldiers, were equally puniſhed with Death, if they quitted their Poſt. For lighter Faults, he revived certain old military Punishments, which had been diſuſed for ſome Time. When he harangued the Troops, he did not call them *Fellow-ſoldiers*, according to the Cuſtom which then began to be introduced, and which afterwards prevailed, but only *Soldiers*, as in the Days of the ancient Republic; and he inſiſted that his Sons, and Sons-in-

* *Οταν στρατηγήμασι τὰς πολέμους νικῶσιν, βοῶν τῷ Ἀρεῖ θύουσιν: ὅταν δ' ἐν τῇ φανερῇ, Ἀλεκτρυόνα: ἐδιζοντες τὰς ὑγμένους οὐ μόνον πολέμους ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατηγικὰς ἔναιαι. ΠΛΟΥΤ. Επιστρεφύμαθα Λακωνικῶν.

† SUET. in Aug. §. XXIV, & XXV.

law should do the same, when they commanded the Armies. At the same Time he was particularly cautious not to carry his Severities too far, and was much better pleased when he had Room to reward, than Occasion to punish. In his Rewards, he was liberal of such as, by the Richness of the Matter, carried with them a Kind of pecuniary Recompence, like Gorgets and Bracelets of Gold or Silver, &c. but was very sparing of those which were purely honorary, as mural and civic Crowns, and other such like. He would have these be well deserved, before he granted them; nor did Favour or Interest avail with him in this Respect, for common Soldiers often received them from his own Hand. It was, however, so far his Interest to keep well with the chief Citizens of the Republic, that he sometimes thought it prudent to recede from the Severity of his Maxim with regard to Triumphs. *Suetonius* says *, that he granted this Honour to above thirty Generals, and the Ornaments of Triumph to a much greater Number.

THIS is nearly the Idea which may be formed of *Augustus's* Character and Conduct, so far as they relate to War;—but his Wisdom was most apparent in his Civil Government. Nothing could be more artfully concerted, or more dexterously pursued, than his deep-laid Plan to obtain a legal Sanction of his manifest Usurpation. The cunning Precaution of leaving to the Senate and People a *seeming* Share of the Public Power, effectually rivetted their Chains, and secured his own unbounded Sway. The Dictator JULIUS had shewn him how to seize the Sovereignty;—but he was indebted to himself only for knowing how to use it;—for that wise Medium, a Mixture of Monarchy and Republic, which alone could suit Men incapable of bearing, as *Tacitus* makes the Emperor *Galba* say
long

* In Aug. §. XXXVIII.

long after, "Either intire Liberty, or intire Servitude*." The Length of his Life enabled him to make his new Plan of Government take deep Root; and by forty Years of quiet and peaceable Possession, he gave it such Strength, as rendered it permanent to the End of the *Roman* Nation;—for though his Successors were Tyrants, who made an excessive Abuse of their Power, yet they did not dare to alter the fundamental Constitution of the State, of which evident Traces still remained, even after the Seat of the Empire was removed to *Constantinople*.

If any Thing can palliate, for certainly nothing can justify the Woes which *Augustus* made his Country suffer, it may, perhaps, be the mixt Form of Government which he introduced†; a Form useful to the Prince, and, at last, not less so to the Nation, which thereby enjoyed, whilst he reigned, the Advantages of Freedom, joined to Tranquility and good Order; for the *Romans*, equally secured against the tumultuous Licentiousness of a Democracy, and the Oppression of a tyrannical Power, had a proper Degree of Liberty under a Monarch to whom they were not Slaves, and tasted the Sweets of a popular Government, without the deadly Consequences of internal Feuds. From the Time of his becoming sole Head of the Commonwealth, his Study was to govern it like a good Prince, by restoring due Order to every Part of the then infinitely confused State. His Reform extended to every Class, to the Senate, the Knights, and the People. He resolved to make

* Imperaturus es hominibus qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem.

TACIT. Hist. Lib. I.

† Τὴν μοναρχίαν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ μίξας, τὸν τε ἐλεύθερον σφισιν ἐτήρησε, καὶ τὸ κόσμον, τό, τε ἀσφαλὲς προστάτεσκέυασεν ὥς ἕξω μὲν τῷ δημοκρατικῷ θράσει, ἕξω δὲ τῶν τυραννικῶν ὕβρεων ὄψας ἐντὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ, σάφρονε καὶ ἐν μοναρχίᾳ ἀδελφίζῃν, βασιλευμένους τε ἀνὲν δουλείας, καὶ δημοκρατεμένους ἀνὲν διχασίας.

DIO. Lib. LVI.

Rome, Italy, and the Provinces, sensible how much their Condition was better under his Administration; and he succeeded perfectly in this great Undertaking.

I HAVE already said with what Zeal and Perseverance he laboured, notwithstanding many Difficulties, and even Dangers, to restore Dignity and Splendor to the Senate, debased by the great Number and Worthlessness of its Members. He either granted new Privileges to the Children of Senators, or confirmed them in the Prerogatives of their Ancestors, and took a Pleasure in advancing them. Far from being infected with that mean Jealousy which often induces new Sovereigns to study how they may humble ancient Families, and raise only their own Creatures, *Augustus*, at the same Time that he protected and rewarded Merit, though without Birth, was not at all alarmed when he found it joined with Nobility of Blood. His Liberalities revived and supported many old Families ready to drop and be extinguished through Indigence*; and the List of Consuls during his Reign is, in general, composed of the most illustrious Names that *Italy* could boast of. —By favouring the Nobility, he secured the Interest and Affection of that powerful Body against any Struggle that might be made by the Commons.

THE Equestrian Order, deemed the Nursery of the Senate, was the second Rank in the State, in point of Dignity. *Augustus*, wishing to restore its former Lustre, reviewed it often, and revived the Custom, then long disused, of the solemn Pomp in which the Knights, mounted on the Horses which the Republic kept for them, cloathed in Purple Robes, crowned with Wreaths of Olive, and decorated with the Ensigns of Honour which each of them had acquired in Battle, marched in Ceremony, in a Body of four or five thousand,

* TAC. Ann. Lib. II.

SÜET. in Aug. §. XLI.

from the Temple of *Mars*, or that of Honour, through the Gate *Collina*, to the Temple of *Castor* in the *Forum*.

THIS, indeed, was a Show, seemingly fit only to amuse the Multitude;—but *Augustus*, who had more solid Views, after making the Senate appoint ten Assessors, obliged all the Knights to give an Account of their Lives and Conduct. Of those who were most culpable, some were mulcted, and others were stigmatized; but the greatest Part were quit for a severe Reprimand: the mildest Censure was giving them a Billet, wherein their Faults were written, and which they were ordered to read directly to themselves, in the Emperor's Presence.

THIS Severity towards the guilty was tempered by *Augustus's* Indulgence to those whom the Misfortunes of the Times, and not their own Misconduct, had excluded from that Order. As several had been ruined by the Civil Wars, and were not possessed of the Value of four hundred thousand Sesterces (*l.* 3200), which was the legal Qualification, they could not rank with their former Companions at public Shows and Entertainments. *Augustus* permitted them to class as before, and exempted from the strict Letter of the Law those who either had been themselves, or were descended from Fathers who had been worth the Sum requisite to qualify them to be *Roman* Knights.

THE amusing of the People with Spectacles and Diversions, and captivating their Affection by Donatives of Corn and Money, was a principal Part of *Augustus's* deep-laid Policy:—Though, even in this, whilst his Liberalities secured the clamorous Applause of a restless Multitude accustomed to live at the Expence of the Republic, he still had an Eye to the Welfare of the State, by taking particular Care to protect Labourers, Traders, and Husbandmen*; those real Sources of genuine

* Suet. in Aug. §. XLII, & XLV.

nuine Wealth and Power.—Nor did he so far indulge that Multitude in their Madness for what they called Diversions, as not to moderate a little the inhuman Combats of Gladiators, in which the *Romans*, in general, took great Delight. He would no longer suffer those unfortunate Wretches to fight till one of them was dead ; but was desirous to leave them Hopes of coming off from those barbarous Games without being obliged to kill, or be killed.

HE was extremely jealous of preserving the *Roman* Blood pure and untainted by Alliances with Foreigners or Slaves*.—*Tiberius* having asked the Freedom of *Rome* for a *Greek* who was attached to him, “ I shall not grant your Request, (replied *Augustus*) till I have been fully satisfied, from your own Mouth, of the Justness of the Reasons which make you desire this Favour.”—*Livia* wanted to obtain the same Boon for a tributary *Gaul* ; but the Emperor refused it, saying, He would rather diminish the Revenue of the State, by exempting him from Tribute, than lessen the Dignity of the Title of *CITIZEN of ROME*, by making it too common.

SLAVES emancipated by *Roman* Citizens, had, from Time immemorial, been used to become Citizens themselves.—*Augustus* would not attempt to abolish a Custom of so long standing ; but he rendered their Manumission more difficult than before, by several additional Clauses and Conditions ; and at the same Time declared, that no Slave, who had been put in Irons, or racked, should ever be capable of acquiring the Privileges of a Citizen of *Rome*, even though his Freedom should be granted in the fullest and most regular Manner.

HIS Attention extended even to the Dress of the *Romans*. He could not bear to see the ancient *Toga* disregarded ; for the common People had begun to lay it aside, and the richer Class were

* Suet. in Aug. §. XL.

were got into a Fashion of wearing a Kind of Surtout which hid it. Observing, one Day, a Crowd of Citizens dressed in that Manner, he repeated with Indignation this Line of *Virgil*,

*Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam**,

and ordered the *Ediles* not to suffer any Citizen to appear either in the *Circus* or the *Forum* dressed otherwise than in the *Toga*, without any other Garment over it.— But Convenience prevailed over his Prohibitions, and Surtouts became the general Mode.

THE City of *Rome* assumed a new Appearance under the Auspices of this Prince. The old *Romans* had been more studious to render it powerful, by their Conquests, than to embellish and adorn it; but *Augustus* gave it a Magnificence worthy of the Capital of the World, by the very many stately Edifices erected or repaired, either by himself, or his Friends, and the other great Men of *Rome*; at his Desire.— The Safety and Convenience of its Inhabitants was a principal Object of his Care. To provide for the former, he instituted a Patrol, whose Business was to prevent Robberies and Fires, to which *Rome* was very subject; and for the latter, he, or rather the great *Agrippa*, brought Plenty of Water into the City, from all Parts, at an immense Expence, through amazingly superb Aqueducts. To prevent, as much as possible, the Inundations of the *Tiber*, which were a dreadful Scourge, *Augustus* ordered the Bed of that River to be cleansed and enlarged: and that the Benefits accruing from this might be durable, he appointed, among several other new Employments which he created for the public Good, Inspectors or Surveyors† of the *Tiber*, whose Office was to guard, as much as could be, against all Inconveniencies which might arise from that River, and to improve to the utmost every Advantage it could

* *Æneid*. I. 236.

† SUTTON. §. XXXVII.

could possibly afford to the City : and that *Rome* might not be overburdened by the Number, or disturbed by the Licentiousness of the Soldiery, he would not suffer all his Guards to be quartered in it *, but had only three Cohorts (three thousand Men) there at a Time. The rest were quartered in the neighbouring Towns.

ALL *Italy* flourished under *Augustus's* Care. He peopled it a-new, by twenty-eight Colonies which he settled in that Country †; adorned many of its Cities with fine Buildings, and assigned them stated Revenues, to defray their necessary Expences. As the Inhabitants of all the Towns in *Italy* were deemed Citizens of *Rome*, he would have them enjoy the Prerogatives of that Distinction, in all Nominations to Magistracies in *Rome*. When the Time of Election drew near, the Senators of the Colonies and Towns corporate sent their Votes, sealed up, to *Rome*, and due Regard was paid to them. —Studious to support honest Families, and to encourage the Increase of the People, he readily received into the Cavalry Lads born of reputable Parents, if they brought a Recommendation from the Magistrates of their Districts; and in his Circuits through the Country, Fathers of Families, who presented their Children to him, received from him as many thousand Sesterces as they had Sons or Daughters.

THE Provinces were happy under *Augustus's* Government. Instead of a Multitude of Masters which they had before, they then had but one. Formerly, when torn to pieces by Factions of the Great, and tyrannically oppressed by rapacious Governors, their Appeal to the Laws was suppressed by Violence, Bribery, or Interest;—but now they were protected by the Emperor, who made them taste the Sweets of Peace, kept their Governors within proper Bounds, and enforced a due Observation of the Laws.

To

To these general and common Benefits, *Augustus* added particular ones in Favour of certain Towns and Provinces, according to the Nature of their respective Cases*. He nobly relieved such as were over-loaded with public Debts, or had been afflicted by Death or Earthquakes; and to those whose Conduct had been particularly meritorious, he granted either the Privileges which the *Latins* had enjoyed before they became *Roman* Citizens, or even the Title and Prerogatives of Citizens of *Rome*.—There was no one Province in his vast Empire which he did not visit personally, except *Sardinia* and *Africa*; and he intended to see them also, after he had conquered *Pompey*; but was then prevented by Storms, and never had another Opportunity or Motive to make that Voyage.

He considered the Kings who were Allies of the *Romans*, as a Sort of Members of the Empire, and therefore intitled to his Care and Protection†. He studied to unite them by Alliances, and to preserve Peace in their Families.—Of this, *Herod* was a signal Example. He caused several of their Children to be educated with his own; and, where Kings were Minors, or their Reason and Intellects had been impaired by Age, he appointed Tutors and Regents to assist them in the Government of their States.

AUGUSTUS's paternal Vigilance extended to all. We have farther Proofs of it in the Laws which he enacted to regulate the Manners of the People, and banish various Abuses; in the Care he took to connect and cement all the Parts of his immense Territories, and the widely different Nations under his Government; and to facilitate their Commerce, by making, from the Centre of *Rome* to the Extremities of the Empire, such Roads as are, to this Day, in many Places, stupendous Monuments of the vast Magnificence of the *Romans*. The

* Suet. in Aug. § XLVII. † Id. §. XLVIII. ‡ Id. §. XXXII, XXXIII.

Establishment of Posts and Couriers was likewise a very useful Thing *, though restricted to Affairs of State, and the immediate Service of the Emperor, who was thereby speedily and exactly informed of all that passed in the Provinces.——But the by no Means least laudable Part of *Augustus's* Government was the Pains he took to have Justice duly administered:—— a great and most essential Duty in every Sovereign !

He increased the Number of Judges, and multiplied their Days of sitting to determine Suits †. He divided all the Provinces between a certain Number of Persons of Consular Dignity, to whom the Parties aggrieved, by the Decision of a Provincial Magistrate, were allowed to appeal. He himself administered Justice with surprising Assiduity, often sitting in the Court till Night came on ; nor did even the frequent Illnesses to which he was subject, prevent his attending to this important Care ; for he was either carried to the Tribunal in a Litter, or heard and determined Causes in his Bed. Whether at *Rome*, or on a Journey, he still performed this laudable Function, and persisted in it as long as he lived ; for, notwithstanding his great Age, he determined a considerable Number of Suits during the Days immediately preceding his last Departure from *Rome*.

AN Administration so truly laudable in all its Parts, wanted only a noble Disinterestedness to render it perfect ;— but *Augustus's* Character was such a Compound of Disguise and Dissimulation, as gives too much Room to think, that the Good which he did to others was chiefly for his own Sake.— He knew how to give the most specious Turn to what was, in Reality, calculated wholly for his own Grandeur and Elevation ; and could, with wonderful Dexterity, put on the Appearance of Virtues which were not in him. We have a most
flagrant

* SUET. in Aug. §. XLIX.

† Id. §. XXXII, XXXIII.

flagrant Proof of this, in his frequently repeated Talk of desiring to resign the sovereign Power, as a Burden too great for him to bear; and yet artfully causing it to be continued to him for ten Years longer, after he had enjoyed it forty years, and was seventy-five Years old. His great Care to have Props always ready to help to support his Rule,——his raising, in that View, and promoting to the highest Honours, first *Marcellus*, then *Agrippa*, then his two adopted *Cesars*, and last of all *Tiberius*, are palpable Demonstrations that all his fine Speeches were mere Hypocrisy, and that, to use his own Expression, he acted a Farce in this, as in every other Thing.

AFTER this Sketch of *Augustus's* Character as Emperor, his Conduct in private Life will complete the Out-lines of his Portrait; and in this Part we shall find great Beauties, with only one Blemish,——his Incontinence. *Antony*, and others of his Enemies, charged him with having been very debauched in his Youth; but their Accusations were destitute of Proofs, and, in *Suetonius's* Opinion *, are refuted by the Aversion he always expressed to those unnatural Crimes which were then so frequent among the *Romans*. With Women, indeed, his Incontinence is notorious and averred; and it is remarkable, that even on those Occasions, where Pleasure is generally the Object aimed at, *Augustus* could not lay aside his Artifice and Cunning, but would intrigue with other Men's Wives, on Purpose to try to find out the Secrets of their Husbands, and to discover whether any Plot was carrying on against him.

THE Philosopher *Athenodore* was the first who made him think seriously of reforming his lewd Courses.——The Women whom *Augustus* wanted to have, used to be brought into his Bed-chamber in a close Litter.——Being smitten with the Wife of one of *Athenodore's* particular Friends, he sent for her,

4 B 2

just

* In Aug. §. LXIII, LXIX, LXXI.

just when the Philosopher happened to be at his Friend's House. The Husband and Wife were in the utmost Consternation, but had not Courage to refuse. *Athenodore* desired Leave to extricate them from their Difficulty; which being granted, he dressed himself in the Lady's Apparel, got into the Litter, and was carried into the Emperor's Apartment, in her stead. *Augustus*, lifting up the Curtain, was astonished to see *Athenodore*, whose Virtue he respected, rush out, with a naked Sword in his Hand; "How, *Cæsar*! (said the Philosopher) "are you not afraid that this Stratagem, of which I make an "innocent Use, may be thought of by some other, to take "away your Life?" *Augustus* is said to have been warned by this Reproof;—but if he was, it must have been very late, and when he was old; for *Suetonius*, who excuses, and even praises him as much as he can, takes no Notice of it.

HISTORY does not tax him with any Intemperance at Table, if we except one Entertainment, which was called the Repast of the twelve Deities†; because the twelve Guests, six Men and six Women, had decked themselves with the Ornaments and Attributes of the twelve principal Deities of *Olympus*. *Augustus*, or rather *Octavius*, for this happened when he was young, represented *Apollo*;—but his Youth is a bad Excuse for an impious Debauchery, which was loudly complained of, with so much the more Reason, as the City was at that very Time afflicted with Famine: and accordingly the tumultuous Mob cried out the next Day, "That the Gods had eaten up all "the Corn; and that *Octavius* was indeed *Apollo*, but *Apollo* the "Tormentor;"—for *Apollo* was worshipped under that strange Name in one Part of *Rome*.

It is, however, agreed on all Sides, that he may justly be proposed as a Pattern of Sobriety and Temperance; to which

was

* ZONAR. Lib. X. Dio. Lib. LVI.

† SUTTON. in Aug. §. LXX.

was owing, that, with a naturally weak Constitution, he attained to an Age which even the most robust do not very often reach. He ate but little, and generally of plain Things, and seldom drank more than a Pint of Wine at a Meal*. His Table was plain and simple, except on Holidays or Days of great Ceremony. He invited his Friends, and a certain Number of Citizens of Distinction, every Day; and always took Care that a decent Freedom and Gaiety should crown the Entertainment. He himself would eat very sparingly, and sometimes not at all; for he had no fixed Hour for his Meals, but took them when his Appetite served; so that his Friends often sat down to Table without him, and he dined or supped before or after them, as he thought it best suited his Health.

THE same Simplicity prevailed in all his Expences. Part of his Furniture was still remaining in *Suetonius's* Time; and that Author protests † it hardly equalled the Elegance of what a rich private Gentleman would have had. All his Cloaths, as was said before, were spun by his Wife, Sister, Daughter, or Grand-daughter. His Palace in *Rome* was neither large nor shewy; not a Marble-pillar, nor a Piece of Marble-pavement, was to be seen in the whole Edifice; and during forty Years that he lived in it, he never changed his Apartment in Summer or Winter ‡. If he wanted to write or study without being interrupted, he used to retire to a Closet above Stairs, or went to the House of one of his Freed-men, in the Suburbs; and, which is very remarkable, when he was sick, he was carried to *Mecenas's*.

VAST and magnificent Country-houses displeased him so much, that he ordered a very fine one, which his Grand-daughter *Julia* had built at an immense Expence, to be pulled down

* *Id. ibid.* §. LXXII, LXXIV, LXXVI, LXXVII.

† *In Aug.* §. LXXIII.

‡ *Ibid.* LXXII.

down to the Ground. His own Villas were neat, compact, and modest. He studied less to adorn them with Pictures and Statues, than to render them convenient and agreeable by Porticos, Groves, and Walks. Their Halls and Closets were decorated with natural Curiosities, or Monuments of Antiquity. *Suetonius* mentions, as an Instance still subsisting at *Caprea*, in his Time, the Armour of ancient Heroes, and huge Bones of Sea Monsters, which the Vulgar used to call Bones of Giants.

He has been taxed with being addicted to Gaming; and we find in *Suetonius* a spiteful Epigram on this Subject, written at the Time of the *Sicilian War* with *Pompey*. The Purport of it is: "After being twice defeated at Sea, *Octavius* lost his Fleet. To have a Chance of conquering once, he now plays perpetually at Dice *."—Criticisms on this Account gave him no Uneasiness; and it must be confessed, that none but an inveterate *Cynic* could find Fault with his Play.——When he played, it was for Amusement only, and for very Trifles, in Comparison of his high Rank and Fortune; and his Behaviour was always noble and generous. This appears plainly from some Fragments of his Letters, which *Suetonius* has preserved †.——In one of them, written to *Tiberius*, he says, "My dear *Tiberius*, we have spent the Feasts of *Minerva* very agreeably, for we have played every Day, and pretty high. Your Brother was almost out of his Wits; but, upon the Whole, he has not lost much. He had bad Luck at first, but saved himself at last. For my Part, I have lost twenty thousand Sesterces; but

* Postquam his classe victus naves perdidit,
Aliquando ut vincat, ludit assidue aleam.

SUETON. in Aug. §. LXX.

† Ibid. §. LXXI.

“ but that was owing to my being excessively liberal, as I
“ always am: for if I had made every one pay me exactly,
“ and had kept what I gave away, I should have won fifty
“ thousand Sesterces. But I do not repent it; for I shall
“ be deified by and bye for my Generosity.”

THIS simple Narration is a plain Proof that *Augustus* found, even in his Play, Opportunities to be generous.—But another Thing well worth observing, is, that according to their Rate of Gaming, fifty thousand Sesterces would have been thought a great Winning, in the five Days that the Feasts of *Minerva* lasted. Now fifty thousand Sesterces are equal to about four hundred Pounds of our Money;—a Sum which surely could not hurt the Finances of a *Roman* Emperor, or ruin those who played with him.

ONE of the best Things in *Augustus* was a steady Attachment to his Friends, and a Readiness to receive Advice. Conscious of his own Propensities and Parts, *He* allowed, and *They* took, those Liberties which both prevented and rectified infinite Errors in his Conduct. He was slow in contracting a Friendship; but, after it was once formed, he did not break it for slight Causes*. As he loved sincerely, so he would be loved again. He stuck by his faithful Servants to their Death, and reaped the Fruits of that wise Behaviour, in being little troubled with Cabals of one Part of his Ministry plodding to worm out the other.—They knew the Attempt would be vain.—Of all those who had any Share in his Favour, we shall scarcely find any but *Salvidienus* and *Cornelius Gallus*, whose End was disastrous; and they drew it upon themselves. As to the others, he not only rewarded their Virtues and Services, but excused their Faults, bore even with their ill Humours, and received them cordially when they returned to their Duty.—By this judicious Conduct he deserved to have,

* SUET. in Aug. §. LXVI.

have, and really had, true Friends :—a Happiness of which few Sovereigns can boast. The most illustrious of these were AGRIPPA and MECENAS,——justly immortalized by their Protection of the fine Arts and of Learning; and whose superior Merit does infinite Honour to *Augustus's* Discernment.

His Love for his Family and Children was cruelly traversed by the premature Death of some, and the Unworthiness of others,——perhaps of all; had they lived. I except, however, *Agrippina*, *Germanicus's* Wife, who alone proved herself to be the worthy Offspring of *Augustus* and *Agrippa*, and whom he settled in the most advantageous Manner he possibly could, as soon as he found that the Circumstances of Things would not permit him to make her Husband Emperor. His inviolable Friendship for *Octavia* speaks his Excellence as a most affectionate Brother;—and to *Livia*, he seems to have been but too good a Husband.

He was kind and indulgent to his Freed-men and Slaves, but without the least Mixture of Weakness; for he distinguished justly between pardonable Faults, and such as it was necessary to punish*. One of his upper Servants, who chanced to be next to him one Day, as he was hunting, seeing a wild Boar run furiously towards them, slipped behind the Emperor, whom he consequently left exposed to Danger, to save himself. *Augustus*, candidly imputing it to the poor Fellow's Terror, and not to any bad Design, laughed at the Adventure, in which, though he was in Danger, his Servant was innocent. On the other Hand, a Slave, of whom he was very fond, being convicted of Adultery with some Ladies of Distinction, was condemned to be put to Death without Mercy; and he ordered the Legs of one of his Secretaries to be broken, because he had taken a Bribe to shew a Letter

with.

with which he was interested. The Preceptors and Head-domestics of his good Son *Caius*, having taken Advantage of the Illness of that young Prince, to oppress and tyrannise over People, *Augustus* sentenced the Guilty to be thrown into the *Tiber*, with a Stone about their Neck.

LEARNING attained, under this Monarch, the greatest Height to which the *Romans* ever carried it. He thought it essentially his Duty to encourage and reward the Talents of the Ingenious, and to allow Writers of superior Merit a Right to claim his Favour and Protection. Nor is this to be wondered at; for he was himself a Man of Letters*. He was thoroughly versed in the Sciences of the *Greeks*, though not so far Master of their Language as to write or speak it without some Difficulty. From his Youth, he had applied himself assiduously to the Study of Eloquence; and he was always very nice in composing the Speeches he was to make, either to the Army, the Senate, or the People. He succeeded in this Study so much, that even *Tacitus* praises his Eloquence, as becoming a Prince†. To what shall I impute his great Singularity in writing down before-hand, and then reading, that he might say neither more or less than what he thought proper, the Conversations of any Importance which he was to have, not only with those he did not often see, but even with *Livia*?—His Tone of Voice was agreeable, probably owing to the natural Formation of his Organs; to keep which in due Order, he had a Master of Pronunciation, from whom he took regular Lessons.

BESIDES being prompted by Inclination, he found it his Interest to patronize learned Men, and shew Regard to Philo-

* Suet. in Aug. §. LXXXIV.—LXXXVI.

† Augusto prompta ac profluens, quæ deceret Principem, eloquentia fuit.

TACIT. Ann. Lib. XIII.

sophy.—It was a popular Thing. The Character of its Professors was sacred.—The Admitting them to his Court and Councils was in Effect declaring, that he was to govern with Justice; that he was to pay a due Regard to Religion, and never to break through the Ties of Humanity. In Fact, the Men of Learning listened to by him, and not only countenanced, but caressed by his Ministers, did him the greatest and most difficult of all Services. They wrought a total Alteration in him in his highest Prosperity, at the Time when Men are usually above Advice.—Of a fierce, merciless Tyrant, they made a mild, humane Prince. Of a bloody barbarous Soldier they made a just and merciful Magistrate. They did more; they delivered him from inward Torture; they calmed a tumultuous Breast, scourged with impotent Passion, and racked with Remorse: In a Word, they rendered him serene and happy, in Proportion to the Sincerity of his Virtue. *Athenodore*, *Areius*, and *Artemidore* the Geographer, had no small Share in this great Change.

He not only studied and polished his Speeches and Harangues, but did not think it beneath the Majesty of the Empire to become Author. Naturally acute, and well founded in Learning, he became, by the Conversation of his accomplished Favourites, a real Judge of Composition, and a Critic in Poetry. He dipt deep in both himself: his *Persuasions to Philosophy*, and his *Trajedy of Agax*, shewed his Love and Zeal for real and elegant Knowledge. His exalted Station did not so dazzle him, nor did the Public Cares so entirely possess him, but that he could listen to, and set a just Value

On the high Raptures of a happy Muse

Borne on the Wings of her immortal Thought.*

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POETS,

* BEN JOHNSON's Poetafter.

POETS, whom first the Deities inspired

With Skill of their high Natures and their Powers *.

Some of his Friends asking him what was become of his *Ajax* (for he had suppressed it, not being pleased with his Performance), he replied, “My *Ajax* has fallen upon a “*Sponge*,” alluding to the Story of *Ajax*’s falling upon his own Sword.

His *Stile* was smooth, easy, and natural; he avoided all puerile or far-fetched Thoughts, all Affectation in the Turn or Disposition of his Phrases, all Words not in general Use, and which, if I may be allowed to use his own Expression †, had a *misty* Smell. Like the greatest Masters of the Art of Speaking and Writing, he made Perspicuity his principal Care;—sacrificing Luxuriancy of Language to Clearness of Expression; and choosing rather to use Repetitions, and to add Prepositions where Custom generally suppressed them, than to leave his Meaning at all doubtful or obscure. Whatever deviated from Nature, in any Shape, hurt the Delicacy of his Taste; for which Reason he blamed equally those who, running too much after Ornaments and Brilliancy of *Stile*, gave into quaint Conceits or turgid Bombast; and those who, falling into the other Extreme, were still enamoured with the Rust of rude Antiquity. He would often smile at the effeminate Turn of *Mecenas*’s Language, *Tiberius*’s laboured Phrases, and the sonorous empty Pomp of the *Asiatic* Eloquence which delighted *Antony*.—In a Letter to his Grand-daughter *Agrippina*, after commending her Genius, he adds,—“Avoid Affectation, “which is always bad and displeasing ‡.

4 C 2

WITH

* BEN JOHNSON’S Poetaster.

† Reconditorum verborum, ut ipse dicit, factoribus.

SUET. in Aug. §. LXXXVI.

‡ Opus est dare te operam ne molestè scribas aut loquaris.

Id. ibid.

WITH so much Knowledge, and such great Qualifications, *Augustus* was weak enough to enter into all the Superstitions of the Vulgar ;—to believe in lucky and unlucky Days, in Omens, and in Dreams. I do not reproach him with his Fear of Thunder, which was so great as to make him hide himself in a Cellar till the Storm was over ; because that Infirmary was excusable, on account of the Accident which first occasioned it.—As he was travelling one Night in *Spain*, the Thunder fell so near his Litter, that it killed a Slave who held a Flambeau to light him *. In Memory of this Event, he built a Temple on the *Capitoline* Hill, and dedicated it to *Jupiter the Thunderer* ;—a new Deity, never heard of before. Thither he went regularly to pay Homage to this God of his own creating ; and the *Prince's* Temple soon became, of course, the most frequented of any. On this Occasion, *Augustus* had a Dream, in which he thought he saw *Jupiter Capitolinus*, who complained, that his new, but bad, Neighbour robbed him of his Worshipers ; and that he answered the angry God, that the Thunderer was only his Porter. When awake, he recollected this Dream, and, to verify it, ordered little Bells to be fixed upon the Top of the Temple of *Jupiter the Thunderer* ; Bells being then generally used by Porters, and put upon Doors.

WHEN we read, or indeed only hear, of any remarkable Personage, we are apt to form to ourselves an Idea of his Make and Figure. *Suetonius* has been very particular in his Description of *Augustus*, who, as he informs us †, was what is generally called a very handsome Man, in every Stage of Life ; but negligent of his Person. He hated all Affectation and Niceness in Dress, so much as to regret even the Time it cost to dress his Hair, at which several Slaves were busied at once, whilst he wrote or read. Mildness and Serenity were pictured in his Countenance, whilst his Eyes were

3

* SUTTON, in Aug. §. XXIX.

† Id. §. LXXIX.

so piercing as to dazzle those he looked at. Like *Alexander*, and the same is said of *Lewis* the XIVth, he was pleased when any one looked down, not to meet his Eyes. He was of a middle Stature, or rather short; but so well proportioned, that he did not appear little, but by Comparison, if a taller Man chanced to stand next to him.

SUCH are the principal Out-lines, from which an Idea may be formed of the Heart and Mind of this famous Emperor, the Restorer of Peace and good Order in *Rome*, and throughout the World; and therein far more deserving of our Praises, than *Julius* or *Alexander*, for their warlike Qualities or Conquests. Of all his Virtues, Prudence, and the Extent and Solidity of his Views, hold incontestably the first Rank, and are his chief Characteristics.—But the Reader will please to observe, that I here speak of *Augustus*, and not of *Octavius*;—two Men so widely different, as to occasion that memorable Saying which contains a very just Judgment of the whole Life of this Prince,——“He did so much Hurt to the *Roman* Republic, and to Mankind, that he ought never to have been born; and so much Good, that he ought never to have died.”

The END of the THIRD and last VOLUME.

I N D E X.

N. B. The numeral Letters refer to the Volume, the Figures to the Page.

A.

ACADEMICS (the) Principles of, iii. 474.

Ætium, one of the most original Roman Poets, iii. 343.

Ætium war (the) chief Causes of, iii. 126, & seq.

Ætium, the battle of, iii. 166—177. The Town of Ætium made a city, called Nicopolis, by Octavius, 244. Who institutes Games to be celebrated there, *ibid.*

Admetus, Prince of Heraclea, led in Triumph by Octavius, iii. 237. And then put to Death, *ibid.* Noble struggle between his Sons, *ibid.* Some Account of him and of his Family, 238.

Adultery condemned by an express Law of Augustus, iii. 364.

Æqui (the) oppose the infant Establishment of Rome, i. 14.

Africa, how disposed of by Julius Cæsar after the Battle of Thapsus, ii. 54. Its Antiquities but little known to the Greek and Roman Writers, 55. Some Lights thrown upon them, *ibid.*

Age (the Augustan) Reflections on, iii. 467, & seq.

Agrarian Law (the), when and by whom first instituted, i. 35.

Agrippa (M. Vipsanius) was very early attached to Augustus, then Octavius, i. 355. Harasses Antony's Party in Greece, iii. 165. Rejoins Octavius, and proceeds to Ætium, *ibid.* Takes Leucas, Patras, and Corinth, 167. Is sent to quiet Rome, immediately after the Battle of Ætium, 181. Advises Octavius to resign his Power, 248. Marries Octavius's Niece Marcella, 253. Finishes the Julian Parks, 278, and the Pantheon, *ibid.* Builds a magnificent Temple to Neptune, 282. Is sent against the Cantabrians, 285. Presides, in Augustus's Stead, at the

Wedding of Marcellus and Julia, 288. Receives Augustus's Ring, 292. Is removed from Court, under Pretence of being made Governor of Syria, 294. Openly expresses his Dissatisfaction, *ibid.* Is recalled, divorces Marcella, and marries Augustus's Daughter Julia, 322. Has by her a Son, Caius Cæsar, 321. Goes to Gaul, settles that Province, and completes the Reduction of the Cantabrians, 332, 333, 338. Of which he modestly ascribes all the Honour to Augustus, 338; and declines a Triumph, 339. Is made Augustus's Collegue in the Tribuneship, 353. Has a second Son by Julia, who is named Lucius, 383. His Sons Caius and Lucius are adopted by Augustus, *ibid.* Is sent into Syria, 385. Again refuses a Triumph, 401. Returns from the East, 408. Is continued in the Tribunician Power, *ibid.* Quells the Pan-nomians, *ibid.* and dies, *ibid.* His Character, 409. He was very unfortunate in his Wives and Children, *ibid.* & seq.

Agrippa (Posthumus) why so called, iii. 490. Is adopted by Augustus, 504. His Character, 505. He is banished, *ibid.* and killed by Order of Tiberius, *ibid.* Personated by an Impostor, *ibid.*

Alban (the) incorporated into Rome by Tullus Hostilius, i. 35. Their District there, *ib.*

Albany (the Kingdom of) re-conquered by P. Canidius Crassus, iii. 2.

Alexander, Brother to Jamblichus, led in triumph by Octavius, and then be-headed, iii. 181, 182. His Kingdom given to his Son, 182.

Alexander the Great, Division of his Empire after his Death, iii. 336.

Alexander Severus (the Emperor), his Regard for the Memory of great Men, iii. 351.

Alexandra,

Alexandra, (the Mother of Mariamne) complains of Herod to Cleopatra, iii. 113. Her Plot to fly to Cleopatra with her Son, 115; discovered, *ib.*

Alexandria made the Capital of the East, by the Residence of Antony and Cleopatra, iii. 111. Taken by Octavius, 207. Deprived of its Senate and public Council; 223. But rendered the second City in the World, 224.

Alexandrians (the) build a magnificent Temple to Octavius, iii. 233.

Alexas of Laodicea, put to Death by Order of Octavius, iii. 196.

Allies of Rome (the), who originally, from what Motives, and how treated, ii. 118. Their many great Services to the Romans, 119. Some Account of those who joined Brutus and Cassius, 120.

Alphenus, the Consul, his Origin, and extraordinary Rise, iii. 495.

Alps (the Inhabitants of the) remained long unsubdued by the Romans, iii. 283. A triumphal Arch erected on their Summit, in Honour of Augustus, 284.

Ambracia (the Bay of) described, iii. 165.

Amyntas, Lieutenant to Deiotarus at the Battle of Philippi, deserts his Prince, and goes over to M. Antony, ii. 168. Shares with Castor the Dominions of his King and Benefactor, and has for his Portion Lycaonia, 208. Leaves Antony, and goes over to Octavius, iii. 168.

Anaxenor, a famous Singer, promoted to high Honours by M. Antony, ii. 206.

Ancus Martius, his Actions and Character, i. 35. Enlarges Rome, *ib.*

Ancyra, see *Angora*.

Andronicus (Livius) the first dramatic Writer among the Romans, iii. 34. Some Account of him, *ib.*

Angora (or Ancyra), the noble Monument raised there to Octavius, iii. 238.

Antigonus, Son of Aristobulus, enters into a very extraordinary Treaty with the Parthians, ii. 384. Beheaded by Order of M. Antony, iii. 5. His was the first crowned Head struck off by the Romans, *ib.*

Antiochus, King of Commagene, besieged in his Capital by Ventidius, ii. 415. Pays the Romans to raise the Siege, 416.

Antistius sent against the Cantabrians, iii. 285.

Antonia, Wife of Drusus Nero, her amiable Character, iii. 429, & *seq.*

Antonius Filius, ungrateful to Augustus, iii. 485. Intrigues with his Daughter Julia, conspires against him, and is put to Death, 486.

Antony (Caius), his ingratitude to M. Brutus, ii. 9. Beheaded by C. Clodius, 51.

Antony (Lucius), Brother to the Triumvir, cabals with Fulvia against Octavius, ii. 248. His Character discussed, 265, & *seq.* Declares himself the Protector of the Citizens ejected by the Cæsarean Veterans, 267. Which sets him at the Head of a numerous Party against Octavius, *ib.* In Concert with Fulvia, he orders all the Commanders under M. Antony to take Arms, 269. Terms of Peace between him and young Cesar, 278. The Agreement signed, but afterwards broke off, 279. His Strength greatly superior to that of Octavius, 280. All the ejected Citizens, and most of the Italian Cities, join him, 282. Is summoned to appear before the Antonian Officers, 284. At first agrees to, but afterwards refuses it, *ib.* The Antonian Veterans thereupon embrace the Cause of Octavius, 285. Prepares for War against Octavius, 286, 287. Declares himself an open Enemy to the Triumvirate, and is joined by the remaining Senators, Knights, and Nobility, 287. Renders himself Master of Rome, 289. Convenes an Assembly of the People, who invest him with the Conduct of the War against the Triumvirs, 290. For which he sets out with great Pomp, *ib.* Is blocked up in Perugia, by Octavius, 291, & *seq.* Makes a vigorous, but ineffectual Sally, 293. Makes a second Sally, but is again driven back, 294. Forbids the Slaves to leave the City, and at the same Time orders that no Provisions shall be given them, 295. Makes

Makes a third Sally, but in vain, 295, 296. Surrenders to Octavius, 296. Is dismissed by him, and sent to Spain, where he probably died of Shame and Grief, 303.

Antony (Mark), his general Character, and first setting out in Life, i. 205. How terrified at the Death of Julius Cesar, 206. His artful Behaviour and Speech at Cesar's Funeral, *ib.* Wickedly projects the overturning of the Commonwealth, 213. His artful Dissimulation for a while, 214. Obtains the Senate's Leave to have a Guard, 217. And in consequence aims near six thousand select Cesevians, *ib.* His Steps afterwards, *ib.* Puts himself at the Head of the Opposition against Octavius, 220. He and Dolabella agree to divide the supreme Power, 222. Divorces his Wife, 223. His iniquitous Proceedings immediately after the Death of Cesar, 226. His Rapaciousness to get Money, 227. Robs the Public of near eight Millions, 228. His Reception of the young Cesar Octavius, *ib.* Whom he endeavours to crush at his first setting out, 230. Comes to an open Rupture with Octavius, *ib.* His Progress through Italy, 231, & *seq.* His indecent Fondness of the Actress Cytheris, *ib.* Divides the Campania of Rome, and Sicily, among his lewd Attendants and his Veterans, 235. Seizes the Estate of M. Varro, 236. Is guilty of the greatest Lewdness, Debauchery, and Drunkenness, *ib.* Returns to Rome, and puts Dollabella upon applying to the People for the Government of Syria, 238. His Motives for so doing, *ib.* Assembles Cesar's Veterans at Rome, 241. Letter to him from M. Brutus and C. Cassius, on that Occasion, *ib.* Increases his Guard, and marches in an hostile manner towards Rome, 249. Does what he pleases in the Senate, 250. Erects a Statue to Julius Cesar, 269. At mortal Enmity with young Octavius, *ib.* His Dissimulation when he finds Octavius begin to grow formidable, 279. His Treatment of the Macedonian Legions, sent to him by his Brother

L. Antony, 281. Throws off the Mask, and marches towards Rome, 283. Enters Rome with an armed Force, which was Treason, *ib.* Is deserted by two of his Macedonian Legions, 285, 286. Begins Hostilities, by besieging D. Brutus in Modena, 288. His Strength, *ib.* The Senate sends a Deputation to him, 293. His Reception of the Senate's Deputies, 312. His audacious Demands, 313. How received by the Senate, 314. His artful Letter to Hirtius and Octavius, 320. Remains Master of the Field after a bloody Battle near Castel Franco, 325. His Cruelty at Parma, 332. His Camp before Modena forced with great Slaughter, 333. He is forced to raise the Siege of Modena, and fly with great Precipitation, 334. Is reduced to great Distress, *ib.* Why not pursued by the Conquerors, 336. Is joined by Ventidius, 338. Pursued by D. Brutus, he crosses the Alps, *ib.* Is joined, in Dauphiny, by Lepidus, 364. Declared an Enemy to his Country, 367. His Interview with Octavius and Lepidus near Bologna, 369. Where they agree to usurp the Government, under the Title of Triumvirs, 370. Terms and Conditions of their Agreement, *ib.* His shocking Barbarity at seeing the severed Head of the murdered Cicero, 382. His infamous Lewdness whilst one of the Triumvirate, ii. 82. His Gratitude to T. Pomponius Atticus, 92. Lets his Uncle Lucius Cesar go off in Safety, 93. And pardons the celebrated Varro, 94. Some Hints towards his Character, 97. Is blocked up in Brindisi by Statius Murcus, 100. Is joined there by Octavius, when they both put to sea, and by a Stratagem get clear of Statius Murcus, 102. Pursues his March through Macedonia, leaving Octavius behind him, sick at Durazzo, 138, 139. Encamps near Philippi, in a Situation much inferior to that of the Republicans, 139. Endeavours in vain to draw his Enemies to a Battle, 140. His military Skill in preparing for the Battle of Philippi, 144. His Behaviour during

the Battle, 148—153. And after it, 156. Pinched by Hunger and Cold, his Troops do all they can to provoke the Republicans to a second Battle, 163—167. In which they succeed, 168. His Instructions to his Troops before the Battle, 169. The Battle, 170—172. His generous Behaviour to Lucilius Lucinus, when brought to him by Mistake for M. Brutus, 173. To whose Memory he pays a just Tribute, 179. His and Octavius's Cruelty the Day after the second Battle of Philippi, 192. He is joined by Asinius Pollio, Messala Corvinus, L. M. Plan-
cus, and young Bibulus, 199. Passes over to the Island of Thaso, of which he is put in Possession, *ib.* Shares the Empire with his Collegues Octavius and Lepidus, and chuses for his Portion all the Eastern Provinces, from the Adriatic to the Euphrates, 204. At a loss for Money to satisfy his Troops, 205. He passes over to Asia, 206. His Manner of Life there, *ib.* Of which his Entry into Ephesus may serve as a Specimen, 207. Is waited upon by all the Kings and Princes of the East, 208. Receives an Embassy from the Jews, complaining of their Governors Pasael and Herod, *ib.* Favours Herod, 217. Receives, at Ephesus, an Embassy from Hyrcanus, the Chief Priest and lawful Prince of the Jews, *ib.* His infamous Edict on that Occasion, 218. Reflections on it, 220. Convenes a general Assembly of the Asiatic States, *ib.* His cruel Speech to that Assembly, 221. Forms a Corporation of Players, under the Title of The Artificers of Bacchus, 223. Gives himself up wholly to Debauchery and idle Amusements, 225. Warns all the Princes of his Jurisdiction to hold themselves in Readiness with their auxiliary Troops, 226. Cites Cleopatra to appear before him at Tarsus, 226. Is smitten at first sight of her, 236. Puts her Brother and Sister to death, at her Instigation, in order to secure her in the Throne of Egypt, 237. Makes a tyrannical Tour through all the Provinces and King-

doms of Asia, 238. His Troops murmur and threaten a Mutiny; to prevent which he puts them upon plundering the City of Palmyra, *ib.* In which, however, they are disappointed by the Prudence of the Inhabitants, *ib.* He removes to the celebrated Daphne in Syria, 240. Where he receives a second Deputation from the Jewish Malcontents, 241. And declares Herod and his Brother Pasael Tetrarchs of Judea, *ib.* He proceeds through Celosyria, and stops at Tyre, where he displays his Tyranny, 242. Two Instances of it, 243—245. He hurries away to Egypt, to indulge his Passion for Cleopatra, 245. His cautious Answer to Proposals for a Treaty with S. Pompey, 281. Is forced from the Arms of Cleopatra by complicated adverse Events, 310. Goes to Athens, *ibid.* His bad Reception of Fulvia, who, finding herself utterly disregarded, dies of Rage and Despair, 311. He sails from Athens, in company with Plan-
cus, and in the middle of his Passage is met and joined by Domitius Enobarbus, with his Fleet, 312. He sails to Italy; is refused Admittance in the Harbour of Brindisi, upon which he lands at Siponto, and lays siege to Brindisi, 316, 317. Immediately concludes an Alliance with S. Pompey, whose Rear-admiral Menodore sails directly with a strong Force to ravage Abruzzo, 317. Prevailed upon by Cocceius Nerva to refer his Difference with Octavius to an Arbitration, he appoints Asinius Pollio his Arbiter, 321. The Eastern Half of the Empire is allotted him, 322. He cements the Bonds of Union with Octavius, by marrying his Sister Octavia, 327. Endeavours to negotiate a Peace between Octavius and S. Pompey, 335. Which is at last effected, 337. Articles of the Peace, 338. To strengthen the Peace concluded with S. Pompey, he betroths his Son-in-law, M. Marcellus, to Pompey's Daughter Pompeia, 341. And afterwards sets out for Asia, *ib.* Is surprized with a Visit from Herod, Tetrarch

Arch of Judea, who had been driven from his Country by Antigonus, 380, 394. He and Octavius prevail with the Senate to declare Herod King of all Judea, 395. Arrives at Athens with Octavia, and spends the Winter there, 398, 399. His Temper and that of Octavius compared, 399. His Behaviour to the Deputies from the Chiefs of Asia, upon their representing to him their Inability to pay a Tax which he had demanded, 400, 401. Joins Ventidius at the Siege of Samosata, 415. Where he is reinforced by Herod, *ib.* But raises the Siege soon after, 416. At the Persuasion of Octavia, he sails with a Squadron to Brindisi, to meet Octavius, 423. But, not finding him there, he is piqued, and returns to Greece, *ib.* Promises Mecnas to assist Octavius with a Fleet of two hundred Ships, 424. Arrives at Tarento with Octavia, and a Fleet of two hundred Ships, 437. New Disgusts between him and Octavius, pacified by Octavia, 438. He changes Part of his Fleet with Octavius for a Number of Land Forces, agrees privately with him to prolong the Triumvirate, and then returns directly to the East, *ib.* Gives himself up to Drinking and Debauchery, *iii.* 2. Is bribed by Herod to put Antigonus to death, 5. Resolves upon an Expedition to Parthia, 6. Sends Octavia back to Rome, with her own two Infants and Fulvia's Children, *ib.* Is encouraged to invade Parthia by Monefes, who undertakes to guide his Army thither, 8. Orders Cleopatra to attend him to Syria, *ib.* Forgets Octavia, and gives himself up wholly to Cleopatra, 9. His extravagant Presents to her, 10. Readily agrees to Monefes' Return to Parthia, and why, 11. Vast Amount of his Forces for the Parthian Expedition, *ib.* Sends Cleopatra back to Egypt, and marches at the head of his formidable Army, 12. Commits the Route of his Army to Artabdes, King of Armenia, who proves a Traitor, 13. Is defeated before Praaspa, 15. Sends Deputies to Phraates

to treat of Peace, but in vain, 17. Retires, in infinite Distress, *ib.* & *seq.* Is in great Danger of perishing, with his whole Army, 18, & *seq.* His Troops murder and rob one another, 20. He hurries back to meet Cleopatra, and then goes with her to Alexandria, 21. Reflections on the Parthian War, *ibid.* Antony lost eight thousand Men among the Snows, in his precipitate Retreat, 103. Undertakes a new Expedition to Armenia, *ib.* Rapine and Devastation mark his Route, *ib.* He decoys Artabdes into his Camp. *ib.* Misses an Opportunity of probably subduing the Parthians, 107. Orders Octavia, who was bringing him Men, Money, and Cloathing for his Troops, not to proceed farther, 108, 109. Gives up his intended Expedition, returns to Cleopatra, and thereby seals his Ruin, 109. Sets out a third Time for Armenia, 116. Orders Herod to appear before him at Laodicea, to answer for the Murder of Aristobulus, *ib.* Receives him graciously, and sends him away well satisfied, 118. Defeats Artaxias, the new King of Armenia, and plunders that Country, 121. His splendid Return to Alexandria, 122. Salutes Cleopatra Queen of Kings, and proclaims her eldest Son Ptolemy-Cesario, by Julius Cesar, King of Kings, and his own Children by her Kings and Queens, 123. Ruins his Interest at Rome, 124. His Vices were the chief Cause of the Actian War, 126. Reasons alleged by him in Justification of it, 128. Receives Octavius's Declaration as he is marching a fourth Time against Armenia, and thereupon turns back in order to oppose his Collegue, 129. Orders Canidius Gallus to march directly, through Asia, to the Sea-coast, and hastens after him, *ib.* Is extremely beloved by his Troops, and why, 138. Is, luckily for Octavius, stopped on the Borders of Cilicia by a Visit from Cleopatra, 140. Prodigious effeminacy by Cleopatra, 142. Advances, with Cleopatra, to Ephesus, where the general Rendezvous of his Forces was ordered, 143.

Strength of his Navy, 143. Is prevailed upon to desire Cleopatra to retire home, *ib.* But alters his Plan through the Persuasion of Canidius, 144. Riots with Cleopatra in the Isle of Samos, 145. His mean Behaviour at Athens, *ibid.* Where he publishes a Manifesto against Octavius, 146. Acknowledges Cleopatra as his lawful Wife, 147. Declines resigning the Triumvirate, when challenged so to do by Octavius, *ib.* Completes his Ruin by divorcing Octavia, 149. Is deserted by many of his Friends, 151. Degrades himself shamefully for Cleopatra at Athens, 154. His Will, seized by Octavius, and read in the Senate, shocks every Roman, 155. He displeases the Romans more and more, 158. Is formally deprived of all Command in the Commonwealth; *ibid.* Writes abusive Letters against Octavius, 160. His vast Preparations and Forces, 162, 163. Excellent Feint at Actium, upon the Appearance of Octavius's Fleet, 166. Is deserted by many of his Friends, 168. Which exasperates him to Cruelty, 169. Suspects Cleopatra of intending to poison him, *ib.* Grows more and more infatuated by her, 170. Suffers her to persuade him to hazard all in a Sea-fight, 171. Narrowly escapes being taken Prisoner, *ib.* His Preparations for the Battle, *ib.* Meanly forsakes his Friends in the midst of the Battle, to fly after Cleopatra, 176. Brave Resistance of his Land Forces, 177. Who at length submit, 178. Is pursued, but escapes, 185. His magnanimous Generosity to his Friends, 186. Quits Cleopatra, and takes a Disgust to Mankind, *ibid.* Goes to Egypt, and rejoins Cleopatra, 187. Shuts himself up in his Timonæum, 188. Out of a sort of Despair, he replunges into his former Voluptuousness with Cleopatra, 189. Sends Embassies to Octavius, but in vain, 197. Offers even to kill himself to save Cleopatra, 198. Loses his remaining Ships at Paretonium, 200. Suspects Cleopatra's Treachery, 201. But still remains infatuated, *ib.* Is basely be-

trayed by her at Alexandria, *ib.* Driven to Despair, he stabs himself, 203. Is removed to Cleopatra's Tomb, *ibid.* His Death, 204. And Character, 205. His memory branded by the Senate, 215. His Posterity, *ib.*
Antyllus (the eldest of Cleopatra's Sons) assumes the Manly Robe, iii. 189. Is beheaded by Order of Octavius, 214.
Aest, formerly a Colony settled by Octavius, and called Augusta Prætoria, iii. 133.
Apicius, his Essay on Good Eating published by Platina, iii. 280. Studied Refinements in Cookery, 377.
Apollo (the Aëlian) was Augustus's favourite Deity, iii. 179. Particularly celebrated by the Roman Poets, 180. His Temple enlarged and beautified by Octavius, 243. Games instituted in Honour of this Deity, 244.
Apollo (the Grecian) the same with the Epyptian and Phenician Hercules, iii. 39.
Apollodore, Head of a Sect called the Apollodorean, was Octavius's Master in the Study of Eloquence, ii. 353. Came over with him from Greece, and continued in his Family, *ib.*
Appian, of Alexandria, guilty of palpable Falshoods in order to blacken Cicero, and flatter the Cæsaræan Accession, i. 315. Wrongs the Memory of the Consul Vibius Pansa, 340.
Apuleius (M.) joins M. Brutus with an immense Treasure; i. 299.
Apuleius (P.) his remarkable Story, ii. 10. joins M. Brutus, 11. Who gives him the Government of Bythinia, *ib.*
Aqueducts (the) of Rome, stupendous Magnificence of, iii. 443.
Arabia, Massinissa's Heir, his Adventures, Change of Parties, and Treachery, ii. 54—75.
Aradus, a City of Phenicia, deemed the most sacred of all Sanctuaries, is violated by M. Antony, ii. 244.
Arbuscula, a celebrated Lady of Pleasure in Rome, iii. 380.
Arduba besieged by Germanicus, iii. 515. Obstinate Resistance of the Women shut up in it, *ib.*

Arcius, the Philosopher, favoured by Me-
cenas, ii. 355. Signally distinguished
by Octavius, iii. 207. Advises the Death
of Cefario, 214. Comforts Livia, 452.
His Character, 453.

Ariobarzanes, King of Cappadocia, taken
by a Detachment from Cassius's Army,
and put to death, ii. 14.

Ariobarzanes appointed King of Armenia
by Caius Cesar, iii. 496.

Aristobulus, brother to Mariamne, was the
finest Youth of his Age, iii. 112. Is
created High Priest by Herod, and af-
terwards drowned by his Order, 116.

Aristocrates and Lucilius, M. Antony's
only Companions after his Flight to
Paretonium, iii. 186.

Arius, (T.) judges his own Son in Au-
gustus's Presence, iii. 444.

Armenia (the Kingdom of) restored to
Artaxias, iii. 149. Receives Tiridates
for its King, from the hand of Augus-
tus, 329. Revolutions in Armenia,
490.

Aminius, his Character, iii. 520. Gives
the Romans a dreadful Overthrow, 521.
But makes a barbarous Use of his Vic-
tory, 524.

Arruntius (L.) his remarkable Escape from
the Proscription, ii. 10. Joins S. Pom-
pey, *ib.* Both he and his Father C.
Titius are restored by the Peace of Mi-
feno, 348.

Asinoe, Sister of Cleopatra, her hard Fate,
ii. 237.

Artabazes, King of the Medes, put to death
by Order of Cleopatra, iii. 187.

Artaxias restored to the Kingdom of Ar-
menia, iii. 149. But soon deposed and
killed, 490.

Artasides, King of Armenia, his Treach-
ery to M. Antony, iii. 13. And An-
tony's to him, 419. His Death, *ib.*
5490, 495.

Aruspicy, Reflections on, iii. 393. & *seqq.*

Asdrubal, how defeated by the Consuls
C. Claudius Nero and M. Livius, iii.
414.

Asia, what properly meant by this Word
in Geography, ii. 31, *note**. Its Western
Coast was the Paradise of the Roman
Empire, 47. And the Source of that
Luxury which proved its Ruin, *ib.*

Asiatic Style (the florid) not an Inven-
tion of the Schools, but the natural
Way of speaking of the People, ii.
381.

Asiatics (the) build a Temple to Octavi-
us, iii. 232. Generously relieved by
Augustus, 444.

Asprenas (Nonius) murdered for the Sake
of his Ring, i. 378, *note**.

Asurians (the) invaded by the Romans,
iii. 282. Are reduced, 286.

Athenæus, the Philosopher, flies with the
Conspirator Murena, iii. 313. His Say-
ing, upon his Return to Rome, *ib.*

Athenians (the) punished by Augustus for
their Flattery of Antony and Cleopa-
tra, iii. 324.

Athenodore, the Philosopher, a Man of
strict Virtue, was Octavius's Master in
the Study of Morality, ii. 253. His
Character, *ib.* His severe and wise Re-
proof to Cesar, 358. His wife Advice
to Augustus, iii. 405.

Atia, Niece to Julius Cesar, and Mother
of Octavius, her Praise, ii. 83. Died
probably of Grief for her Son's Pro-
ceedings whilst one of the Triumvirate,
84. Had likewise, by her Husband
C. Octavius, a Daughter named Oc-
tavia, 326. Story concerning her Con-
ception of Augustus, iii. 228.

Attalus, King of Pergamus, first invented
the Use of Parchment for Books and
Writing, iii. 276. Bequeathed his im-
mense Library to the Romans, *ib.*

Atticus (T. Pomponius) refuses to enter
into an Association against M. Antony,
i. 255, 257. His Opinion of the young
Octavius, 282. His Manner of Life,
ii. 92. Was a Friend to Fulvia, and
is, in return, befriended by her Hus-
band M. Antony, 93. Assisted the
Republicans who escaped from Philippi,
198. Marries his only Child, Pompo-
nia, to M. Vipsanius Agrippa, 361.

Augsbourg, formerly a Roman Colony,
called Augusta, iii. 392.

Augur of Safety (the) decreed in Favour
of Octavius, iii. 234.

Augurs, the College of, instituted by
Numa, i. 27. Its great Power, *ibid.*
& *seq.* Was a mixt Institution, ii.
343.

Augury,

Augury, Reflections on, iii. 393, & *seqq.*

Augusta, see *Augsbourg*.

Augusta Prætoria, see *Aost*.

Augustalia (the) Feasts instituted in Honour of Augustus, iii. 447.

Augustodunum, now Autun, a Roman Colony founded by Augustus, iii. 392. See *Autun*.

Augustus (the Appellation of) given to Octavius, iii. 259. (For what concerns the former part of his Life, see *Octavius*.) Who obtains a formal Investiture of his Power, 260. End of the Republic, *ib.* His Court but little known to Posterity, i. 2. Reasons why, *ib.* His Reign the Period which merits most Attention in the whole Roman History; and why, 3. Amazing Contrast between the first part of his Reign, and the last, 4. State of the Roman Empire immediately before his time, 128, & *seqq.*

Augustus swears to observe the established Laws, iii. 263. Every Title of Distinction and Power conferred on him, 264. Origin of the Title of Emperor, *ib.* Power annexed to it, *ib.* & 265. All his former Violences justified by a formal Decree of the Senate, 266. He goes into Gaul, to regulate that Province, 268. Pretended Motive of his Journey thither, *ib.* & 269. From Gaul he goes into Spain, *ibid.* Enumeration of the Civil Wars in which he had been engaged, *ibid.* Recals and banishes Cornelius Gallus, 272. Re-opens the Temple of Janus, 282. Attacks the Spaniards, *ib.* Is taken ill in Spain, 284. Reported to be dead, 285. This was his last personal military Exploit, 287. A Triumph decreed him, which he declines, *ib.* Marries his Nephew M. Marcellus to his Daughter Julia, 288. Returns to Rome, *ib.* And artfully sets about eluding the Laws, *ib.* Politicly makes Cn. Calpurnius Piso his Colleague in the Consulship, 290. Is taken dangerously ill, 292. Gives his Ring to Agrippa, *ib.* Description of his Seal, *ib.* He recovers, 293. Removes Agrippa, by making him Governor of Syria, 294. Is really grieved at the

Death of Marcellus, 295. In which he certainly had not any Share, *ib.* Declines standing for the Consulship, 296. Grows really good, 298. Receives the Proconsular Power for Life, *ib.* That of Consul, 299. And the Tribunitian Power, *ibid.* Promises always to consult the Senate in Matters of Importance, 300. Orders Tiridates and Phraates to apply to the Senate, *ib.* Who refer them back to him, *ibid.* Keeps up an Appearance of the old Forms, 301, 320. Unites in himself both the Civil and the Military Power, 301. Absolutely refuses the Title of Dictator, 302. And declines that of Censor for Life, *ib.* Introduces several new Regulations, as Reformer of the Laws and Manners, 303. The Romans are happy under his Government, 304. As are likewise all the Provinces, 305. His excellent Answer to a flattering Courtier, *ibid.* His extreme Popularity, 306. And strict Adherence to Justice, 307. Instances of his now great Mildness and Moderation, 307, & *seqq.* & 405. His Affability to the Senate, 315. And to the Public in general, *ibid.* Rejects with Disdain the Appellation of Lord, 316. Laughs at the Divine Honours paid him by the Provinces, *ib.* A Conspiracy against him by Cæpio and Muræna, 317. Is discovered by Mecenat, 318. He cannot be justified in screening the Informer Castricius, 320. Is greatly cramped by pretending to keep within the Laws, *ib.* Want of Courage made him not restore the Commonwealth, 321. Sets out in order to visit the East, *ib.* Is detained in Sicily by Factions at Rome, *ib.* Recals Agrippa, and marries him to his Daughter Julia, 322. His Reasons for this Marriage, *ib.* Continues his Progress to the East, 324. Rewards the Lacedæmonians, and punishes the Athenians, *ib.* At Corinth, he receives Embassies from the Greek Cities, *ib.* Extraordinary one from the Island Gyarus, *ib.* Spends the Winter at Samos, where he receives Ambassadors from Ethiopia, 325. Visits Asia,

I N D E X.

and distributes there Rewards and Punishments, 326. Makes the Parthians submit, recovers the Roman Prisoners and Standards, and receives, as Hostages, Phraates's four Sons, with their Wives and Children, 328. Honours decreed to Augustus for this glorious Exploit, 329. He makes Tigranes King of Armenia, 330. Spends a second Winter at Samos, and receives Ambassadors from the Scythians, Sarmatians, and even from India, 331. An Indian Philosopher voluntarily burns himself in his Presence, 332. The Senate appoint him Superintendant of the High-ways, *ib.* Extraordinary Honours decreed him whilst on his Return to Rome, 334. His Devotion for the Goddess Fortune, *ib.* Goes to the Senate, and obtains new Honours for Tiberius and Drusus, 337. Proceeds in regulating his new Form of Government, *ib.* Makes Agrippa his Colleague in the Tribunitian Power, 353. And is continued in the Government of the State for five Years longer, *ib.* Again reviews and models the Senate, 354. In which he meets with many Difficulties, *ib.* & *seq.* Behaves meanly to Lepidus, 360. Fixes the necessary Qualification of a Senator, 361. Endeavours to abolish Celibacy, 362. Enacts a Law against Adultery, 364. Politically countenances the prevailing Humour of high-living, 374. Encourages Learning, 375. Enacts sumptuary Laws, 378. Is fond of Theatrical Entertainments, 379. Shrewd Reply of the Pantomime Pylades, *ib.* Adopts his Grand-sons Caius and Lucius Cæsars, 383. Celebrates the Secular Games, *ib.* Goes into Gaul, 384. Motives of this Journey, *ib.* His Manner of Reading, *ib.* Was well known to intrigue with Mæcenas's Wife, 387. Suffers himself to be meanly bribed by Licinius, *ib.* Reproves P. Vedius Pollio for his Cruelty, 388. But meanly accepts of his Inheritance, 389. Sends Tiberius and Drusus Neros against the Rheti and Vindelici, 390. Founds Autun, and renders it the Athens of Gaul, 392. Nobly assists Cn. Cornelius Len-

tulus, 393. Who proves ungrateful, *ib.* Augustus returns to Rome, 401. Endeavours to keep up the apparent dignity of the Senate, 403. Respects the Memory of great Men, *ib.* Is deservedly reproved by Sisenna, 404. By Athenodore, 405. By Mæcenas, *ib.* Reflections on his Change of Manners, 406. Takes the Dignity of High Priest, *ib.* Suppresses all Books of Superstition, *ib.* Encourages the erecting of public Edifices, 408. Loses his faithful Friend Agrippa, *ib.* Whom he orders to be buried in his own Tomb, *ibid.* Marries Julia to Tiberius, 412. Whom he did not like, *ib.* & 418. Famous Monument erected to him by the Gauls, 424. Unjustly suspected of Drusus's Death, 427. Enjoys the signal Privilege of enlarging Rome, 432. And closes the Temple of Janus, *ib.* Moderation the true Cause of his Safety, 437. His well-judged Policy, 438. He makes the Romans fond of his Government, 439. Endeavours to extirpate Bribery, 440. But at the same time eludes the Law himself, *ib.* Excellent Method of promulgating his Regulations, 441. Taxes himself like a private Man, *ib.* His Custom of receiving New Year's Gifts, 442. And turning Beggar once a Year, *ib.* His Institutions for the Convenience and Safety of Rome, *ib.* & 443. His exemplary Care of the Provinces, and of Individuals, 444. Is present at the Trial of Arius's Son, 445. Regulates the Law relative to Wills, *ib.* His Virtues render him dear to every one, 447. Receives the Title of Father of his Country, 448. And a fourth Prorogation of the Imperial Power, 449. Reflections thereon, *ib.* Loses his Sister Octavia, 450. Pays all imaginable Honours to her Memory, 451. Begins to be uneasy about his Grand-sons, 475. His artful Behaviour with respect to them, *ib.* & *seqq.* Gives the Manly Robe to Caius, with great Pomp, 478. Affronts Tiberius, by raising Caius and Lucius Cæsars, *ib.* His domestic Ills increase dreadfully, 480. Discovers the Leweness,

Lewdness of his Daughter Julia, *ib.* Whom he banishes, 486. But behaves imprudently on that Occasion, in other Respects, 487. Commissions Caius Cesar to settle Armenia, 491. His remarkable Words at taking leave of Caius Cesar, 492. His firm and prudent Behaviour with respect to the Armenians, 495. Loses his two Grandsons, Caius and Lucius Cesars, 496. His Grief on that Occasion, 497. Great Care of their Education, *ib.* He adopts Tiberius, 502. Though he does not like him, 503. And at the same time adopts Agrippa Posthumus, 504. Whom he, however, soon banishes, 505. Receives a fifth Prorogation of his Power, 506. Again reforms the Senate, and makes excellent Laws, *ibid.* Sorely grieved by the bad Conduct of his Grand-daughter Julia, *ib.* & 526. His noble Behaviour to the Conspirator Cinna, *ib.* & *segg.* Greatly alarmed at the Revolt of the Dalmatians and Pannonians, 513. Sends Germanicus to hasten Tiberius, 514. Is quite inconsolable for the dreadful Defeat of Varus, 525. Banishes his Grand-daughter Julia, 527. Has been falsely accused of too great intimacy with his Daughter, 528. Probable Origin of that Report, *ib.* He grows fond of Tiberius, 533. Promotes him to the highest Honours, and makes him his Collegue, 534. Augustus's Health begins to decline, 536. His Privy Council, *ib.* His Endeavours to abolish Celibacy, 537. Revives and enforces several good Laws, 538. He is again continued in the supreme Power, 540. Treats Tiberius as his intended Heir, 541. Conducts him part of the Way towards Illyricum, but is forced by his Illness to stop at Beneventum, 545. Diverts himself in Caprea, 546. Is forced to take to his Bed at Nola, 547. His Death, *ib.* & *segg.* Duration of his Life and Reign, 552. His Character, *ib.* & *segg.*

Autun, formerly Augustodunum, a Roman Colony, founded by Augustus, iii. 392. Made the Seat of Letters, and the Athens of Gaul, *ib.* Said to have

been, originally, a Place of Residence of the Druids, *ibid.*

B.

BAIE (the Bay of) formed into a noble Harbour by Agrippa, ii. 439.

Balbus (Cornelius) the elder, his Birth, Rise, Character, &c. ii. 426—429.

Balbus (Cornelius) one of the chief of Octavius's Council, when he first began to disavow the Authority of the Senate and People, i. 355.

Balbus (L.) triumphs for his Conquest of the Garamanti, iii. 339. Builds a Theatre, 408. Founds the new City of Cadiz, *ib.*

Barbula, the extraordinary Adventure of, iii. 184.

Bataivians (the) Situation, Manners, &c. of, iii. 419, & *segg.*

Bathylus, the Comedian, and Pylades, iii. 379. Particulars concerning the former, 380.

Bato, the Dalmatian, attacks the Romans, iii. 512. Submits, but nobly, to Tiberius, 516.

Bato, the Pannonian, opposes the Romans, iii. 513. Is wounded, *ib.* And disappears, *ib.* & 516.

Berkeley (Dr.) Bishop of Cloyne, his extraordinary Genius, ii. 277.

Bessians (the) subdued by M. Brutus, ii. 106. Some Account of them, *ib.*

Bibulus (M.) escapes the Proscription, and goes over to Brutus, ii. 2. Escapes at the Battle of Philippi, 197. Is reconciled to M. Antony, 199.

Boethius, the Tarsian Poet, becomes a great Favourite with M. Antony, ii. 231.

Boniface IV. (Pope) converts the Pantheon into a Christian Church, iii. 279.

Bosphorus, Revolutions in the Kingdom of, iii. 400.

Brindisi (the Peace of) between Octavius Cesar and M. Antony, ii. 321, & *segg.*

Bribery, severely checked by Augustus, iii. 440.

Britain, the Conquest of, supposed to have been intended by Augustus, iii. 268, 269,

269, 282. Its State at that Time, 269. Why first invaded by Julius Cæsar, 270. Was formerly famous for its Pearls, *ib.*
Bruce (King Robert) his last advice to his people, i. 99.
Bruti (the), Situation, Manners, &c. of, iii. 419.
Brutus (Decimus) besieged by M. Antony in Modena, i. 288. Makes a noble Defence, and is at last relieved by the Consul Hirtius and young Octavius, 333, & *seq.* Is rewarded with a Triumph, 336. Pursues M. Antony over the Apennines, 338. Is deserted by his Collegue Plancus, 365. And afterwards by all his Troops, 366. His whole Strength is reduced to ten Men, 367. He is taken by a Band of Banditti, betrayed to Antony, and killed, 368. His Character, *ib.*
Brutus (L. Junius), his Character, i. 52. He expels the Tarquins, *ib.* & *seq.*
Brutus (M. Junius), his Behaviour, and that of the other Patriots, after they had killed Julius Cæsar, i. 201. Greatly overseen in agreeing to confirm all the public Acts of Julius Cæsar, 208. Is supplanted by M. Antony in his intended Government of Macedon, 228. Why so quiet after he had pulled down Cæsar, 239. His great Moderation, 240. His and C. Cassius's joint Letter to M. Antony, 241. The public Welfare his only Motive for killing Cæsar, 271. His Unwillingness afterwards to have recourse to Extremities, *ib.* Dexterously sounds the Disposition of the People, 272. His and Cassius's Edict as Town Prætors, 273. Their second joint Letter to M. Antony, 274. His Interview with Cicero at Velia, 280. And with Cassius at Athens, where Statues are erected to them, 298. And where many of the young Roman Nobility espouse his Cause, 299. Meets, at Sea, M. Apuleius, Pro-questor of Asia, who joins him with an immense Treasure, *ib.* Is joined by Antistius Vetus, Treasurer of Achæia, 300. His Pedigree, Education, and Character, 301, 303. Goes a Volunteer to Thes-saly, and joins Pompey, 305. Not

probable that he was Cæsar's Son, *ib.* Defeats C. Antony, 309. His great Moderation and Humanity, *ib.* Makes himself Master of Greece and Illyricum, 310. Decree of the Senate in his Favour 311. He and Cassius justified for taking upon them the Command of the Provinces of Macedon and Syria, 349. The extensive Power given to them by the Senate over the Provinces of the East, 350. He joins Munatius Plancus in Dauphiny, 364. But finds in him a Traitor, from whom he separates, and marches farther into Gaul, 365. Is abandoned by his mercenary Troops, who go over to Antony, Plancus, and Octavius, 366.

Brutus is joined by several, and what Romans of Distinction, after the horrid Proscription of the Triumvirs, ii. 2. He divorces Clodia, the Daughter of Appius Claudius Pulcher, and marries Portia the Daughter of M. Cato, 3. His deep Distress at losing his Wife Portia, 8. His great Lenity to Part of one of his Legions which had mutinied at the Instigation of C. Antony, 9. Meets with a singular Piece of Good Fortune in his March through Thrace, 12. In Danger of his Life from a Quarter he little suspected, 13. His great Humanity on this Occasion, 14. Receives a Letter from M. Cicero, strongly recommending the Bearer Messala Corvinus, 13. Passes over from Thrace into Asia, to meet his Friend C. Cassius, 15. What great Officers were then under him, *ib.* Meets Cassius at Smyrna, 16. Where they settle the Plan of the military Operations against the Triumvirs, 17. In consequence of which he marches North, towards the Propontis, or Marmora, and Cassius marches South-east, towards Rhodes, *ib.* Marches afterwards towards Lycia, 31. Having been joined by old Deiotarus King of Galatia, 37, demands Assistance from the Inhabitants of Xanthus, the Capital of Lycia, and upon their refusing it, attacks their City, which, notwithstanding his utmost Efforts to save it and the Xanthians,

thians, is entirely destroyed, together with all its People, 38—44. Conquers Patara, the great Lycian Arsenal, by dint of Humanity, Generosity, and Virtue, 44, & *seq.* Takes the City of Myra, on which Occasion he again shews his wonted Generosity, and becomes Master of all the Cantons of the Lycian League, 46, 47. All the other Eastern Parts of the Empire voluntarily join him, 47. The Ionian States accède likewise to the Cause of Liberty, though not very readily, *ibid.* He re-enters Asia, *ib.* His Regularity and Moderation amidst all the Temptations of that luxurious Country, 48. Revenges the Murder of the great Pompey, 50. His great Moderation towards the Enemies of the State who had fallen into his Hands, and the Correspondence between him and Cicero upon that Subject, 51, 52. He subdues the Bessians, for which his Troops salute him Imperator, 106. Meets Cassius at Sardis, where both these Chiefs are saluted Imperatores, 108. A warm Dispute between them ended by the abrupt breaking in of M. Favonius, *ib.* The Mildness of his Temper made him err in Things essential to the Common Interest, 111. Parallel between him and Cassius, 110. He gives a strong Proof of his strict Love of Justice, 112. Other Instances tending to elucidate his Character, 113—118. Of what Allies he and Cassius had chiefly the Assistance, 120. He marches with Cassius from Sardis to Abydus, to meet their Enemies, 121. Said there to have seen the Vision of his Evil Genius, 122. Plutarch's Account of that Affair, *ib.* He and Cassius cross the Hellespont, and make a general Muster of their whole Army, 124, 125. Their Force, 125. They harangue their Troops, 126. And give them an ample Donation, 133. Operations for their Encampment, and some Skirmishes with the Enemy, 134. He passes the Sapean Mountains, and arrives in the Neighbourhood of Philippi, 135, 136. Where he and Cassius

encamp on two very advantageous Spots, 138. He writes at this Time a remarkable Letter to his Friend Atticus, 140. Some Account of his Writings, 141. Is unwilling at first to hazard a general Battle, but at length gives way to the Impatience of his Soldiers, and resolves to fight, though still contrary to the Opinion of Cassius, 141—143. His remarkable Conversation with Cassius immediately before the Battle of Philippi, 147. His Behaviour during the Battle, 148—153. And after it, 155, 158, 159. His Speech to his Troops the next Day, 156. His great Humanity towards the Cesarean Prisoners, 158. Is forced by the Clamours of his Troops, much against his Will, to hazard a second Battle, 165—167. Draws out his Men, and sees several of his Officers immediately desert, 168, 169. After maintaining the Fight with the utmost Bravery till Night, being deserted by his Men, and cut off from his Camp, he is obliged to retire to the neighbouring rocks, 170—172. His calm, but resolute Behaviour during the next Night which he passed there, 174—177. And the next Morning, when he killed himself, 177. His Character, 177—180. His Statue remarkably respected by Augustus, *iii.* 309.

C.

CADIZ (the present City of) founded by L. Balbus, *iii.* 408.

Cesar, see *Cesar*.

Cesaric, see *Cesaric*.

Caius Cesar, his Birth, *iii.* 331. Is adopted by Augustus, 383. To whom he begins to give great Uneasiness, 475. His audacious Behaviour, *ib.* Dispersations and Prerogatives granted to him, 476. Receives the Manly Robe, 478. Appointed to be Consul twenty-three Years before the legal Age, *ibid.* Decorated with the new Title of Prince of the Youth, *ib.* Is commissioned to settle Armenia, 491. His Departure, under the Care of M. Lollius, 492. Sketch of his Character, 493. Is waited,

- waited on by all the Kings of the East, 294. Enters upon his first Consulship, *ibid.* Makes Ariobarzanes King of Armenia, 296. Is treacherously wounded, grows disordered in his Senses, and dies, *ib.*
- Calpurnius* (Pulsus) one of Antony's Creatures, and a Tool of Octavius's first Faction, i. 355. Heads fifty thousand Veterans against Octavius, ii. 280.
- Calpurnius* (Lucius Julius) was one of the greatest Poets of the Augustan Age, ii. 256.
- Caliga* (the) a sort of Shoe worn by the Roman Soldiers, described, ii. 258, *note* ².
- Candace*, Queen of Ethiopia, sends an Embassy to Augustus, iii. 325. Her Person and Character, 376.
- Candianus* Gallus, sent by M. Antony, with a powerful Army thro' Asia, to the Seacoast, iii. 129. Advises Antony to send back Cleopatra, 144. Joins Antony at Actium, and then talks differently, 170. Commands Antony's Land Forces at Actium, 173. Deserts his Troops, 178. And goes to Antony at Alexandria, 188. Put to death by Octavius, 217, 218.
- Cantabrians* (the) attacked by the Romans, iii. 282. And reduced, but with very great Difficulty, 285.
- Capito* (Ateius), the Court Lawyer, his Character, iii. 356.
- Capito* (Ponteius) sent into Egypt, to command Cleopatra's Attendance upon M. Antony in Syria, iii. 8.
- Capital* (the) marked out by Tarquinius Priscus, i. 35. Built by Tarquinius Superbus, 36.
- Cappadocia* relieved by Augustus's Liberality, iii. 326.
- Capuans* (the) oppose the infant Establishment of Rome, i. 13.
- Carisus* subdues the Asturians, iii. 286.
- Carrinas* triumphs over the Morini and Suevi, iii. 240.
- Carthage*, Origin of the Name of the City, ii. 56.
- Carthaginians* (the) descended from the Phenicians, ii. 58. Why foiled at last in their Struggle with the Romans, *ibid.*
- Cassellius* (Anlus), a celebrated Lawyer, nobly refuses to draw up an Instrument to colour over the Iniquities of the Triumvirs, ii. 95, 96. Some Account of him, *ib.*
- Cassius* (C.) supplanted by M. Antony in the Government of Syria, i. 238. Why quiet, for a while, after the Death of Julius Cesar, 239. His and M. Brutus's joint Letters to M. Antony, 241, 274. Formidable in the East, 346. Extensive Power given by the Senate to him and to Brutus, 350. Writes a very loyal and encouraging Letter to the Senate, and another to M. T. Cicero, 352. Takes Laodicea, 354. Becomes Master of all Asia, *ib.* Is joined by several, and what, Romans of Distinction, after the dreadful Proscription, ii. 2. Leaves his Nephew to command in Syria, and marches towards the Borders of Asia, 14. Sends a Detachment of Cavalry against Ariobarzanes, King of Cappadocia, who is taken, and put to death, 15. Meets M. Brutus at Smyrna, 16. Where they settle their Plan of Military Operations, 17. Marches towards Rhodes, whilst Brutus marches towards the Propontis, *ib.* Prepares to attack the Rhodians, 19. His resolute Answer to their Embassy and Messages, 20, & *seq.* He defeats them at Sea, 23. Besieges them by Sea and by Land, *ib.* Forces their City, and lays them under Contribution, 24, 25. Leaves a Garrison in Rhodes, 25. Attempt against his Life, 107. He meets Brutus at Sardis, where they are saluted Imperatores, 108. A warm Dispute between them ended by the breaking in of M. Favonius, *ibid.* Cassius's Character, 110. Parallel betwixt him and Brutus, *ib.* He would probably have restored Peace and Liberty to the Romans, if his Advice had been taken when Cesar was killed, *ib.* Surpasses Brutus in the Discipline of his Troops, 111. Generously orders a Third Part of all the Money which had been collected, to be put into the Hands of Brutus's Pay-master, 112. Some Account of the Auxiliaries that joined

I N D E X.

- him and Brutus, 120. He marches with Brutus from Sardis to Abydus, to meet their Enemies, 121. He and Brutus cross the Hellespont, and make a general Muster of their whole Army, 124, 125. Their Force, 125. They harangue their Troops; 126. Cassius's Speech, *ib.* He arrives with his Army in the Neighbourhood of Philippi, 135, 136. Where he and Brutus encamp, 138. Is against hazarding the Battle of Philippi, 143. His Conversation with Brutus immediately before the Battle, 147. From the very Beginning of the Engagement, he judged but too rightly of its Event, 148. His Behaviour during the Battle, 148—153. Mistaking a Party of Friends for a Detachment of the Enemy, he gives up all for lost, and kills himself, 152. Brutus's high Panegyric on him, 153. His Character, *ib.*
- Cassius* of Parma, Rear-Admiral of the Republicans, ii. 199. Put to Death by Octavius, iii. 217, 218. Executed by Varius, with whom he had a literary Quarrel, 218. His Writings burnt with his Body, *ib.*
- Cassius Severus*, Character of, iii. 307.
- Cassius*, how raised by Deiotarus, King of Galatia, to whom he proves a Traitor, ii. 26, & *seq.* Shares with Amyntas the Dominions of his Benefactor, 208.
- Castricius* discovers the Conspiracy of Cæpio and Muræna; iii. 318. Is afterwards accused, and saved by Augustus, 319.
- Catiline*, the Conspiracy of, defeated, i. 169.
- Cato*, the Censor, his Praise, ii. 275.
- Cato* (M. Portius) his Speech to the Senate, the only one of his making that has been preserved, i. 110. Opposes the Designs of Julius Cæsar, 180. By whom he is grievously insulted, 181. Was intimate with L. Lucullus, 267. Refuses Pompey's Proposal of marrying his Half-sister Servilia, 267. His Character, 302, & *seq.* He escapes the Proscription, and goes over to Brutus, ii. 2. Falls nobly in the second Battle of Philippi, 172. His Memory revered by Augustus, iii. 309, 310.
- Catti* (the), Situation, Manners, &c. of, iii. 419, & *seq.* Subdued by Tiberius, 510.
- Cauri* (the) Situation, Manners, &c. of, iii. 419, & *seq.*
- Cecilius* (Q.), the Epirote, Intrigues with Pomponia, iii. 410. Some Account of him, *ib.*
- Celibacy* discouraged by Augustus, iii. 362. And heavily taxed, 363. The Law *Papia Poppæa*, 365.
- Censors*, the Creation of, i. 36. Reasons why they were created, and their Functions, 67. Their Integrity during the early Part of the Commonwealth, *ib.* Become odious after the Romans are corrupted by Luxury, 158.
- Censorship* (the), refused by Augustus, iii. 302. When last held by two private Men, 303.
- Census* (the) first instituted by Servius Tullius, i. 36.
- Centuries*, (Division of the Roman People into) by Servius Tullius, i. 36.
- Centurions* of the Army enabled by M. Antony to be Judges in Rome, i. 252.
- Cæpio* (Fannius) conspires against Augustus, iii. 317. Is discovered and put to Death, 318. Remarkable Act of Justice done by his Father, 319.
- Cæsar*, (C. Julius) his Character, Rise, ambitious Designs, and Plots against the State, i. 166, & *seq.* Sides constantly with the low licentious Populace, *ib.* Aims at destroying the Laws, and humbling the Nobility and Senate, *ib.* Undertakes and carries the Cause of the Out-laws, 167. Exerts all his Power in Favour of the Heads of the Marian Faction, *ib.* Procures the Repeal of four salutary Laws, 168. Obtains the Office of Questor in Spain, but quits his Post, in Hopes of stirring up an Insurrection, *ib.* Obtains the Edileship, and is strongly suspected of being concerned in a Plot to murder the Senate, and destroy the Commonwealth, *ib.* Associates with
- Cn.

I N D E X.

Cn. Piso, who was concerned in Catiline's Conspiracy, 169. Conspires again with Piso, to rise in Arms against the Government, *ib.* Openly professes himself the successor of C. Marius, whose Statues and Trophies he erects in the Capitol, *ib.* Espouses the Cause of a turbulent Tribune, and comes off with Shame, *ib.* When Pretor, he still plots against the State, and keeps up a Correspondence with L. Catiline, 171. Informs against Catiline, in order to screen himself, *ib.* Incurs the Indignation of all good Men, and narrowly escapes being killed, *ib.* Endeavours to raise an unjust Prosecution against Q. Catulus, and is declared incapable of exercising any Office during that Year, 172. Submits at last to the Senate, *ib.* Is made Governor of the farther Spain; hurries away thither, for Fear of being arrested; plunders that Country and Portugal, and returns, as he went, without Orders from the Senate, 173. Obtains the Consulship, 174. Brings about a Reconciliation between M. Pompey the Great and M. Crassus, and, with them, forms a Triumvirate, 176. His iniquitous Proceedings whilst Consul, 178. He revives the Agrarian Laws, *ib.* Endeavours to procure the Murder of his Collegue Bibulus, 180. Dares grossly to insult M. Porcius Cato, 181. Makes Use of the abandoned Clodius, to get rid of Cato, and drive Cicero into Exile, 183. Abrogates the Elian and Fufian Statutes, *ib.* Curtails the Power of the Censors, *ib.* Artfully makes the People decree him the Government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, with the Command of eighteen thousand Romans, for five Years, 185. And afterwards the farther Gaul, 186. His Reasons for preferring the Government of Gaul to that of any other Province, *ib.* Obtains a Prolongation of his Command for five Years more, 187. His covetous and tyrannical Proceedings during his Government, *ib.* His

Rapine, Sacrilege, and open Rebellion against his Country, 188. He throws off the Mask, passes the Rubicon, over-runs Italy, marches towards Rome, and bears down all before him, 192. Is at length killed, 193. His Funeral, 209.

The killing of him canvassed, ii. 180—191. To what may be imputed his having retained some Sort of Reputation with Posterity, 184, & *seq.* Some Particulars concerning his personal Character and that of his Writings, 187, & *seq.* His Amours with Cleopatra, 228. He neglects to improve his Victory at Pharalus, through his Attachment to her, 229. Which is also the Cause of the Alexandrian War, and of the Calamities that beset Pontus, Africa, and Spain, *ib.* His Motives for invading Britain, iii. 270. *Cesaris* (Cleopatra's Son) assumes the manly Robe, iii. 189. Is betrayed to Octavius, and put to Death, 214.

Charlemagne, his Conduct towards his frail Daughters more prudent than that of Augustus to his, iii. 488.

Charmione, one of Cleopatra's Women, kills herself with her Mistress, iii. 212.

Charusfi (the) Situation, Manners, &c. of, iii. 419, & *seq.*

Cicero (M. Tullius), his Remark on a Saying of the Poet Ennius, i. 160. Refuses to have any Connection with the Triumvirate of Cesar, Pompey, and Crassus, 182. Was the second Person who perceived Cesar's Aim, *ib.* Endeavours in vain to draw Pompey off from the Triumvirate, *ib.* Is benighted, through the Contrivances of Cesar, 183. His judicious Advice to the Conspirators, after the Death of Cesar, 207. and personal Behaviour at that Time, *ib.* His Caution and Delicacy during the Troubles of the State, 243. His Interview with Brutus and Cassius, 260. Resolves to retire to Greece, to avoid the Fury of Antony's Consulship, 270. Wrote several of his Works during his Retirement in the Country, 276. Alters his

I N D E X.

His Design of going into Greece, and returns to Rome, and why, 279. Has an Interview with Brutus at Velia, 280. Advises Octavius to go directly to Rome, 282. His letter to Atticus on this Occasion, *ib.* Makes a noble Stand for Liberty, at a Time of imminent Danger, 284. The Occasion of his *Philippics*, *ib.* He no longer hesitates to side with Octavius, *ib.* Makes the Senate declare for him, 290. His great Power, owing merely to his Virtue, 291. His Panegyric on M. Cato, and Remarks on Julius Cæsar's *Anti-catos*, 302. Note †. Animates the Senate to act vigorously against M. Antony, 315. Justified against the Calumnies of Dion Cassius and Appian, *ib.* In great Danger of his Life from the Antonian Faction at Rome, but saved by P. Apuleius, and crowned with Honour and Applause, 328. Thought to have been overreached by Octavius, 356. Writes to Octavius just before he approached Rome with his Army, 360. Basely given up by Octavius, upon settling the Terms of the horrid Triumvirate, 371. Marked down at the Head of the List of the proscribed, 373. and basely murdered, 378. Manner of his Death, 379. His Character, 378, 381.

His pressing Sollicitations to M. Brutus, not to spare C. Antony; or any other of the Enemies of the State who had fallen into his Hands, and his Reasons for giving that Advice, ii. 51, 52. He lived in strict Union with Q. Cornificius, to whom he wrote several Letters, which we have, 67. He was restored by the Peace of Miseno, 348.—His Life was insamously bargained for, iii. 339.

Cicero (Quintus) too severe in his Character of the Consuls Hirtius and Pansa, i. 340.

Cicero (Tullius) Brutus's General of the Horse, his Character, ii. 15. Escapes the bloody Havock at Philippi, 197. Unwilling to trust Antony with his

Life, he flies to Turulius and Cassius of Parma, Rear-Admirals of the Republicans, 199.

Cilicia, Nests of Pirates on the Coast of, ii. 26. See *Pirates*.

Climber (Tullius) escapes the Proscription, and goes over to Cassius, ii. 2. Commands the Squadron which attends the main Army of Brutus and Cassius, 133. His Character, *ib.* and Operations with his Squadron, 134.

Cincia (the Law), iii. 368.

Cinna (Cornelius) escapes the Proscription, and goes over to Brutus, ii. 2. Conspires against Augustus, who pardons him, iii. 508. And whose steadfast Friend he becomes, 509. His Conspiracy the Subject of one of Corneille's finest Tragedies, *ib.*

Cinna (L. Helvius), one of the Poets of the Augustan Age, ii. 256. His Character as a Writer, 257.

Circus Maximus (the); first designed by Tarquinius Priscus, i. 35.

Cleopatra cited to appear before M. Antony, ii. 226. Her Accomplishments, 227, 234, 236. Was first initiated in the Mysteries of Love by Cn. Pompey, when she was scarcely fifteen, 228. And afterwards more fully instructed in them by Julius Cæsar, when she was Twenty-one, *ib.* Her Stratagem to be introduced to him, 230. Her magnificent Appearance before M. Antony, 232, 233. Over whom she immediately gains an Ascendant, 237. And prevails on him to put her Brother and Sister to Death, *ib.* She was by no Means constant to Antony in their Amour, iii. 9. Lewdness was one of the chief Ingredients of her Character, *ib.* Of which infinite Cunning, insatiable Avarice, and relentless Cruelty, were the Fund, 10. Her extravagant Demands from Antony, *ib.* She is sent back to Egypt, upon Antony's setting out for his Parthian Expedition, 12. Her artful Dissimulation upon hearing of Octavius's Approach, 108. She coaxes Antony back to her, whereby he seals his Ruin, 109. Her famous

mous Wager with Antony, 111. She espouses the Cause of Alexander, against Herod, 113, 114. Persuades Antony to order Herod to appear before him, 116. Occasions horrid Mischief in Syria, 119. Pays a Visit to Herod, 120. How received, *ib.* Partakes of Antony's Triumph at Alexandria, 122. Pays Antony a Visit upon the Borders of Cilicia, to which Octavius probably owed his Preservation, 140, 141. Her prodigious Train, and vast Magnificence, 141. Her Treat to M. Antony, and his Officers, in her Tent, *ib.* Is desired by M. Antony to return home, there to wait the Issue of the War, 143. Her Behaviour thereupon, *ib.* Induces Canidius Gallus to oppose her being sent back, 144. Riots with Antony in the Isle of Samos, 145. Endeavours to rival Octavia at Athens, *ib.* Is acknowledged by Antony as his lawful Wife, 146, 147. Her Insolence to Geminus, when sent to Antony by the Romans, 156. Instance of her Indiscretion with respect to the Romans, 157. Who declare War against her, 159. She sends Ships, Men, and Money, to Antony, 163. Importance of her Alliance, *ib.* Suspected by Antony of intending to poison him, but clears herself, 169. Wrongly advises him to hazard a Sea-Fight at Actium, 171. Basely flies away in the Midst of the Battle, 176. Is quitted by Antony at Ténarus, and proceeds without him to Paretonium, 186. Attempts to drag her whole Fleet over Land into the Red-Sea, 187. Prepares again for War, at the Persuasion of Antony, *ib.* They engage to die together, 189. She tries various Experiments of Poisons, 190. Her Wiles against Herod, 194. Neglects Antony, and endeavours to captivate Octavius, 197. Tries to deceive them both; 198. Celebrates Antony's Birth-day with extraordinary Magnificence, 199. Privately orders Pelusium to be surrendered to Octavius, 201. Offers to betray Alexandria.

and Antony to him, 201. and actually betrays her Fleet, 202. To avoid Antony's Wrath, she flies to her Tomb, and shuts herself up in it, *ib.* Receives the dying Antony into her Tomb, 204. Her Behaviour at his Death, *ib.* She is surprized and seized by Proculeius, 206. Her Interview with Octavius, 208. Disappointed in all her Views, she kills herself, 211. Her Character, 212. Her Posterity, 216.

Cleopatra Selene, Daughter of the famous Cleopatra, married to Juba, iii. 216.

Clients and *Patrons* first instituted by Romulus, i. 17. Good Effects of this Institution, *ib.* Their reciprocal Duties, *ib.*

Clodius Pulcher, concerned in the Murder of Cicero, his Character, iii. 339.

Clodius, Son of the former, his Death and Character, iii. 340.

Cocles (Horatius). See *Horatius Cocles*.

Cæpio. See *Cæpio*.

Colonies (the) of the Romans, were one of the great Means of securing their Conquests, i. 106. Of what Sort of Men they consisted, *ib.* How preserved in distant Countries, 108. How different after the Romans were corrupted by Luxury, 158. Manner of founding them, 236.

Comedies, the best Roman, in the Augustan Age, were written by C. Funtanius, iii. 75.

Commagene (the Kingdom of), its Situation, ii. 415. Invaded by Ventidius, *ib.*

Constantine Porphyrogenetes, Remark on his *Treatise of Advice* to his Son and Successor, ii. 369.

Constitution (the) of the Romans, compared with the British Constitution, i. 39—112, 143. An original Defect in the former, which at last brought on their Loss of Freedom, *ib.* & 194. Was quite unhinged by the Admission of the Plebeians to the Consulship, 132. and entirely destroyed by seditious Tribunes, *ib.* Another Defect in it, 134. Excellence and Happiness of the British Constitution, 144, & *seq.* &

195. The Form of the Roman substituted after the Reality was lost, 165.
Consuls, Origin of their Institution, i. 55. Which did not, at first, make any essential Alteration in the general Plan of the Government, *ib.* Their Power, Privileges, Ensigns of Dignity, &c. 58, 177. Were under the Direction of the Senate in the Exercise of their Office, and accountable to the People at the Expiration of it, 59—63. Were sometimes invested with the Dictatorship, 66. Preferable to Kings, 90. Advantages of their commanding only for one Year, 91. Their high Office laid open to the Plebeians, 132.
Cornelius, his fine Rebuke to Plancus, when this last was railing against Antony, iii. 154.
Cornille, his Judgment of the Poet Lucan, iii. 312. His Tragedy of Cinna one of his finest Performances, 509.
Cornificius (L.), one of Octavius's Admirals, loses his finest Ship in a Storm, ii. 418. His signal Bravery against the Pompeian Fleet, 421. Escapes; by his Fortitude and Prudence, the greatest of Dangers, when left in Sicily by Octavius's defeated Fleet, 448. How rewarded, after his Return to Rome, *ib.*
Cornificius (Q.) a zealous Friend to the Commonwealth, is joined in Africa by several of the most distinguished Romans, ii. 2. His Character and Writings, 60; 65, & *seq.* Was first distinguished and promoted under Julius Cæsar, 66. After whose Removal, he ardently embraced the Cause of Liberty, 67. Lived in strict Union with M. T. Cicero, *ib.* Defeats the Enemies of the Republic in Africa, 67, & *seq.* But is afterwards defeated by them, and killed in the Battle, 70—75. His great Worth, 75. He was the last Governor of Africa of the Senate's appointing, *ib.*
Cervinus (M. Val. Messala) escapes the Proscription, and goes over to Cæsius, ii. 2. Cicero's Character of him, 13. Escapes the bloody Havock at Philippi, 197. Is afterwards very formidable to the Triumvirs, 198. His Character,

ib. He is won over to Antony's Party, *ib.* Pleads before Antony in Favour of Herod, 242.
Craffitius (L.) who assumed the Surname of Panfa, excelled in Poetry in the Augustan Age, ii. 257. Some Account and Character of his Writings, 258.
Craffus (M.) his Character, i. 174. Joins with Cæsar and Pompey, 175.
Craffus (P. Canidius) quarrels with Pharnabazæ King of Iberia, and attacks Zober King of Albany, iii. 2. Reconquers Albany, and takes Zober Prisoner, 3.
Cremutius Cordus, his Character, as a Man, and as a Writer, iii. 312, 313. Driven to death by Tiberius, at the Instigation of Sejanus, 313. His noble Speech before the Senate, 314.
Cromwell (Oliver) to what he owed his Rise, i. 142.
Crown (the Civic), why held in so high Honour by the Romans, i. 87.
Crown (the Rostral) what, ii. 455.
Curiones (the) were Inspectors over the Pagi, into which the People were divided by Numa, i. 34.
Curule Ediles, see *Ediles*.
Cytheris, Virgil's Lycoris, a celebrated Mima, and Lady of Pleasure in Rome, iii. 380.
Cyzicus (the People of) punished by Augustus; and why, iii. 326. Restored to their former Privileges, 393.

D.

D*ALMATIA* (the Country of) described, iii. 92, & *seq.*
Dalmatians (the) reduced by Asinius Pollio, iii. 83—85. Resume their Arms, 91. Reduced by Octavius Cæsar, 91—102. Revolt again, 512. Are defeated, 513. And totally subdued by Tiberius, 515.
Dalminium, the ancient Capital of Dalmatia, destroyed by M. Figulus, iii. 83.
Decidius Saxa and Norbanus Flaccus, both Cæsaræans, pass over to Macedonia with eight Legions, ii. 101. Their Characters; *ib.* Saxa defeated and killed by the Parthians, 310.

Deictarus,

Dei. Larus, King of Galatia, his History, ii. 31, & *seq.* Held the first Rank among the Confederates in Brutus's Camp, 120. His Lieutenant Amyntas deserts to M. Antony, 168. We lose sight of him after his junction with Brutus, 208. His Dominions were shared between his Grand-son Cassor and the Traitor Amyntas, *ibid.* He leaves Antony, and goes over to Octavius, iii. 168.

Dellius (Q.) sent by M. Antony to cite Cleopatra to appear before him at Tarsus, ii. 226. Accompanies Herod in his Return to Judea, 396. Was probably very intimate with Cleopatra, iii. 8. His treacherous Doings at Herod's Court, 113, & *seq.* He deserts Antony, and goes over to Octavius, 157, 168.

Delos (the Island of), a great Market for Slaves, ii. 27.

Demetrius, S. Pompey's Admiral, is defeated by M. Agrippa, and kills himself, ii. 451.

Design (the Author's) in writing these Memoirs, i. 4. & *Preface to Vol. ii.*

Diadem (the) of the ancient Kings, was a white Fillet, i. 256, *note* *.

Diana (the Ephesian) the same as the Egyptian Isis, ii. 237, *note* *.

Dictator, Reasons of the Romans for choosing one, i. 65. His Power was absolute, *ib.*

Dictatorship (the) was sometimes given to the Consuls, i. 66.

Diodesus, surnamed Tryphon, causes Antiochus to be proclaimed King of Syria, then poisons him, usurps his Throne, is defeated, and kills himself, ii. 26, 27. First taught the Cilicians to become Pyrates, 27.

Dion Cassius guilty of palpable Falshoods, in order to defame Cicero, and flatter the Cesarean Successors, i. 315. His Character as an Historian, 305.

Domitius (L.) rewarded with the Ornaments of Triumph, for his Expedition against the Germans, iii. 431.

Dolabella opposes Octavius, i. 220. His Character, 222. He and M. Antony agree to share the supreme Power, *ib.* Quells a Riot, 231. Traitorously takes

Smyrna by Surprise, and murders the Proconsul Trebonius, 294. Is declared an Enemy to his Country, 320. Ravages Syria, and is killed in Laodicea, 353. His private Correspondence with Cleopatra, iii. 211.

Drusmagus, now Memmingen in Suabia, a Roman Colony, iii. 392.

Drusus, Brother to Tiberius, distinguished by the Senate, iii. 337. Sent against the Rheti and Vindelici, 390. Whom he subdues, 391. Numbers the Gauls, 401. Would gladly have restored the Liberty of the Commonwealth, 417, 423. Is finely celebrated by Horace, 418. Quiets Gaul, 424. His Campaigns in Germany, 425, & *seq.* His Death, 427. Funeral Honours, 428. Family and Character, 429.

Dryden (John) much mistaken in regard to Virgil, iii. 347.

Dutch (the) once great, but now sunk very low, i. 141.

E.

E*DILES* (the) chosen from among the Patricians, ii. 70. The Curule, Origin of their Name, 71. Their Functions, *ib.*

Education (the) of the British Youth, a great Defect in, ii. 378. That of the Romans chiefly managed by Greek Preceptors, 353.

Egypt becomes a Roman Province, iii. 220. Its Importance, 221. How governed by Octavius's Direction, *ibid.* Pliny's Description of Egypt, *ib.* Never so happy as under the Roman Government, 223.

Eloquence (State of the Roman) in the Augustan Age, ii. 255. Where found, and how formed, iii. 312. Instanced in Demosthenes and Cicero, *ib.* Must be fed like a Flame, 371. Was looked upon by the Ancients as a dangerous Talent, *ib.*

Emperor, Origin of the Title of, among the Romans, iii. 264. Power annexed to it, *ib.* & 265.

Empire, the Roman State of, ii. 425. iii. 433. Elegantly and artfully described by Horace, ii. 425.

I N D E X.

- Emulation*, the great Source of noble Actions, i. 91.
- Æneid* (the) compared with Lucan's *Pharsalia*, iii. 312.
- England*, peculiar Happiness of the Constitution of, ii. 149, 195.
- Ennius*, the Poet, his Saying of the Romans of his Days, i. 159. Some Account of his Writings, iii. 36—43. was one of the most original of the Roman Poets, 343.
- Enobarbus* (Domitius) escapes the Proscription, and goes over to M. Brutus, ii. 2. Under whom he has a high Command, 15. Gains, with S. Marcus, a complete Victory over the Cæsarean Fleet, 160—162. Is formidable to the Triumvirs after the Battle of Philippi, 198. Divides the Fleet of the Republicans with his Collegue Marcus, 201. Reduces Rome to great Distress, 251. Joins M. Antony, 312. Is made Governor of Bythinia, 321. Restored to his Honours and Estate, 323. Advises Antony to send away Cleopatra, iii. 143. But his Advice is overruled by Canidius, 144. Leaves Rome, when Consul, and goes over to Antony, 148. Leaves Antony, and joins Octavius, 168. Dies within a few Days after, *ib.*
- Enos*, of Ascoli, finds Horace's famed Interpreter Porphyrio, iii. 280.
- Epicureans*, Difference between those vulgarly so called, and the real Disciples of Epicurus, i. 244. Whose Principles are greatly mistaken in general, iii. 474.
- Epicurus*, the Philosopher, was the very reverse of what is commonly supposed, iii. 474.
- Equestrian Order* (the) Origin of, i. 73. Had not Power enough at Rome, *ib.* The Guardian of Liberty, whilst attached to the Senate, *ib.* Farmed the Public Revenues, 74. Was one of the three great Bodies of the Republic under the Consular Government, *ibid.* Reviewed, and greatly countenanced by Augustus, iii. 556.
- Æthiopians* (the) send an Embassy to Augustus, iii. 325. Some Account of them, *ib.* Are easily defeated by the Romans, 326.
- Ethnarch*, the Title of, given to one of Herod's Sons, iii. 480.
- Etrurians* (the) strongly oppose the infant Establishment of Rome, i. 14.
- Eumenius*, the celebrated Orator, was Professor of Eloquence at Autun, iii. 393. His Salary, *ib.* Which he generously bestowed upon his School, *ib.*
- Euthydemus* of Mylessa, his excellent Character and great Power, ii. 382.
- Eutycles* pursues M. Antony after the Battle of Actium, iii. 185.

F.

- FABIUS Maximus**, Augustus's last favourite Minister, iii. 531. His Death, 543.
- Fasael* appointed Tetrarch of Judea, with his Brother Herod, by M. Antony, ii. 242. Deceived by Pacorus, and thrown into a Dungeon, where he dashes out his own Brains, 390.
- Father* of his Country (the Title of) given to Augustus, iii. 448.
- Fathers* (the Appellation of) given to the first Roman Senators, i. 15. Who govern for some Time after the Death of Romulus, 21. But, to please the Commons, agree to elect a new King, 22.
- Fate* and Fortune (the dastardly Opinion of) easily and naturally adopted by weak and narrow Minds, ii. 323. Idly laid a great Stress upon by the latter Greek and Roman Historians, 334. & seq.
- Favonius* (M.) ends a warm Dispute between Brutus and Cassius, ii. 109. Some Account of him, *ib.* His noble Behaviour, when put to Death by the Triumvirs Antony and Cesar, 194.
- Fenelon*, his excellent Definition of Reasons of State, iii. 323.
- Fidenates* (the) oppose the infant Establishment of Rome, i. 14.
- Figulus* (P. Nigidius) his pretended Prophecy concerning Octavius, iii. 229.
- Fires*, Augustus's Care to prevent them at Rome, iii. 443.
- Flaccus* (Verrius) the Grammarian, particularly favoured by Augustus, iii.

497. Particulars concerning him,
498.
Flamens, three, instituted by Numa, i.
25.
Flavius (C.) his bold Behaviour in op-
posing Julius Cesar, i. 255. His
Command under Brutus, in Asia, ii.
15.
Flavius (Cesetius) the Father, his noble
Answer to the Dictator Cesar, i. 256.
Was a firm Friend to Brutus, *ib.* Sent
to Atticus to propose the getting rid of
M. Antony, 257.
Fortune, an Altar erected to, in Compli-
ment to Augustus, iii. 334. Was de-
servedly revered by Augustus, *ib.* Re-
flections on the Subject of Fortune,
336, 337. Hannibal's excellent Say-
ing relative to Fortune, 337.
France, Parallel between its Government
and that of Venice, i. 39, & *seq.*
Aims in vain at Universal Monarchy,
118, & *seq.*
Fregellans (the) oppose the infant Estab-
lishment of Rome, i. 14.
Frethifhemius, Character of. his Contin-
uation of Livy, iii. 306.
Frisons (the) Situation, Manners, &c.
of, iii. 419.
Fulvia, Wife to M. Antony, her bloody
Cruelty during the Execution of the
horrid Proscription, i. 375. Her shock-
ing Barbarity upon receiving Cicero's
Head, 382. Her ill Treatment of Hor-
tensia, and the Roman Ladies, ii. 88.
Assisted, when in great Distress, by
T. Pomponius Atticus, 93. Usurps
all Power in Rome, 247. Raises a
violent Clamour against Octavius,
248. Said to have made very tender
Advances to him, 267. Resolves, with
her Brother L. Antony, to breed new
Disturbances, in order to bring her
Husband back from Cleopatra, 268.
Raises a violent Storm against Octavi-
us, 282. Dissuades L. Antony, from
appearing before the Antonian Officers,
who had taken upon them to determine
the Difference between him and Octa-
vius, 284. Which makes them declare
flatly for the young Cesar, 285. Puts
a stop to all Negotiations between Oc-

tavius and L. Antony, 286. Throws
aside the Woman, and acts the Part
of a Military Commander, 290. Flies
from Italy, after the Surrender of Pe-
rugia, 304. Her Character; that of her
Family, and her Marriages, 304, &
seq. Goes to M. Antony at Athens,
where, provoked by his Behaviour,
she dies of Rage and Despair, 310,
311.
Fulvia, Wife of Clodius Pulcher, her
Character as a Virago, iii. 339, 340.
Fundanius (C.) was the best comic
Writer in the Augustan Age, iii. 75.
Furnius sent against the Cantabrians, iii.
285.

G.

G*ADILONE*, a Province of the
Lesser Armenia; described, ii. 27.
note *
Galba (L. Sergius) escapes the Proscrip-
tion, and goes over to Cassius, ii.
2. Is restored by the Peace of Misen-
no, 348.
Gallio (Junius Annaeus) some Account
of him and of his Writings, iii. 459.
Gallus (Canidius), see *Canidius Gallus*.
Gaius (Cornelius), was attached to Au-
gustus from his first setting out in Life,
i. 355. Was once M. Brutus's Rival
in Love, ii. 113. Wisely persuades Oc-
tavius to write a mild Letter to the Se-
nate, 247. Protects the Poet Virgil,
introduces him to Mecenas, and, with
that Minister, presents him to Octavi-
us, 254. Enters Egypt in concert with
Octavius, iii. 197. Takes Possession
of Paretonium, 199. Entraps Antony's
remaining Fleet, 200. Is made Go-
vernor of Egypt, 223. His Character,
ib. 270, 271. He is said to have con-
spired against Augustus, 271. But in-
discreet Speeches seem to have been his
greatest Crime, *ib.* & 272. He is re-
called, 272. And banished, *ib.* Kills
himself, 273. Particulars concerning
him, and Defence of his Character,
272, 273, 277. Wherein like Asini-
us Pollio, 439.
Gallus (Elius) Prefect. of Egypt, iii.
272. Marches against Arabia Felix,
4 F 2 *ibid.*

- ibid.* A most unfortunate Expedition, 325.
- Games* (the Trojan) described, iii. 242.
- Games and Shews, the common Way of courting the People, i. 248.
- Garamanti* (the) a People of Africa, conquered by L. Balbus, iii. 339.
- Gaul* extended and regulated by Augustus, iii. 268.
- Gauls* (the) leave Rome scarce three successive Years of Peace in the Course of four Centuries, i. 14. Why less brave than the Germans, iii. 421. Pacified by Drusus, 424. Erect a famous Monument to Augustus, *ib.*
- Geminus*, sent to Antony by the Romans, is most insolently treated by Cleopatra, iii. 156.
- Geometry*, in high Repute among the Grecians, iii. 47.
- Germanicus* adopted by Tiberius, iii. 504. Whom he is sent to join against the Pannonians and Dalmatians, 514. In which War he distinguishes himself, 515. Honours decreed him for his Exploits, 518. He is appointed Commander in chief of all the Forces in Germany, 535.
- Germans* (the) Comotions of, iii. 384. Think themselves, and whiv, much better than the Gauls, 421. Duration of their Wars with the Romans, 422, & *seq.* Invaded by Drusus, 425, & *seqq.* And quelled by Tiberius, 431, 516.
- Germany*, the ancient Boundaries, Divisions and Inhabitants of, iii. 419, & *seqq.* How awed by the Romans, 535.
- Gladiators* (the Roman) what sort of Men, iii. 266. Their Fate mitigated by Augustus, 558.
- Government*, general View of the Roman, i. 58, & *seq.* Parallel between the Government of the Romans, when in its greatest Perfection, and the present Government of Great Britain, 39—112, 144, & *seq.* Was too much blended between the Senate and the People, 131. Defects in it, 144, & *seq.* Became, from the justest and best that ever was, through the Vices consequent on too much Prosperity, the
- the most cruel and intolerable Yoke in the World, 162. Was greatly bettered by four of Sylla's Laws, but again depraved by Julius Cesar, 167. Totally subverted by the Triumvirate of Cesar, Pompey, and Crassus, 185. Its Situation at the Time of Cesar's Death, 200, & *seq.* Is changed into a mere Stiatocracy, through the lawless Power of the Soldiery, ii. 269. Reflections on Government in General, iii. 316, 317, 323.
- Gracchus* (Sempronius) severely beaten by Augustus, and banished, for his Intrigue with Julia, iii. 485, 487.
- Grammont* (the Count of) his wife Rebuke to some sycophant Courtiers who were flattering Lewis XIV. ii. 360.
- Grecians* (the) became by Degrees the sole Managers of the Roman Education, ii. 353. Character of the Learned among them about the Time of Augustus, iii. 470.
- Guarino* (Alessandro) a sycophant Writer, i. 317.
- Gyarus* (the Island of) sends a remarkable Embassy to Augustus, iii. 324.

H.

- HABEAS** Corpus Act (the) of the English, how compensated in the Roman Government, i. 144.
- Hannibal*, an excellent Saying of, relative to Fortune, iii. 337.
- Henrietta*, Duchess of Orleans, not unlike the elder Julia in her Character, iii. 322.
- Heralds* (the College of) a noble Institution, i. 105. Their Office, *ib.*
- Hernicians* (the) oppose the infant Establishment of Rome, i. 14.
- Hered the Great*, Beginning of his Story, ii. 209, & *seq.* His Origin, 210. Is appointed Governor of Galilee, 215. His Conduct, *ib.* He secures Antony's Favour, 217. He and his Brother declared Tetrarchs of Judea, 242. Divorces his Wife Doris, and marries Mariamne, 241. Who Mariamne was, *ib.* Is hated by the Jews, and why, 385. Is in great Danger of his Life, through the means of Antigonus, 386.
- His.

I N D E X.

- His surprising Escape with Mariamne and her Mother, 387—389. Goes to Rome, and applies to his Patron M. Antony, 394. Is presented to the Roman Senate, and declared King of all Judea, 395. Sets out for Judea, 395. Defeats the treacherous Designs of Ventidius, *ib.* Drives the Parthians from before Mazada, and delivers his Bride and Family, 397. Joins M. Antony at the Siege of Samosata, 415—416. Lays siege to Jerusalem, *iii.* 3. Makes a sudden Excursion to Samaria, to consummate his Marriage with Mariamne, *ib.* Returns, takes Jerusalem, and with it his Rival Antigonus, 4. Is excessively disliked by his Subjects, 5. Splendor of his Court, 112. His unhappy Situation, occasioned by his own Family, *ib.* Procures the Death of his Brother-in-law Aristobulus, 115, 116. Summoned to answer for it before M. Antony, 116. Leaves his Kingdom under the Care of his Uncle, with a terrible Charge concerning Mariamne, 117. How received by Antony, *ibid.* & *seq.* Returns, highly pleased with the Triumvir, *ibid.* But finds strange Confusion in his own Family, 118. Orders his Uncle Joseph to be put to death, and Alexandra to be loaded with Chains, 119. Is greatly embarrassed by a Visit from Cleopatra, 120. Assists Antony against Octavius, 163. His noble Behaviour before Octavius at Rhodes, 193. Where he obtains his Pardon, 195. Receives Octavius magnificently in Judea, 196. His Death, 479. Offspring, and Will, *ib.* Augustus's Saying of him, *ib.*
- Hirtius* (A.) opposes Octavius, *i.* 220. His Letter to Cicero, 259. Was Author of a Supplement to Julius Cesar's Memoirs, 276. Character of this Work, *ib.* Marches against M. Antony, by Order of the Senate, 318. Detects Spies, sent into Modena by M. Antony, *ib.* Stratagems, by which he carries on a Correspondence with D. Brutus besieged in Modena, 319. Defeats M. Antony, 326. And forces his Camp, but is unfortunately killed in the Engagement, 334. His Character, 335.
- Historians* (the Roman) suppress the Conduct and Successes of their Enemies, in order to set off the Valour of their own Nation, *ii.* 391.
- Homer* strictly true in the Genealogy of his Heroes, *iii.* 242. Difference therein betwixt him and Virgil, *ibid.*
- Horace* (Q. Horatius Flaccus) excelled in the Science of Men, *i.* 5. Of which he made an excellent Use, *ib.* His Temper, Wit, Taste, and Learning, *ib.* Might have advanced higher than he did, if he had chosen it, *ib.* A better Acquaintance with the chief Persons of his Days, would make us read his Writings with higher Relish, *ib.* Was first taken notice of at Athens, by M. Brutus, who soon after gave him the Command of a Legion, 299. Was Tribune of a Legion under M. Brutus, in Asia, *ii.* 16. A Passage in one of his Odes explained, 59, *note* *. Quitted the Military Profession after the Battle of Philippi, 199, 200. Obtains his Pardon of Octavius, through Mæcenæ's Intercession, chiefly at the Request of Virgil, 314, 315. Grows greatly into Favour with Mæcenæ, 354. Was very instrumental in taming the savage Cesar, 356. Remarks on some of his Odes written in that View, 356, 425, 455. Took the Hint of his Sermones from the Satirist Lucilius's Works, *iii.* 53. His Account of his Journey to Brindisi, 57. Character of his Satires and Epistles, 60, & *seq.* Observations on the Usefulness and Excellency of his Writings, 64. Brought Satire to its Perfection, and for what Reason, 66. Remarks on his Fifth Satire, 67. He imitated the Greeks in his Writings, 274. His famed Interpreter Porphyrio found by Enos of Ascoli, 280. His Death, 463. He is buried with Mæcenæ, *ib.* His Character, and that of his Writings, *ib.* & *seq.*
- Horatius Codes*, a matchless Instance of the invincible Virtue which Liberty inspires, *i.* 76.

Hortensia, at the Head of the Roman Ladies, boldly remonstrates to the Triumvirs the Injustice of a Tax they had laid upon her Sex, ii. 89. Her noble Speech on that Occasion, *ib.*

Hortensius, Pretor of Macedon, escapes the Proscription; and goes over to Brutus, ii. 2. Suspected of having ordered the beheading of C. Antony, 51. Upon whose Tomb he is himself butchered by Order of M. Antony, 195.

Hortensius (M.) his Character iii. 340.

Hortensius (Q.) his great Character as an Orator, ii. 88. Yields the first Place to Cicero, 89.

Hortensius Corbho, Son of the former, his Character, iii. 340.

Husbandry thought the noblest of Professions by the Romans, iii. 26, & *seq.* That and Arms their chief Employment, *ib.*

Hybreas, the great Orator of Mylassa, his Rise, History and Character, ii. 382. His remarkable Behaviour to M. Antony, 400.

Hyrcanus, High Priest of the Jews, traiterously deceived by the Parthian Prince Pacorus, and inhumanly treated by the Usurper Antigonus, ii. 390.

I.

JANUS (the Temple of) shut but twice from the founding of Rome to the Age of Augustus, i. 99. Shut, by Order of the Senate, after Octavius's Conquest of Egypt, iii. 234. Re-opened by Augustus, 282. And again closed by him, 432.

Iberia, now Gourgistan, described, iii. 2. Invaded by P. Canidius Crassus, *ibid.*

Illius, a Senator, his noble Courage in the Face of the Usurper Octavius, i. 359.

Jerusalem besieged by Herod the Great, iii. 3. And taken by Storm, 4.

JESUS CHRIST, the Birth of, iii. 479.

Jews (the) send an Embassy to M. Antony, and on what Occasion, ii. 208, & *seq.* Send a second Embassy, but again to no Effect, 241. A remarkable

Instance of their stubborn Temper, 242. Remarkable for hating their Neighbours, and particularly the Samaritans and Idumeans, 385. Seem to have been the most unhappy People that ever settled in a Commonwealth, 391. View of their Misfortunes, from the Time of their great Founder, to their being destroyed by Titus, *ib.* & *seq.*

Jonia (the States of) accede to the Cause of Liberty under Brutus and Cassius, ii. 47.

Josephus, the Jewish Historian, wrote his History first in his Mother Tongue, which was the corrupt Syriac, and afterwards translated it into Greek, 235. His Reason for making that Translation, *ib.*

Iras, one of Cleopatra's Women; kills herself on the Death of her Mistress, iii. 212.

Ifts and *Osiris* (the) of the Egyptians, were called *Apollo* and *Diana* in Greece and Italy, and signified the *Sun* and the *Moon*, the most ancient of the heathen Gods, ii. 237, *Note* *.

Italians, Character of the present, i. 47, & *seq.*

Italy, the Situation of, i. 47. Described, 47, 48, & *seq.* The Nature of its ancient Inhabitants not wholly changed, 49, & *seq.* Those Inhabitants were a Mixture of many Nations, 78. Spirit of its first Inhabitants, 49. Afflicted with pestilential Distempers, iii. 302.

Juba, the younger, married to Cleopatra Selene, iii. 216. His Pedigree, *ib.* and Learning, 217.

Julia, the Daughter of Augustus, married to his Nephew M. Marcellus, iii. 288. and after his Death to M. Agrippa, 322. Resembled by Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, *ib.* Is delivered of a Son, Caius Cesar, 331. And of a second, Lucius, 383. Is married to Tiberius, 412. Her Lewdness made known to Augustus, 480. Her excessive Debauchery, 482, & *seq.* She is banished to the Island of Pandateria, 487. and there starved to Death by Tiberius, *ib.* Reflections on her Guilt, 488.

Julia,

the younger, begins to follow the Example of her Mother, iii. 566. excessive Debaucheries, 527. She finished, *ib.* Supported in her Ex- by the artful Livia, *ib.* Law, (the), iii. 378. Caesar, see *Cesar*.

Antonia, see *Antonia Filia*. Daughter of Servilia by M. Junius Brutus, her Gallantries, i. 264. *Tertia*, or *Tertulla*, Wife to C. Cassius, unjustly charged with culpa- Gallantries, i. 265.

one of the great Bulwarks of the Liberty and Liberties of the English, i. 3. The Romans had something equivalent to them, *ib.*

the great Means by which the Romans secured their Conquests, i. 105.

seq. *Antonia*, Reflections on the Laws of, 365.

K
CALENDAR, the first which the Romans had was formed by Numa Pompilius, i. 24.

Knowledge, the most useful in Life is that which is acquired by a joint Study of Books and of Men, i. 1. Ill Consequences of not attending to this Rule, *ib.*

Legions (the Roman). See *Equestrian Order*.

L.
LABEO (Antistius), the Marston, kills his Son and himself, to avoid falling into the Hands of the Triumvirs, ii. 195.

Labio (the Roman) sees his own Grave dug, writes to his Wife and Children, and then kills himself, to avoid falling into the Hands of the Triumvirs, ii. 196.

Labio (Antistius) his rough Behaviour and Answers to Augustus, iii. 354. His Character, 355.

Labienus (T.), sent upon an Embassy to Parthia, ii. 380. Conquers Syria, and defeats Antony's Troops there, 381. Over-runs all Asia, and takes most of its Towns, 382. Is surprised in Cilicia by M. Antony's Commander, 411, &

seq. Escapes to the Mountains, but is discovered and killed, 412.

Labienus (T.) a zealous Assertor of Liberty, and a great Orator, iii. 358. His Writings, Death, and Character, *ib.* 359.

Lacedemon, the Government of, compared to that of Venice, i. 148.

Lacedemonians (the) rewarded for their Hospitality to Livia, iii. 324.

Law, the *Papian Poppæan*, iii. 365. The

Circian, 368, 378. The *Lex Caducaria*,

or Law of Forfeits, 359. The *Julian*

378. Concerning Slaves, 389, 440.

Concerning Wills, 445. Origin and

principal Branches of the Roman Law, 370.

Laws, an original Defect in those of the

Romans, i. 134. The Prince is not ex-

empted from the Laws, iii. 366, & *seqq.*

Lawyers forbid to receive either Money or

Presents from their Clients, iii. 378.

Learning, a Prodigy among the ancient

Romans, i. 136. First crept in, among

them, by the Door of *Superstition*, iii.

32, & *seq.* Andronicus and Ennius the

first Parents of it among the Romans,

43, 44. Its Progress, 44. When, and

by whom revived in the West, 279,

280. How encouraged by Augustus,

375.

Lentulus, two of this Name escape the

Proscription and go over to Brutus, ii. 2.

Whose Admiral the elder is made, 15.

Lentulus, (Cn. Cornelius), enriched by

Augustus, but proves ungrateful, iii.

393. His Character, *ib.*

Lepidus (Paulus Emilius) conspires against

Augustus, iii. 225. Is detected by

Mæcenæ, and put to Death, *ib.*

Lepidus (M.) his Character, Power, and

Opposition to Octavius, i. 220. His

Perfidy, 362. Declared an Enemy to

his Country, 367. Interview between

him, M. Antony, and Octavius, 369.

In which they form the *Second Trium-*

virate, 370. Terms and Conditions of

their iniquitous Compact, *ib.* Whilst

one of the Triumvirs, he was chiefly

intent upon amassing Money, ii. 82.

Retires to Africa, which was allotted

him, 326. Invades Sicily, in Con-

- cert with Octavius, 441. Shuts up Pompey's General, Plennius, in Lily-beo, 442. Plunders Messina, 452. Declares against Octavius, prepares to attack him, is deserted by his Troops, stripped of all Command, and banished to Circeio; 453. His excellent Behaviour in Defence of his Wife, iii. 226. Is treated meanly by Augustus, 360. Vacates the Office of High-priest, by his Death, 406.
- Leucate*, (the Promontory of), the famous Lover's Leap, iii. 179.
- Levies* (the) of the Romans, described, iii. 351.
- Lewis XI.* of France, his Credulity, iii. 230.
- Lewis XIV.* his Ambition, Imprudence in War, and ill-judged Cruelty to his Subjects, i. 118, & seq. His Perfidy, 121. Forced to give up his Conquests, 122. Parallel between him and Philip II. of Spain, at the End of their Reigns, 123. Fulsomely flattered by his Courtiers, 126. Was mean in not pardoning the Chevalier de Rohan, iii. 509. Could be as intent upon Trifles, as upon great Affairs, 552.
- Liberty*, Definition of, i. 44. Herodotus's Observation concerning it verified in the Romans, 76. Instances of the invincible Virtue which it inspires, *ib.* Proofs that Liberty, Virtue, and true Grandeur are indissolubly linked by Nature, 113. How valuable to Britons, 143. Greater, and better secured, in the British Constitution, than in the Roman, and how, 144. The last Day of the Roman, was that on which Octavius was appointed Consul, 358. Takes her final Flight from Rome, 382. Would probably have been restored, if Cassius's Advice had been followed, ii. 110. Received its mortal Blow by the Peace of Miseno, and Restoration of the proscribed Republicans, 361, & seq. How nearly connected with the Manners of the People, 364, & seq. Instantiated in the Revolutions of Spain, *ib.* Constantine Porphyrogenetes's Treatise of Advices to his Son, *ib.* The Emperor Arcadius's Will, and the Behaviour of Anatolius, *ib.* Cannot be securely maintained but by Temperance and Industry, 373. Consequences of the Loss of it among the Romans, iii. 402.
- Libo* (L. Scribonius) endeavours to negotiate a Peace between S. Pompey and Octavius, ii. 336. Is restored by the Peace of Miseno, 348.
- Library*, the famous Alexandrian, iii. 276. Burnt, *ib.*
- Licinia*, see *Ferentina*.
- Licinius*, Intendant of Gaul, escapes Punishment by bribing Augustus, iii. 387.
- Livia*, taken from her Husband, and married to Octavius, ii. 342, & seq. An odd Accident at the nuptial Feast, 344. May not be quite innocent in regard to the Death of Marcellus, iii. 295. Sadly mortified by the Birth of Caius Cesar, 331. Her extreme Complaisance to Augustus, 386. Behaviour upon the Death of her Son Drusus, 452. Advises Augustus to pardon Cinna, 507. Her artful Behaviour towards Augustus's Children, 527. Seems to have been unjustly suspected of poisoning Augustus, 542. Over whom she had an entire Ascendant, 544. The Cause of which is accounted for, 545. Sketch of her Life and Character, 548, 549.
- Livian Drusus*, Chief of the Livian Family, kills himself, to avoid falling into the Hands of the Triumvirs, ii. 196.
- Livy*, the Historian, Particulars concerning him and his Writings, iii. 310, 311. Character of Freinshemius's Continuation of his History, 306.
- Lellius* (M.) his Character, iii. 423, 492, 493. Is defeated by the Germans, 423. Appointed to direct Caius Cesar in his Expedition to Armenia, 492. Where his Villainy is discovered, and he dies, 495.
- Lombards*, (the) subdued by Tiberius, iii. 510. Their then Situation, *ib.*
- Læth* (Dr.), his Opinion of Virgil's Poetry, iii. 347.
- Lucan*, the Poet, Character of, and of his Writings, iii. 312. Comparison of his Pharsalia and Virgil's Æneid, *ib.*

- Luceius* (Quintius), Father of the Consul Lucius Antony, ii. 329.
- Lucian*, Writer of the Dialogues, where born, ii. 415.
- Lucilius* (Caius), the first satyrical Poet, iii. 49. Some Account of him and of his Writings, *ib.* & *seq.* His Works were the Model of the inimitable *Sermons* of Horace, 467. Whose great Guide he was, *ib.*
- Lucilius* and Aristocrates, M. Antony's only Companions at Paretonium, iii. 186.
- Lucius Cæsar*, condemned by the Triumvirate, but saved by his Nephew M. Antony, ii. 94.
- Lucius Cæsar*, Son of Agrippa and Julia, his Birth, iii. 383. Is adopted by Augustus, *ib.* To whom he begins to give great Uneasiness, 475. Receives the manly Robe, and the same Honours as his Brother Caius, 480. His Death, 496.
- Lucinus* (Lucilius) his noble Generosity to M. Brutus, ii. 172.
- Lucretia*, the Story of, i. 52.
- Lucretius* (the Poet) Character of the Writings of, iii. 470.
- Lucullus* (L.) endeavours to oppose Julius Cæsar's unjust Proceedings, i. 180.
- Lucullus*, the Younger, escapes the Proscription, and goes over to Brutus, ii. 2. Beheaded by Order of M. Antony, 193.
- Luxury*, the Ruin of the Romans, was first learnt by their Intercourse with the East, i. 138, 156: & *seq.* 164. iii. 372, 373, & *seqq.* Was a Consequence of their Loss of Liberty, 374. How checked by Augustus, 378.
- Lycian Cantons* (the), of what composed, ii. 30. Refuse Assistance to Cassius, *ib.* Are conquered by M. Brutus, 31, 47.
- Lycoris*, see *Cytheris*.
- Lyons* (the City of) when and by whom founded, iii. 303.

M.

MÆCENAS, see *Mecenas*.
Magistrates, the Roman, their Powers not sufficiently determined, i. 34.

- Mamurra*, a great Favourite with Cæsar, ii. 426. His Turn for Architecture, 429. Invented the Art of incrusting with Marble, *ib.*
- Manilius*, see *Manlius*.
- Manlius*, the Mathematician, erects one of the Alexandrian Obelisks at Rome, iii. 277.
- Manners and Customs* (the) of the Romans, not sufficiently inquired into by the Generality of Writers, i. 77. Customs taken by them from the Greeks, 79, 80, 82, 83. Improved by the Philosophy of Pythagoras, 84. Polished and corrupted by their Intercourse with the Greeks, 137. Total Change of the Roman Manners, 142, 154, & *seq.* The Poet Ennius's Account of them, 159. Corrupted by Prosperity, 162.
- Man of Pleasure* (a) defined, iii. 473.
- Marcella*, Niece of Octavius, married to M. Agrippa, iii. 253. Divorced by him, and married to Julius Antony, 322.
- Marcellus* (M.), the Elder, how admired by Brutus in his Exile, ii. 141.
- Marcellus* (Caius Claudius), Cousin to the former, was married to Octavius's Sister Octavia, iii. 326. His Character, *ib.* and Offspring, 327.
- Marcellus*, (M.), married to Augustus's Daughter Julia, iii. 288. Premature Honours conferred on him, 289. Is offended at the Preference given to M. Agrippa, 293. Whose Removal he procures, 294. But dies soon after, *ib.* His Character, *ib.* and Funeral, 296.
- Marcomanni* (the) Situation of, iii. 425. Subdued by Drusus, *ib.* Retire into Bohemia, 432. Unexpectedly preserved from a dreadful Attack, 512. Conclude a Treaty with the Romans, *ib.*
- Marcus*, the extraordinary Adventure of, i. 184.
- Maroboduus*, Chief of the Marcomanni, retires with his Countrymen into Bohemia, iii. 432. Where he defies the Roman Power, 511. Concludes a Treaty with the Romans, 512.
- Marseilles*, a second Athens, iii. 496.

Marfyas

Marfyas (the Statue of) impudently crowned by Julia, iii. 484.

Martial (the Poet), his Character, ii. 116. *Note* †. One of his Epigrams explained, 117.

Mathematics, excelled in by the Greeks, iii. 47. Were disregarded by the ancient Romans, *ib*.

Matius (Cn.) his Character, i. 244. His artful Letter to Cicero, 245. Was one of the Chiefs of Octavius's first Council, 355. In high Favour with Cesar, ii. 426. Was the first Inventor of figured Trees and clipped Hedges and Groves, 429.

Matrimony, how defined by the Roman Law, iii. 150. Greatly encouraged by Augustus, 362.

Matronalia, Institution of the Feast so called, i. 20. *Note* *.

Meals (the public) of the Romans, i. 79, 80, 82. Their Origin and Use, *ib*.

Mecenas (C. Cilnius), attached to Augustus, from the Time of his first setting out, i. 355. Wisely persuades him to write a mild Letter to the Senate, ii. 247. Obtains Horace's Pardon, 315. Saves Italy from the Miseries of another War, 317, & *seq.* Is appointed Augustus's Arbitrator between him and M. Antony, 321. Articles of Arbitration, 322. He begins to new model the young Octavians, 348. Sketch of his Character, and of the politic Steps by which he set about that great Work, 349, & *seq.* His House the Resort of Men of Wit and Learning, 354. He makes Use of the Poets, and particularly Horace, as one of the first Means of taming the savage Cesar, 355. His bold and seasonable Reproof to Octavius, 359. He recommends Horace effectually to Octavius Cesar, iii. 82. Is appointed Prefect of Rome, and invested with full Power over all Italy, 135. Detects Lepidus's Conspiracy, 225. Advises Octavius not to resign his Power, 249. His laudable Views in supporting Augustus's Government, 263. He detects the Conspiracy of Cæpio and Muræna, 318. But imprudently divulges it to

his Wife, *ib*. His answer to Augustus, when consulted by him about marrying Agrippa to Julia, 322. He accompanies Augustus into Gaul, 385. Checks his natural Cruelty, 405. His Death, 453. He had partly lost his former Influence with the Emperor, *ib*. Was a Dupe to his Wife, *ib*. His Character, 454, & *seq.* He was too fond of Life, 460. Character of his Writings, *ib*. & 461. Said to have been the Inventor of Short-hand-writing, 461. Justly immortalised by his Protection of Learning, *ib*.

Medal, a most impudent one in Honour of the Triumvirs Cesar, Antony, and Lepidus, ii. 80. A consular one struck by L. Antony, 287. Medals struck by Octavius for his decisive Victory over S. Pompey, iii. 24.

Media, Origin, Strength, &c. of the Kingdom of, iii. 14. Falls under the Dominion of the Parthians, 149.

Mela (Annæus) some Account of, iii. 459.

Memmingen, see *Drusomagus*.

Memoirs (the writing of), a very ancient Custom, iii. 461.

Menas, see *Menodore*.

Menebrates, S. Pompey's Rear-Admiral, attacks the Coasts of Italy, ii. 417. Reduces Rome to great Distress, *ib*. & 418. Is defeated at Sea, and drowns himself, 419.

Menodore, one of S. Pompey's Commanders, makes himself Master of Sardinia, ii. 331. Is traiterously the Cause of Murcus's being put to Death, 336, 337. His traiterous Proposal to S. Pompey, to destroy Antony and Octavius, 339. Betrays Sardinia, Corsica, and his Forces, to Octavius, 417. Conquers S. Pompey's Admiral Menebrates, 419. His prudent Behaviour during a dreadful Storm, 422. Deserts back to S. Pompey, 438, 439. And again to Octavius, 442, 443.

Messala (M.) reduces the Salassi, iii. 133. Refuses a Triumph, *ib*. Is created Prefect of Rome, and invested with full Power over all Italy, 134. But nobly resigns it, as not being legal, *ib*. His

noble Recommendation of the famous
 Orator to Octavius, 135. He joins
 Octavius after the Battle of Actium, 173.
 His fine Declaration on that Occasion,
 ii. 174. Governor of Rome, 387.
 But soon resigns that Office, & Pro-
 claims Augustus Father of his Country,
 448.
 M. Valerius accompanies Octavius
 in his long Journey against Sicily, ii.
 448. His great Generosity to Octa-
 vius, even to his most bitter Enemy, 448.
 M. Valerius defeats the Dalmatians, iii.
 318.
 M. Valerius the City of, barbarously plunder-
 ed by the Transalpine Lepidus, ii. 452.
 M. Valerius, pro- the Proscription, and goes
 over to Brutus, ii. 2. How pardoned
 by Octavius after the Battle of Acti-
 um, iii. 135.
 M. Valerius, outrageously insult-
 ed by a Tribune, iii. 300.
 M. Valerius, the famous Siege of, by Octavius,
 iii. 92. Its Inhabitants destroy their
 City and themselves, 92—95.
 M. Valerius (Dr. Conyer), his Account of
 the Pantheon, iii. 281.
 M. Valerius (the Bay of), famous for the
 decisive Battle between Octavius and
 S. Pompey, ii. 450.
 M. Valerius (John) a genuine original Genius,
 iii. 343. The British Homer, 315.
 M. Valerius, what, among the Romans, iii.
 282.
 M. Valerius, the Peace of, between Octavius
 Cesar, M. Antony, and S. Pompey, ii.
 341. Was the mortal Blow given to
 the Roman Liberty, 361, & seq.
 M. Valerius, the Pergamenian, restored by
 M. Antony to his Tetrarchy, ii. 208.
 M. Valerius, besieged by M. Antony, and de-
 livered by Hirtius and Octavius, i.
 288—334.
 Moderation (the) and Magnanimity of the
 Romans, i. 77, 100.
 M. Valerius puts himself under the Protection
 of M. Antony, iii. 8. And promises to
 guide his Army to Parthia, *ib.*
 Money (*Mœneta*), why so called, iii. 40.
 Mœses, the five Books of, translated into
 Greek by Order of Ptolemy Philadel-
 phus, iii. 276.

Murcus (Statius) gains a complete Victory
 over the Cæsaræan Fleet, ii. 160, &
 seq. Divides the Republican Fleet with
 Domitius Enobarbus, and joins S.
 Pompey, 201. Who basely puts him
 to Death, 336, 337. His Character, *ib.*
 M. Valerius sent against the Salassi, iii. 282.
 Whom he subdues, 283. Conspires
 against Augustus, is discovered, and
 makes his Escape, 316. His Character,
 318.
 M. Valerius (Antonius) cures Augustus of a
 dangerous Illness, iii. 293. And is
 nobly rewarded, *ib.*
 M. Valerius in high Estimation among the
 Greeks, iii. 47.
 M. Valerius, one of the chief Cities of Lycia,
 overcome by Brutus's Generosity, sub-
 mits to him, ii. 46, 47.

N.

NAMES (the) of the Roman Fami-
 lies, how transmitted to their Chil-
 dren; ii. 3. *Note* 1.
 Nations, Causes of their Greatness, and
 of their Decline, i. 50. & seq. 135.
 136, 194.
 N. Valerius (the), Situation, Manners, &c.
 of, iii. 419, & seq.
 Neptune, a magnificent Temple built to,
 by Agrippa, iii. 282.
 N. Valerius (Claudius Tiberius), Father of Ti-
 berius Cesar, after nobly espousing the
 Cause of the Republic, escapes to Si-
 cily, ii. 308, 309. Goes to Rome with
 his Wife Livia, whom Octavius falls in
 Love with, and marries, 342, & seq.
 Dies soon after, probably of Grief, 347.
 N. Valerius (L. Cocceius) negotiates a Recon-
 ciliation between Octavius and M.
 Antony, ii. 317—321. Is appointed
 Umpire between their Arbiters Mœc-
 enas and Pollio, 321. Articles of this
 famous Arbitration, 322.
 N. Valerius (the), Situation, Manners, &c. of,
 iii. 419, & seq.
 Nevius, the Poet, some Account of him
 and of his Writings, iii. 36, & seq.
 Nicolas of Lorenzo, his Story, i. 49.
 Nicolas V. (Pope) repaired and beautified
 the Pantheon, iii. 280. Was the first
 Restorer of Learning in the West. *ib.*
 4 G 2 Nicopolis

I N D E X.

Nicopolis (the City of) built by Octavius where his Camp was at Actium, iii. 244. and another of the same Name near Alexandria, *ib.*

Norbanus Flaccus, the Character of, ii. 101.

Nobility, wherein different from the Vulgar, i. 129. The Roman, first learnt Luxury in Asia, 138.

Numa Pompilius unanimously chosen for the second King of Rome, i. 22. His Character, *ib.* & 23. Humanizes the Romans by introducing the Influence of Religion, 23. Regulates their religious Worship, 24. & *seq.* His wise Policy, *ib.* & 37. His supposed Intercourse with the Nymph Egeria, 30. He seconds admirably Romulus's Plan of Government, 33. His Division of the People, 34. Falsly supposed to have been a Disciple of Pythagoras, 85. *Note †.* Story concerning his Books, iii. 30. Which are burnt by Order of the Senate, and why, 31. His *Carmen Saliare* the Original of Ovid's *Fasti*, 39.

Numidian and Moorish Horse (the) described, ii. 72.

O.

O*BELISKS* (the Alexandrian) brought to Rome by Augustus, iii. 276. Described, *ib.*

Octavia, Sister to Octavius Cesar, married to Caius Claudius Marcellus, ii. 326. Their Children, 327. Her amiable Character, *ib.* After the Death of Marcellus, she is married to M. Antony, *ib.* Was, for a while, the true Bond of Union between him and her Brother, 424. Brings them to an Interview, and pacifies, for a while, their mutual Disgust, 437, 438. Is sent back to Rome by Antony, with her own and Fulvia's Children, iii. 6. Her amazing Goodness, 107, & *seq.* Carries to her Husband Presents, Cloaths for his Troops, and a Reinforcement for his Guard, *ib.* He refuses to see her, 108. Her excellent Behaviour, 110. Is iniquitously divorced by Antony, 149. Her inconsolable

Grief for the Death of her Son Marcellus, 295. She advises the Marriage of Agrippa and Julia, 322. Her Death, 450. Honours paid to her Memory, 451.

Octavius (C.) Father of C. Octavius Cesar, some Account of him and his Family, ii. 326. His Death and Character, *ib.*

Octavius Cesar (C.) undertakes to revenge the Death of his Grand-Uncle Julius, i. 218. Sets out from Apollonia in Illyricum, and lands at Lupic in Italy, *ib.* Proceeds to Brindisi, and there first takes the Name of *Cesar*, 219. Is well received by all the Friends of his late Uncle, who had adopted him into the *Julian* Name and Family, *ib.* Boldly sets out for Rome, with the Name of *Cesar*, *ib.* Which neither his Father, nor Cicero, approve of his having taken, or give to him in their first Interview, *ib.* Finds Things not so favourable to him at Rome, as he had been made to expect, 220. State of the Opposition against him, *ib.* How first received by M. Antony, after his Return to Rome, 228. Comes to an open Rupture with M. Antony, 230. Gives Games, which his Great-Uncle Julius Cesar had promised, in Honour of Parent Venus, 248. Meets with a Mortification at them, *ib.* Transfers the final Power of judging Treason, to the People, 251. Adds a third *Decuria* of Judges to the former two, *ib.* Enables the Centurions of his Army to be Judges at Rome, 252. Makes the People clandestinely pass a Law to continue the then Governors of Provinces, *ib.* Throws off the Mask, 254. Is held in Abhorrence by the Senate, the Cities of Italy, and all the sober Part of the Commonwealth, 257. At mortal Enmity with M. Antony, 269. Raises Men when not intitled so to do, 270. Openly prepares for War, without Authority from the Senate or People, 278. Quarters his Troops out of Rome, whilst Antony treasonably enters that City with an armed Force, 283. Sells his own Patrimony, in order

I N D E X.

der to pay his Great-Uncle's Legacy to the People, 287. Receives, through Cicero's Means, the Sanction of the Senate, 290. Ardour of the People for him, *ib.* & 291. Is authorised by the Senate to command the Army he had raised, and vested with the Power of Pro-prætor, 317. Honours conferred on him by the Senate, 318. His Party, under the Command of the Consul Pansa, is first worsted by M. Antony, and afterwards, commanded by the Consul Hirtius, defeats Antony, 326. He bravely defends Hirtius's Camp, 327. Is wounded in the Attack, 333. Rewarded by the Senate with an Ovation, for his Bravery in the Relief of Modena, 336. Might have ended the War at once, if he had pursued Antony, 337. Becomes sole Master of the veteran and consular Armies, by the Death of the Consuls Hirtius and Pansa, 343. Which he is suspected of having procured, *ib.* Sends a threatening Message to the Senate, demanding the Consulship, which is refused, 345. Declares himself an Enemy to the Patricians and Senate, and gives a shocking Proof of his despotic Disposition, 354. Completes his Desertion from his Country's Cause, 355. Who were the Chiefs of his Council, *ib.* And his military Commanders, *ib.* Marches towards Rome, to stand for the Consulship, at the Head of forty thousand Men, 356. Forces the Senate to declare him Consul, at the Age of nineteen, 358. Chooses Q. Pedius for his Colleague in the Consulship, 358. His violent Proceedings immediately after, 359. His Interview with M. Antony and Lepidus, 369. In which they agree to erect the *Triumvirate*, 370. Terms and Conditions of their horrid Agreement, *ib.* By which he basely sacrifices M. T. Cicero, 361. He is betrothed to M. Antony's Daughter-in-Law, Clodia, 372. Three very different Periods in his Life, 383.

Octavius resigns his extorted Consulship, ii. 79. His infamous Lewdness whilst one of the *Triumvirate*, 83. He

is more eager in the Proscription than either of his Colleague-Triumvirs, *ib.* His outrageous Declaration to the Senate, *ib.* Even the Death of his Mother Atia, probably killed by Grief for his Proceedings, does not check his Fury, *ib.* Makes the public Good no longer his Pretence, but openly declares that his Design is to avenge the Death of Julius Cæsar, 84. But his own Grandeur was the real Spring, *ib.* Thinking easily to crush S. Pompey, he sends Salvidienus Rufus to invade Sicily, 98. But Salvidienus is defeated, 99. And he himself then attempts, though in vain, to get over to Sicily by Surprise, *ib.* Receives still more alarming News from M. Antony, 100. Whom he joins at Brindisi, and they sail together for Greece, 102. Falls sick, and is left at Durazzo, 138, 139. Sets out for the Camp, though still very ill, 140. Is carried in a Chair, through the Ranks, just before the Battle of Philippi, 148. Is repulsed by M. Brutus, in the Beginning of the Battle, and his Camp is forced, 149. After running away upon the first Attack, and hiding himself for three Days and Nights in a Bog, he appears again on the fourth Day, in a miserable Condition, 163. His and Antony's Cruelty the Day after the second Battle of Philippi, 192. He sends Brutus's Head to Rome, 195. Shares the Empire with his Colleagues, Antony and Lepidus, 204. His Share, *ib.* Returns to Italy, and falls sick at Brindisi, 246. Is persuaded to write a mild Letter to the Senate, 247. Suspends his Murders, but confiscates and sells Estates as before, *ib.* Is forced to give up Part of his Right, to appease Fulvia and the Antonian Party, 248. Sends back his Wife Clodia, untouched, *ib.* Has recourse to Sacrilege, to satisfy the Greediness of his Troops, 249. Narrowly escapes being torn in Pieces by them, 251. Orders the Poet Virgil to be re-instated in his Possessions, 254. Is hated by the Nobles and Commons, 267. Begins to see the Precipice on which

I N D E X.

which he stands, 280. His Anxiety, Alarms, and dangerous Situation, *ib.* He sues for Peace with S. Pompey, 281. Sends Mæcenus to Sicily, to propose a Marriage between him and Scribonia, Aunt to S. Pompey's Wife, 282. All Italy in Arms against him, *ib.* He tries to gain over M. Antony's Veterans, 283. The Antonian Officers, seconding his Views, erect themselves into a supreme Court, and summon him and L. Antony to appear before them, and receive their final Decision, 283, 284. To which he agrees, and upon L. Antony's refusing to do the same, the Antonian Veterans declare for Octavius, 285. He plunders the Temples, and melts down the very Statues of the Gods, to make Money, *ib.* His seeming, but artful, Moderation, 286. Preparations for War between him and L. Antony, 287. He marches against the Norcians, is repulsed, lays Siege to Setina, and is joined by Lepidus expelled from Rome, 291. Is obliged to raise the Siege of Setina, *ib.* Blocks L. Antony up in Perugia, 293. And forces him to surrender, after a most obstinate Defence, 295. His dreadful Inhumanity after the Surrender, 299—302. His famous Banquet of the twelve Gods and Goddesses, 313. He takes the Field against M. Antony, 317. Refers their Difference to an Arbitration, 321. By which the Western Half of the Empire is allotted him, 322. His Share not equal to that of M. Antony, and why, 325. Marries his Sister Octavia to M. Antony, 327. Is in great Danger of his Life from a Meeting of the People reduced to Despair by Famine and new Taxes, 333—335. Concludes a Peace with S. Pompey, 337. Manner of making, and Terms of the Peace, 338, 339. Marries his Nephew M. Marcellus to Pompey's Daughter Pompeia, 341. Divorces Scribonia, and marries Tiberius Nero's Wife Livia, 342, 343. His Family and Court assume a new Face, and he himself begins to relent, chiefly through the prudent Care of the

great Mæcenus, 348. Is wisely and severely reprov'd by his Preceptor Athendore, 358. And by Mæcenus, 359. His Temper and that of M. Antony compared, 399. He fixes his Residence at Rome, and ingratiates himself with the Army and Senate, 399, 400. Undertakes an Expedition against Dalmatia, 400. Fresh Misunderstandings and a new War between him and S. Pompey, 417. His vast Preparations for this War, 418. Desires the Assistance of both his Collegue Triumvirs, *ib.* Is defeated at Sea by S. Pompey, and narrowly escapes with Life, 418—423. His wretched Situation after the Battle, 421. His remaining Fleet is destroyed by a Storm, 422. Sends to Agrippa and M. Antony for Assistance, and disoblige the latter by not keeping his Appointment, 423. But obtains his Assistance, by sending Mæcenus to Greece, 424. Receives this pleasing News, and that of Agrippa's having gained a complete Victory over the Gauls, 427. Takes a turn to Learning, 435. Meets M. Antony at Taranto, 437. Where new Disgusts between them are pacified by Octavia, *ib.* Exchanges some of his Land Forces with M. Antony, for a Number of Ships, and agrees privately with him to prolong their Triumvirate, 438. Puts his whole Marine under the Command of his Land General M. Agrippa, 439. Sets twenty thousand Slaves at Liberty, and puts them on board his Fleet, 440. Resolves to attack Sicily with his whole naval Force, joined to that of Lepidus, 441. Bad Success of this Expedition, *ib.* & 442. His great Distress, 442. He hastens over to Sicily, is surrounded on all Sides, escapes with great Difficulty, and is landed with only a single Soldier to attend him, 444—447. His Affairs with S. Pompey retrieved by the Bravery of M. Agrippa, 449. Accepts S. Pompey's Challenge, to put the final Decision of their Quarrel upon the Event of a naval Engagement, 450. Three hundred Ships on each Side engage in the Bay of Milazzo,

I N D E X.

Milazzo, where Pompey's Fleet is totally defeated, *ib.* His Behaviour during this important Battle differently related, *ib.* Narrowly escapes being killed by his Collegue Lepidus, whom he thereupon banishes, 452, 453. Remains, by the Wisdom of Mæcenas, and the Bravery of Agrippa, sole Master of the Western World, 453. Enters Rome a second Time in Triumph, greatly mended by the many severe Lessons he had received, *ib.* Of which he gives the Romans some immediate Proofs, 454. Immoderate Honours decreed him by the Senate, of which he accepts but a few, *ibid.*

Octavius Cæsar desires Horace to address some of his Writings to him, iii. 82. To quiet his unruly Troops, he resolves upon War against the Dalmatians, 83. His Campaign, by which they are reduced, 91—102. Reasons alleged by him for commencing War against M. Antony, 128. His Steps upon the Approach of a Rupture between him and his Collegue M. Antony, 130. He takes the Consulship for an Hour or two, *ib.* Declines a Triumph for his Conquest of Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Illyricum, and in lieu of it builds a magnificent Portico, which he calls the *Octavian*, 131. Description of it, 132. His prudent Behaviour, whilst preparing for War against M. Antony, 132, & *seq.* Seems to have been really become a new Man, 135. Gives an important Command to Strato, *ib.* Nobly rewards a Slave for having saved his Master at the Time of the Proscription, 136. Admits all the surviving Republicans to the Honours of the Commonwealth, *ib.* His extreme Anxiety on hearing of the March of Antony's Troops under Canidius Gallus, 138. Is quite unprepared for War, and his Coffers empty, *ib.* Lays heavy Taxes on all Italy, 139. Seditions ready to break out against him, *ib.* The Romans set fire to their City, in order to throw every thing into Confusion, *ib.* & 140. Rise in arms, are with Difficulty quelled by

Mæcenas, *ibid.* Owes his Preservation, probably, to a Visit which Cleopatra paid to M. Antony, on the Borders of Cilicia, *ib.* Offers to resign the Triumvirate, on Condition of Antony's doing the same, 147. Artfully returns to Rome, and goes to the Senate, 148. His artful Behaviour to get rid of Antony's Friends, *ib.* And Reception of Deserters from him, 154. Seizes Antony's Will, and reads it to the Senate, 155. Causes him to be formally deprived of all Command in the Commonwealth, 158. Enters into a Paper War with M. Antony, 160. Makes great Preparations for real War, 161. His vast Forces, & 163. He fails to Actium, 166. Is joined by many of Antony's Party, 168. Prepares for a Sea-engagement at Actium, 173. And gains a complete Victory, 177. For which he returns particular Thanks to his favourite Deity, the Ælian Apollo, 179. His politic Management of Antony's defeated Forces, 180. And his Treatment of the Prisoners, 181—183. Cruel, in general, but blended with some Acts of Mercy, 182. He is initiated into the Mysteries of Minerva and Ceres, at Athens, 190. Returns hastily to Rome, to prevent a Revolt, 192. Goes back to Asia, 193. Is waited upon by all the Princes of the East, *ib.* Pardons Herod, 196. And is magnificently received by him in Judea, *ib.* Enters Egypt, 197. His artful Behaviour to the Ambassadors of Antony and Cleopatra, 198. Takes Pelusium, 201. And Alexandria, 207. Becomes Master of Cleopatra, *ib.* Makes his Entry into Alexandria, *ib.* Pardons that City, *ib.* His Interview with Cleopatra, 214. Falsely declares that he had burnt Antony's Papers, 219. Visits the Tomb of Alexander the Great, *ib.* Is enabled, by the Spoil of Egypt, to pay all his Debts, 220. His artful Directions for the Government of Egypt, 221, 222. He passes through Syria into Asia, 224. Where he endeavours to make the People *lib.*

him, *ibid.* Is applied to by Tiridates and Phraates, Kings of the Parthians, *ib.* Lepidus's Conspiracy against him, 225. Honours decreed him for his Victory over Cleopatra, 226. He permits Temples to be built to him in the Provinces, 232. But is more reserved with respect to Rome, 233. Extraordinary Honours decreed him, 234, 235. He returns, to Rome a quite different Man from what he had been before, 235. Is publicly declared the Saviour of the State, *ib.* Triumphs, and receives the very rare Honour of a Crown of Grass, 236. Rivets himself thoroughly in the Affection of the Romans, 239. And of the Soldiery, 240. Consecrates a Temple to Julius Cæsar, *ib.* Enlarges the Temple of Ælian Apollo, 243. And institutes Games in Honour of that Deity. 244. In what Light considered by his Friends and Enemies, *ib.* Artfully sets about obtaining a legal Sanction of his Power, 240. Feigns a Desire to abdicate his Authority, 248. Consults Agrippa and Mæcenas, *ib.* Declares for the Opinion of this last, 249. Cajoles the People with Donatives and Shews, 250. Reforms the Senate, *ib.* Affects to preserve an outward Appearance of the Republican Forms, 253. Marries Agrippa to his Niece Marcella, *ibid.* The Public Good becomes his real Study, 254. He goes to the Senate-house, and formally abdicates the supreme Power, 255. Is pressed to keep it, 256. Which, with seeming Reluctance, he consents to do for ten Years, *ib.* And divides, and how, the Provinces with the Senate, 257. His artful Management in this Division, 258. He receives the Title of AUGUSTUS, 259. Final Extinction of the Republic, 260. For what farther concerns him, see *Augustus*.

Omens, Reflections on, iii. 393, & *seq.*

Oppius (Q.) one of the Chiefs of Octavius's first Council, i. 355. And a Favourite, ii. 426. Was a curious Gardener, and a great Planter, 429.

Origo, a celebrated Lady of Pleasure at Rome, iii. 380. Ruined Marceus, *ib.* Ornaments (the) of Offices, distinguished from the Offices themselves among the Romans, iii. 337.

Orodes (King of Parthia), his excessive Grief for the Death of his Son Pacorus, iii. 6. Resigns his Crown to his Son Phraates, who, in return, poisons him, 7.

Ostia, a Roman Colony settled at, by Ancus Martius, i. 35.

Ovid, his Fasti the most learned and useful of his Works, iii. 39. Took the Hint of them from Numa's Carmen Saliare, *ib.* Was an Imitator of the Greeks, 275. Is banished, 527. How far, and of what, most probably guilty, *ib.* & *seq.* Character of his Art of Love, 530. And of his Metamorphoses, 531.

Ovinus, a Senator, put to death by Octavius, iii. 217.

P.

PACORUS, Son of Orodes King of the Parthians, instigated and guided by T. Labienus, a staunch Republican, over-runs all Asia and Syria, ii. 380—384. Penetrates into the Heart of Judea, and seizes Hyrcanus and Fasal, 385—387. Is thrice defeated by the Romans under Ventidius, and killed in the last of these Battles, 411—414.

Pacuvius (Sextus) his mean Flattery of Augustus, iii. 267.

Padua, the City of, severely treated by Asinius Pollio, ii. 316. Remarkable Fidelity of the Slaves belonging to it, *ib.*

Pætur (Autronius) triumphs over Africa, iii. 240.

Pagi, or Villages, the People first divided into by Numa, i. 34.

Painting was despised by the ancient Romans, iii. 46.

Palmyra (the city of), plundered by M. Antony's Troops, ii. 239. Its Situation, Trade, &c. *ib.*

Pannonians (the) quelled by M. Agrippa, iii. 408. And by Tiberius, 413. Revolt again, 512. And are again subdued by Tiberius, 515.

Parfa,

- Pansa* (Vibius) opposes Octavius, i. 220. Is appointed one of the Deputies from the Senate to Antony at Modena, but dies upon the Road, 312. His Character, *ib.*
- Pansa* (the Consul) joins Hirtius and Octavius against M. Antony, i. 323. Is worsted in Battle, and mortally wounded, 325. His Loss a fatal Blow to the Republic, 339. His Character, *ibid.* Greatly wronged by Appian, 340.
- Pantheon* (the) finished by M. Agrippa, iii. 278. Described, 279, 281. Now the Church of S. Maria della Rotunda, 280.
- Papia Poppæa*, the Law, iii. 365. Considered, *ib.*
- Paper* first manufactured in Egypt, iii. 272. Different Sorts made there, and their Names, *ib.*
- Parchment*, when first used for Writing, iii. 276.
- Parks* (the Julian) finished by M. Agrippa, iii. 278.
- Parthenius*, the elegiac Poet, some Account of him and his Writings, iii. 274.
- Parthia* (the Kingdom of) thrown into dreadful Confusion by its King Phraates, iii. 7. Its vast Extent, 12. Why not to be conquered, 16. State of it in Augustus's Time, 328.
- Parthians* (the) defeat and kill M. Antony's favourite Commander Decidius Saxa, ii. 310. Over-run all Syria and Judea, and threaten Egypt, *ib.* Advance into the Heart of Judea, 385. Plunder Jerusalem, 390, & *seq.* Their Origin, 402. First Migrations, Customs, Government, Language, Progress, Increase, &c. till their becoming the Rivals of Rome, 402—411. Upon the Approach of Antony's General Ventidius, they retire towards the Euphrates, 411. Are defeated by him, 412. Defeated by him a second Time, 413. And a third Time, 413, 414. Their Prince Pacorus killed in the Battle, 414. They expel Phraates, and choose Tiridates for their King, 224.
- Parties*, two naturally formed in all States, i. 129.
- Passions* (the) Temples erected to, i. 85, *note* †.
- Patara*, the Arsenal of Lycia, submits to M. Brutus, being overcome by his Generosity and Virtue, ii. 44, 45.
- Patches*, the Use of, very antient, iii. 483.
- Patrol* (a) instituted at Rome by Augustus, iii. 443. Becomes a distinguished and honourable Body, 444.
- Patrons* and Clients first instituted by Romulus, i. 17. Good Effects of this Institution, *ib.* Their reciprocal Duties, *ib.* The Tie between them was hereditary, 18. And came at last to be looked upon as sacred, *ib.*
- Paudion* and Porus, Kings of India, send a remarkable Embassy to Augustus, iii. 331.
- Pearls* formerly found on the British Coasts, iii. 270.
- Pedius* (Q.) Octavius's Collegue in his first Consulship, i. 358.
- Pelissum*, the City of, surrendered to Octavius, iii. 201.
- Perugia* (the City of), its situation, ii. 292. Closely blocked up by Octavius, 293. Reduced to great Distress by Famine, 294. Shocking Increase of that Distress, 295. Surrenders to Octavius, 296, & *seq.* And is reduced to Ashes, 302.
- Petronius*, Prefect of Egypt, iii. 272. Defeats the Ethiopians, and obliges them to send Ambassadors to Augustus, 325, 326. And to submit to the Conqueror's Mercy, 515.
- Phenicians*, extent of their Country, ii. 55. Origin of their Name, *ib.* And of their Language, 56. Distinction between the Libo-Phenicians and Syro-Phenicians, 58. Their Character, *ib.* Were the Inventors of Letters, Astronomy, Navigation, Military Discipline, and Architecture of Towns, *ib.*
- Philadelphus*, King of Cappadocia, won over to Octavius, iii. 167.
- Philip II.* King of Spain, his ambitious Views, i. 114. His Tyranny and ill-judged Policy, 117. Parallel between him and Lewis XIV. of France, in the End of their Reigns, 123. His

- last Advice and Instructions to his Successor Philip III. *note* **.
- Philippi* (the Town of), where situated, and by whom founded, ii. 136, 137. Two Towns of this Name, 137. Advantageous Encampment of Brutus and Cassius near this Place, 138. Causes which brought on the first Battle there between the Republicans and the Cæsareans, 141, & *seq.* Preparations of the Troops on both Sides, 144. Vast Importance of this Battle, 146. The Battle, 148—153. And the second decisive Battle, 170—172.
- Philo*, the Jewish Writer, misrepresents very absurdly the Affair of M. Brutus's taking Xanthus the Capital of Lycia, ii. 43, *note* *.
- Philodemus*, the Character of, iii. 471. Philosophical Dispute between him and L. Piso, 472.
- Phraates* succeeds to the Crown of Parthia by the Resignation of his Father Orodes, whom he afterwards poisons, iii. 7. His monstrous Cruelty, *ibid.* Offers Moneys such Terms as induce him to return, 11. Was probably instrumental in the defeat of M. Antony, 15. His Reception of M. Antony's Deputies, 17. And his Perfidy, *ib.* Is expelled by his Subjects, 224. Has Recourse to the Scythians, and then applies to Octavius, *ib.* Expels his Rival Tiridates, *ib.* Ordered to apply to the Roman Senate, 300. By whom he is referred back to Augustus, *ib.* Submits to Augustus, restores the Roman Prisoners and Standards, and sends his four Sons, with their Wives and Children, as Hostages to Rome, 327, 328, 491. Puts to death twenty-nine of his Brothers, after having killed his Father, 491. Resigns his Crown to Tigranes, *ib.* Farther Instance of his Treachery, *ib.* His Haughtiness to Augustus, 495.
- Physicians* distinguished at Rome, on account of Antonius Musa, iii. 293.
- Piso* (L. Calpurnius) artfully insists on and obtains a public Funeral Solemnity for the Corpse of the Dictator Julius Cæsar, i. 209.
- Piso* (Cn. Calpurnius) escapes the Slaughter at Philippi, ii. 198. And flies to the Rear-admirals of the Republicans, 199. Protects Virgil, 254. Is restored by the Peace of Miseno, 348. Is Augustus's Collegue in the Consulship, iii. 290. His Character, *ib.* And that of his Son, 291.
- Pius* II. (Pope) was one of the principal Restorers of Learning in the West, iii. 281.
- Plancus* (Munatius), his brave and upright Behaviour at first, i. 362. Is joined by D. Brutus in Dauphiny, 364. Is won over to the Enemy, and lays a Snare to betray D. Brutus into the Hands of M. Antony, 365. Upon which they separate, and Plancus joins Antony and Lepidus, *ib.* His Character, ii. 85. He was won over to Antony's Party by Asinius Pollio, 199. Renders Italy once more a Scene of Confusion and Bloodshed, 269. Marches to L. Antony's Assistance at Perugia, 292. Accompanies Fulvia in her Flight, after the Surrender of Perugia, 307. Deserts from Antony, and goes over to Octavius, iii. 151. His Motives for so doing, as set forth by himself, *ib.* For which he receives a fine Rebuke from Coponius, 154.
- Plancus* (L. Munatius) his Character, iii. 302, 303. He is appointed Censor, *ibid.* Founded Lyons, 303. Rivalship between him and A. Pollio, *ib.*
- Platina* was the Publisher of Apicius's Essay on Good-eating, iii. 280.
- Plato*, his Head on the Reverse of a Medal of Augustus, iii. 208. Advises Princes to secure the good Opinion of their contemporary Writers, 375.
- Players*, Fiddlers, Tumblers, and all sorts of Strollers formed into a Corporation, by M. Antony, under the Name of the Artificers of Bacchus, ii. 223.
- Plays* (Stage) owe their Origin to Religion, iii. 33. Their first Rise among the Romans, *ibid.* Their Progress, from extreme Simplicity to the greatest Pomp, 55, & *seq.* Not calculated, among the Romans, merely to divert, but also to instruct, 44. Were, for the most part, among the ancient Romans, loose bold Translations from the Grecian, 49. Were one of the principal

- principal Amusements of the Romans, 379. 381.
- Picature* (a Man of) defined, iii. 475.
- Plebeians* (the), or Commons of Rome, their great Power, in consequence of the first Institution of the State, i. 16. The chief Part of the Legislative Power resided in them, 57. Their Comitia, or Assemblies, by growing numerous, throw the common course of Business more and more into the hands of the Senate, 58. Their Power in their Grand Comitia, 62. The ultimate Appeal from every other Tribunal lay to them, 63. Admitted to the Consulship, 70. Honest Frankness of their Behaviour in their first Differences with the Patricians, 94. Their Power and that of the Senate too much blended together, 131. Force the Senate to grant them Dignities in the Commonwealth, 132. Grow too numerous for the well-governing of the State, 145. Their too great power proved the Ruin of the Republic, *ib.*
- Plennius* (C.) one of Pompey's Generals, after being blocked up by Lepidus in the Town of Lilybæo, ii. 442, throws himself into Messina, which, after a brave Defence, he at length surrenders to Lepidus, 452, who barbarously permits his Soldiers to plunder it, *ib.*
- Plutarch*, his Opinion concerning the mystical Amours of the Gods, Goddesses, and Heroes of the Antients, i. 31. Not wholly exempt from Prejudice and Passion, 317. His Account of Brutus's seeing his Evil Genius at Abydus, ii. 122. Was a very credulous Writer, 123.
- Poetry* (State of the Roman) in the Augustan Age, ii. 256. Satirical, when and by whom first introduced among the Romans, iii. 49. Its State in Horace's Time, 74. The Epic was successfully cultivated by L. Varius, towards the Beginning of the Augustan Age, *ib.* The greatest Writers in the Dramatic were A. Pollio and Fundanius, 75. Virgil stands unrivalled in the Epic, 76.
- Poets* (the first Roman), iii. 34, & *seq.* The Roman Poets were Imitators of the Greeks, 275. Except Ennius and Accius, who were Originals, 343. Spenser and Milton the only two original English Poets, *ib.* Shakespear inimitably great, but often only a Copier, 344.
- Poggi*, the Florentine, discovers the Writings of Quintillian, iii. 280.
- Polemo* made King of Pontus by M. Antony, iii. 106. His History, *ib.*
- Pollio* (Asinius) was one of the best Tragic Writers of the Augustan Age, iii. 75. Had Thoughts of making Cesar's Civil War the Subject of a Tragedy, *ib.* But was dissuaded from it by Horace, *ib.* Reduces Dalmatia, for which he triumphs, 85. Some Particulars tending to illustrate his Character, 85, & *seq.* Remains neuter betwixt Octavius and Antony, 148. Rivalship between him and L. M. Plancus, 303. Sketch of his Character, *ib.* & 438. Wherein like Cornelius Gallus, 439.
- Pellie* (Herius Asinius) forfeits his Word and betrays his Country's Cause, i. 365. Was attached to Julius Cesar at his first setting out in Life, ii. 198. And after his Death becomes a zealous Republican, 199. But thinking the Cesarean Party likely to prevail, he joins M. Antony, *ib.* Protects the Poet Virgil, and becomes his Patron, 253, 259. Advises him to apply particularly to Pastoral Compositions, *ib.* Is very near ruining Salvidienus, 289. Seizes on Ravenna, 293. Brings D. Enobarbus over to M. Antony, with his Fleet, 312. Exercises many odious Acts of Cruelty and Rapine, 316. Is appointed Antony's Arbitrator in the Dispute between him and Octavius, 321. Articles of this Arbitration, 322.
- Pellio* (P. Vedius), his Origin, Fortune, and extreme Cruelty, iii. 388. Reproved by Augustus, *ib.* Makes Augustus his Heir, 389.
- Pellio* (T. Vedius) notorious for his Gallantries, i. 264.

Polybius gives the best Account of the entire Model of the ancient Commonwealth of Rome, i. 7. His Prediction of the Fall of Rome, ii. *ant. Pref.*

Pompeia, the Daughter of S. Pompey, betrothed to Augustus's Nephew Marcellus, ii. 341.

Pompey (Cneius), surnamed the Great; a general View of the Actions of, i. 101, & *seq.* Was the first Roman Knight that ever entered the City in a triumphal Chariot, 102. Inscriptions to his Praise, 102, 103. His noble Magnanimity and Moderation, 104. Is prevailed on by Julius Cesar to join him and Crassus, 175. Cato's Answer to him upon his proposing to marry Cato's Sister, 267. Cato's refusing his Alliance, makes him join Cesar and Crassus, 268. Traiterously murdered in Egypt, ii. 50.

Pompey (Sextus) powerful in Spain, i. 296. Writes to the Senate in order to procure Peace, 297. Is made High Admiral, and raises a maritime Force, 298. Is joined in Sicily by all the elder Senators who had escaped the Proscription of the Triumvirs, ii. 2, 76, 78. His Care of, and great Services to the Roman Commonwealth, 76, 77. His noble Proclamation against the Triumvirs, 77. Has a formidable Fleet, no contemptible Army, and a Resemblance of a Roman Senate to direct their Operations, 78. Defeats Octavius's Admiral Salvidienus Rufus in Octavius's Sight, 99. Makes the Romans feel the dreadful Effects of Famine, by stopping the Import of Corn to the Tiber or the Po, 251. Octavius sues to him for Peace, 281. Overtures for a Treaty between him and M. Antony, *ib.* Sends his Admiral Menodore with a strong Squadron to join Antony, 317. His Forces are sent back by Antony, and for what Reason, 321. He is excluded from the Brindisian Treaty by Octavius Cesar, 331. Pressed by all his Subjects, except Menodore, to make Peace with Antony and Octavius, 336. Basely puts the brave S. Murcus to Death, 337. He

meets Octavius and Antony, and is prevailed upon to make Peace with them, 337. Articles of the Peace, 338. His noble and generous Behaviour when both Octavius and Antony were in his Power, 339. To consolidate the Peace, he betroths his Daughter Pompeia to M. Marcellus, the Nephew of Octavius, and Son-in-Law of Antony, 341. But fresh Misunderstandings, and a new War, soon break out between him and Octavius, 417. Gains a great Victory over the Cæsarean Fleet, 418—421. But neglects to improve his Advantage, 423. Guards against a formidable Invasion with which he was threatened by Octavius, 441. Again misses an Opportunity of totally destroying Octavius's naval Power, 443. Challenges Octavius to put the final Decision of their Quarrel upon the Event of a naval Engagement, 450. In which he is totally defeated, 451. He flies to Asia, and there, after various Adventures, is put to Death by Titius, whose Life he had saved, *ib.*

Pomponia, the Daughter of Pomponius Atticus, married to M. Vipstanus Agrippa, ii. 361. Intrigues with Q. Cecilius the Epirote, iii. 410.

Poplicola (Gellius) traiterously conspires against M. Brutus's Life, ii. 14. And against Cassius's, 107. Some Account of this Wretch, *ib.* & 108. Deserts from Brutus to Antony, 169.

Portia, the Daughter of M. Cato, married to M. Brutus, ii. 4. Her Character, and Trial of her own Fortitude, *ib.* Is intrusted with her Husband's Secret, 6, & *seq.* Her Behaviour afterwards, *ib.* Dies of Grief, 8. Was not the Person who killed herself by swallowing live Coals, *ib.* Note †. & iii. 225.

Portico (the Octavian) described, iii. 132, 451. Of Livia, 390.

Porjenna, the noble Generosity of, i. 77.

Poverty one of the Sources of the Roman Virtue, i. 82, 136.

Præfect (the), or Governor of Rome, Nature of his Office, iii. 385.

Pretors,

I N D E X.

- Prætors*, their Power, i. 66. Reasons for creating them, *ib.* & 70. Chosen from among the Patricians, 70. Their Duty, *ib.* Town-Prætors, and Country-Prætors, *ib.* Increase of their Number, 71. Obtain a new Prerogative, iii. 439.
- Priests* and Prophets, various Orders of, at Rome, instituted by Numa, i. 24. Their Functions, *ib.* Constitution of the Grand Assembly of Priests, and their Functions, ii. 343 Consulted about the Lawfulness of Octavius's Marriage with Livia, 344.
- Princes* are bound by the Laws of their Country, iii. 365, 366. Should secure the good Opinion of their cotemporary Writers, 375.
- Prætoribus*, their Power, i. 66. Why created among the Romans, *ib.* How balloted for the Government of the Provinces, 286.
- Proculeius* seizes Cleopatra in her Tomb, iii. 206. Cannot obtain the Pardon of his Brother Murena, 318. Was once thought of by Augustus for the Husband of his Daughter Julia, 411.
- Promona* (the City of) besieged and taken by Octavius, iii. 101, & *seq.*
- Prescription* (the) of the Triumvirs, Octavius, M. Antony, and Lepidus, published at Rome, and put in Execution, i. 373, & *seq.* Was more criminal than even that of Sylla, 374. The Tenor of it, *ib.*
- Ptolemy Philadelphus*, his immense Library, iii. 276. Which is burnt by Accident, *ib.* Was a principal Propagator of Judaism, and consequently of Christianity, *ib.* Ordered the Books of Moses to be translated into Greek, *ib.*
- Publius Syrus*, the Founder of the Mime Stage, iii. 381.
- Pylades*, the Player, his shrewd Answer to Augustus, iii. 379. First introduced the Pantomime Dances on the Roman Stage, 380. His Manner of acting, *ib.*
- Pirates*, a very formidable League of, on the Coasts of Pamphilia and Cilicia, ii. 26. By whom first formed, 27. Their astonishing Audaciousness and Rapine, 28, 30. Humbled by P. Servilius, and totally extirpated by Cn. Pompey, 30.
- Pythagoras*, his Philosophy improved the Manners of the Romans, i. 84.
- Q.
- Q**UESTOR, Nature of the Office of, i. 168. Was Pay-master, Secretary at War, and Commissary-general of the Troops, ii. 15.
- Quintilian*, the Writings of, when discovered by Poggi, iii. 280.
- R.
- R**EASONS of State, what, iii. 322, 323.
- Religion*, general Reflections on the first planting of it in any Country, i. 29, & *seq.* The Parent of Plays, iii. 33.
- Republic* (the Roman), changed into a mere military Government by the Cæsarcan Soldiery, ii. 269, 270. Totally annihilated by Augustus, iii. 260.
- Rhaſcuporis*, his Command under M. Brutus, ii. 120. And Treachery to the Republicans, 135.
- Rheti* (the) Situation of, iii. 390. Subdued by Tiberius and Drusus, 391.
- Rhodes*, one of the most commodious Places in the Empire, for sitting out Fleets, ii. 17. Some Account of the Island and City of, 18. Besieged, reduced, and laid under Contribution, by C. Cassius, 19—25.
- Rhodians* (the) repeated Perfidy of, towards the Romans, ii. 18. Their Embassies to C. Cassius, 19, 20, 21. Who defeats their Fleet, 23. Blocks them up, and lays them under Contribution, 24, 25. Effectually curbed by Cassius, of Parma, 201.
- Rhymetalces*, King of Thrace, leaves M. Antony and joins Octavius, iii. 169.
- Robe* (the manly), Ceremony of a Roman Youth's first putting it on, iii. 478.
- Romans* (the), divided into two Classes by Romulus, i. 15. Humanized by Numa Pompilius, 23. How divided by Servius Tullius, 36, 74. The Foundation of their Liberties laid by the Founder of their State, 36. Steps by which they rose to great Offices, 72. Their Spirit and Virtue under the consular Government, 75. Exemplified,

fied, 76. Many of their Manners and Customs taken from the Greeks, 79—83. Improved by the Philosophy of Pythagoras, 84. Their Concord at Home, 86. Military Discipline, 87. And Fidelity to their Allies, 88. Their general Method of declaring and making War, 92. Character of the ancient Romans, 95. Extended their Conquests with great Rapidity, 100. And rendered them permanent; 104. Their Virtue and immense Grandeur, 110, 111. Great whilst poor, but ruined by growing rich, 136. Were for a long Time Strangers to Learning, Sciences, and the Arts, *ib.* Arms and Agriculture were long their only Occupations, 137. Became polished and corrupted by their Intercourse with the Greeks, 137, & *seq.* 156, & *seq.* Total Change in them, 140, 154, & *seq.* The Poet Ennius's Account of them, 159. How glorious after the Expulsion of their Kings, 160. Ruined by Prosperity, 162, 163. Their Liberty quite blasted by the first Triumvirate, 176. Were ripe for Destruction when Julius Cæsar ruined them, 190. Their Situation at the Time of his Death, 200, & *seq.*

Sorely distressed by the licentious Cæsarean Soldiery, ii. 252, 265. And by the Violence of Fulvia and L. Antony, 269. What the grand Error which brought on their Ruin, 272. Grievously afflicted by the War between Octavius and L. Antony, 288. And by a severe Famine, 328. Raise an Insurrection against Octavius, and are dispersed with great Slaughter, 333—335. Force the Triumvirs, Antony and Octavius, to make Peace with S. Pompey, 335—339. Made happy for a while by the Peace of Miseno, 341. Were fond of having Grecian Preceptors for their Children, 352. Lost their Liberty by departing from their primitive Austerity, 364, & *seq.* and became by degrees an easy Prey to every bordering People, 371. Extremely simple in their first Pretensions and Names, but corruptly elated afterwards by their high Fortune, 434.

Remarks on the ancient Romans, iii. 26, & *seq.* Their own Laws were their first Study, 29. Their Roughness and illiterate State for some Ages, *ib.* & *seq.* Apologized for, 45. But faint Imitators of the Greeks in Point of Learning or Invention, 47. The Conquest of Greece first civilized, and that of Asia afterwards corrupted them, 78. The Blemish, if any, of the ancient Romans, 95. What Sort of People at the Time of the Actian War, 139. Set Fire to Rome, take up Arms, and are quelled with Difficulty, 140. Shocked at Antony's Behaviour, 155. Deprive him of all Command in the Commonwealth, 158. Declare War against Cleopatra, 159. Decree all Sorts of Honours to Octavius, 226. And even associate him with their Gods, 227. Are entirely won by his popular Behaviour, 239. Their extreme Degeneracy, 244, 259, 434, & *seq.* They transfer all their Power to Augustus, 260, 264. Their Colonies, in general, how situated, 286. Would force the Dictatorship upon Augustus, but are refused, 302. Begin to taste the Sweets of Augustus's Administration, 304, 439. State of their Empire, 433. Instances of their Affection for Augustus, 447, & *seq.* Their Concern and various Discourses upon his growing old and infirm, 541.

Rome, the ancient Constitution of, and the Powers of its Magistrates, ought to be thoroughly understood, i. 6. Have been best described by Writers of other Nations, *ib.* Smallness of its Origin, 10. Founded by Romulus at a very happy Conjuncture, 11. By what Sort of Men first peopled, 12. Its Situation with respect to other States, 13. How opposed in its Infancy, 13, 14. Enlarged, and begun to be walled in, 35. Reflections on the Causes of its Grandeur, 1—38, 96. Great and rapid Increase of its Territories, 100. The Plan of its consular Government compared with the British Constitution, 39—112. Causes of its Fall and Ruin, 113—136, 162, 358. In what Situation

Situation at the Death of Julius Cæsar, 201, & *seq.* Its deplorable Condition under the Triumvirate, ii. 78. Greatly distressed by the Soldiery, 251. And by Famine, 328, 423. Set on Fire by its Inhabitants, iii. 140. Immensely enriched by the Conquest of Egypt, 220. But dependant on it for Bread, 221. Nobly embellished by Agrippa, 278, 282. Distressed by Inundations of the Tiber, 301. By whom, and for what Reasons, allowed to be enlarged, 432. Grandeur of Rome, 442.

Romulus, the Founder of Rome, i. 10. Short Account of him, *ib.* & *seq.* His Policy to people Rome, 12, 19, 20. Divides its Inhabitants into Patricians and Plebeians, 15. His great Council, or Senate, *ib.* His Prerogatives, and civil and military Institutions, *ib.* & 17. Divides his infant Kingdom with Titus Tatius, 20. His Death, *ib.*

Rufus (—) takes a strange Method to be reconciled to Augustus, whom he had offended, iii. 308.

Rufus (Egnatius) his daring Insolence, iii. 333.

Rufus (M. Salvidienus), a Favourite and Adviser of Octavius when he first began to disavow the Authority of the Senate and People, i. 355. Attempts to invade Sicily, but is defeated by S. Pompey in Octavius's Sight, ii. 99. Clears the Passage of the Alps, and joins the Cæsarean Army in Catalonia, 280. In Danger of being surrounded, but is rescued by M. Agrippa, 289. Turns a Traitor to his Benefactor, and is put to Death, 331.—333.

S.

S*ABINES* (the) united to the Romans under Romulus, i. 20.

Sabinus (Albius) escapes the Proscription; and goes over to Cassius, ii. 2. Is restored by the Peace of Miseno, 348.

Sabinus, (Calvisius), one of the Tools of Octavius's first Factions in Rome, i. 355. And of his Admirals in the Sicilian War, ii. 419. In which he is worsted by S. Pompey's Admiral, *ib.* Rejoins Octavius at Rheggio, 420.

Salassi (the), conquered by M. Messala, iii. 133. And totally subdued, 283.

Salii, (the twelve) instituted by Numa, i. 25.

Salinator (M. Livius) chosen Consul with C. Claudius Nero, reconciled to him, and, jointly with him, saves his Country from imminent Perdition, i. 69.

Sallust, the Historian, his Character, ii. 54.

Sallustius (Crispus) succeeds Mæcenas in the Ministry, iii. 454. His Character, *ib.*

Salina, the Capital of Dalmatia, taken by Asinius Pollio, iii. 85.

Salvidienus Rufus, see *Rufus* (M. Salvidienus).

Sannites (the) oppose the infant Establishment of Rome, i. 13. Afforded the Romans Cause for four and twenty Triumphs, 100.

Samofata, the Capital of Commagene, famous for the Birth of Lucian, ii. 415. Besieged by M. Antony and Ventidius, with Antiochus Prince of Commagene shut up in it, *ib.* But the Siege is raised, 416.

Sarmatians (the) send an Embassy to Augustus, iii. 341.

Satire, when first introduced among the Romans, iii. 49. Brought to its Perfection by Horace, 66.

Saturninus (C. Sentius), banished by the Proscription, is restored by the Peace of Miseno, ii. 348. Is sole Consul, iii. 333. His intrepid Firmness, *ib.* He gains great Advantages over the Germans, 510. Marches with Tiberius against the Marcomanni, 512.

Saxa (Decidius), a zealous Cæsarean, passes over into Macedon with eight Legions, ii. 101. His Character, *ib.* Over-runs all Asia, and forces Plancus to retire, 381. Is defeated in Syria, of which he was M. Antony's Governor, and kills himself, *ib.*

Scarpus (Pinarius) his Infidelity to M. Antony, iii. 186. Delivers up Cyrene, and his Troops, to Octavius, 187.

Scipio Africanus, Story told of the Birth of, iii. 231.

Scipio, the younger, Saying of Cato in his Praise, i. 140.

Scribonia.

I N D E X.

Scribonia married to Octavius Cæsar, ii. 282. Divorced, 342.

Scriptures, the original Copy of the Jewish, burnt with the famous Alexandrian Library, iii. 276.

Scythians (the) send an Ambassy to Augustus, iii. 331.

Segeſte (the Island of) now called Zygsa, or Landſpurg, Situation of, iii. 97. Sudued by Octavius, *ib.*

Seleucus ſutrenders Peluſium to Octavius, iii. 201.

Senate (the) or Grand Council of the Romans, formed by Romulus, i. 15. Its Province, 16. Cause of its Increase of Power, 58. Its Authority, Prerogatives, &c. 60. Its Power too much blended with that of the People, 131. Too ſmall when put in Competition with that of the Plebeians, 147. Deprived by Julius Cæſar of the Power of diſpoſing of the Conſular Provinces, 185. How changed after the Death of Julius Cæſar, 201. Guilty of a very wrong Step, 208. Terrified at the hoſtile Approach of M. Antony, 249. Sends a Deputation to him, when beſieging Modena, 312. Reduced to the Shadow of what it once was, 314. Its Reſolution upon Antony's audacious Demands from before Modena, 315. Awed by Octavius, and forced to appoint him Conſul, 358. How fallen from its priſtine Grandeur; when Octavius began to rule, ii. 362. Compliments away its Remains of Liberty to Auguſtus iii. 226, 227, 239, 244, 259, 260, 264, 402. Reformed by him, 250. Gives a Sanction to all his former Violences, by a very abject Decree, 266. Servilely orders Thanks to the Gods for the Diſcovery of a pretended Conſpiracy of Cornelius Gallus, 277. Helps Auguſtus to elude the Laws, 288. Farther Inſtances of its abject Servility, 298, 299, 338. Is complimented by Auguſtus, 300. Applied to by Tiridates and Phraates, who are referred back to Auguſtus, *ib.* Forced by the People to offer the Dictatorſhip to Auguſtus, 302. Again reformed by Auguſtus, 353, & *ſeq.*

The Qualifications of a Senator fixed, 361. Indulged with an annual Reſeſs from Buſineſs, 439. Reformed again by Auguſtus, 506. Gives up entirely even the remaining Shadow of Liberty, 536.

Seneca, his Style defined, iii. 458. Some Account of him and his Family, *ib.* & *ſeq.*

Septuagint, the Original of the Verſion of the Scriptures diſtinguiſhed by this Name, burnt with the famous Alexandrian Library, iii. 276.

Servilia, the Mother of M. Brutus, Character of, i. 262. Was too intimate with Julius Cæſar, *ib.* Story of a Billet of her writing to him, 263.

Servilia, Wife of the younger Lepidus, kills herſelf by ſwallowing live Coals, iii. 225. Which is miſtakenly related of Cato's Daughter Portia, *ib.*

Servius Tullius, his Character, Actions, Laws, and Inſtitutes, i. 35, 39.

Seſtius (L.) a zealous Republican, admitted to the Conſulſhip by Auguſtus, iii. 297. His Character and noble Behaviour, *ib.*

Setina (the city of) beſieged by Octavius, and taken by Salvidienus, ii. 291.

Severus (Cecina), his Behaviour in the Pannonian War, iii. 513.

Sewers (the Common) of Rome, begun by Tarquinius Priſcus, i. 35. The great one dug by Tarquinius Superbus, 36. Their vaſt Magnificence, iii. 443.

Sextius (Publius), Queſtor to M. Brutus, Character of, ii. 15. Eſcapes the Carnage at Philippi, 198. And joins the Republican Rear Admirals, 199.

Sextius (Titus) a Creature of the Triumvirs, defeated in Africa, ii. 67, & *ſeq.*

Shakeſpear (William) Character of his Writings, iii. 344.

Ships (the) of the Ancients were all Gallies, ii. 23.

Short-hand Writing, the Invention of, iii. 461.

Sicambri (the), where ſituated, iii. 419. Their Manners, &c. *ib.* Their ſtubborn Fierceneſs when ſubdued by Tiberius, 431. *Sicilian*

- Sicilian War* (the) against S. Pompey, ii. 417, & *seq.*
- Sicily* reduced to a Roman Province by Cl. Marcellus, i. 100.
- Silvianus* (the) punished by Augustus, and why, iii. 327.
- Silvanus* (D.) one of the Corruptors of the younger Julia, iii. 527. Is banished, *ib.*
- Silvanus* (M. Junius), after being banished by the Proscription and Civil Wars, is restored by the Peace of Miseno, ii. 348.
- Silius Italicus*, the Poet, his Character, and that of his Writings, iii. 350.
- Sisenna* reproves Augustus, iii. 404.
- Sisyia*, the Capital of the Segestans, besieged and taken by Octavius, iii. 99, & *seq.*
- Slaves*, the vast Number of, at Rome, contributed to the Subversion of the State, i. 145. How exposed to Sale in Rome, iii. 381. How treated, according to the Roman Laws, 389. A Law in their Favour eluded by Augustus, 440.
- Smyrna*, the Place appointed for the Rendezvous of the two Armies under Brutus and Cassius, ii. 16. Description of this City, *ib.*
- Soldiers* (the Roman) become the Masters of the State, i. 314. And the only Source of Greatness, ii. 247. Their excessive Insolence, 249. Send a threatening Deputation to Octavius, *ibid.* Murmur furiously against him, and, in their Rage, kill their Tribune Nonius, *ib.* Are appeased by Octavius, 250. Remarkable Instance of their Insolence, 251. Take forcible Possession of the Lands and Property of others, 251, 265. Their Will takes place of Law, 269, 270. Instances of, and Reflections on, the necessary Consequences of an over-grown Military Power, 270, & *seq.* Only two Ways of guarding against it, and what they are, 271, 272.
- Sosius* (C.) sent to settle Herod on the Throne of Judæa, iii. 3. Jointly with him, takes Jerusalem, 4. His Behaviour to the deposed Antigonus, 5.
- Esposes Antony's Cause* in the Senate, 147. Leaves Rome, when Consul, and goes over to Antony, 148.
- Spain* ruined by, grasping at Universal Monarchy, i. 113—118. How difficultly conquered by the Romans, whilst its Inhabitants were free and uncorrupted, and how easily its many Revolutions were afterwards brought on, through Luxury, ii. 366, & *seq.*
- Spaniards* (the) invaded by the Romans, iii. 282. Their Character and natural Advantages, 283. Subdued and pacified, after two hundred Years of War, 287, 333. Origin of their present Language, 286. Why less formidable than they might be, 283. Their Monarchy greatly weakened by the Expulsion of the Moors, i. 116. And by their cruel Treatment of the Low Countries, *ib.* Their ill judged Policy, 117. Their Treasures idly squandered away, 117, 118.
- Spenser* (the Poet) a genuine original Genius, iii. 343. Compared with Theocritus, 344.
- State* (the Roman) as formed by Romulus, was a mixed or limited Monarchy, i. 15. How divided into Tribes, Centuries, &c. 74. Causes of its great Rise, 1—38. And of its Decline, 113, & *seq.*
- Statius Murcius* blocks up M. Antony in Brindisi, ii. 100. Is deceived by Antony and Octavius, who get clear of him, 102. Is joined by Domitius Enobarbus, and greatly distresses the Cæsareans, *ib.*
- Status* (the) of the Romans were anciently of Brass or Copper, iii. 352. The first of Silver was erected to Augustus, *ib.*
- Statutes* (the Elian and Tuscan, what, i. 183.
- Style*, in Writing, Reflections on, iii. 458, 467.
- Stoics* (the) principles of, iii. 474.
- Strato*, who performed the last Office to the great M. Brutus, recommended to Octavius, and preferred by him, iii. 136.

Suetonius Tranquillus one of the few genuine Sources of historical Truth, i. 317. His Character as a Writer, iii. 305.
Suevi (the) Situation, Manners, &c. of, iii. 419; & *seq.* Their stubborn Fierceness, when subdued by Tiberius, iii. 431.
Superstition, Reflections on, iii. 393, & *seq.*
Sylline Verses (the) easy to find the true Key to, iii. 88. How and where preserved, 407.
Sylla (L. Cornelius) his Character, 138, 139. Taught the young Roman Nobility to be debauched, 138. And spoilt the Discipline of the Roman Soldiery, 163.
Sylla (Fauftus) escapes the Proscription, and goes over to Brutus, ii. 2.
Syria over-run by the Parthians, infligated and guided by T. Labienus, ii. 383. Situation of that Province, then governed by M. Antony's Favourite Decidius Saxa, 384.

T.

T*ARQUINIUS Priscus*, his Character and Actions, i. 35.
Tarquinius Superbus, his Character and Actions, i. 35.
Tarsus, the Inhabitants of, described, ii. 231. Rewarded by M. Antony, 232. Antony and Cleopatra there, *ib.* & *seq.*
Taurus (Statilius) attempts to invade Sicily with Part of Augustus's Fleet, but is driven back by a Storm, ii. 441, 442. Commands Octavius's Land Forces at Actium, iii. 173. Is sent against the Cantabrians, 285. Made Governor of Rome, 385.
Temples were the ancient Repositories of Learning, iii. 40. Temples built to Octavius, 232, 233. To Julius Cæsar, 240. The Temple of the Asian Apollo enlarged and beautified by Octavius, 243. Temple and Altar erected to Augustus by the Gauls, 424.
Tentarii (the) Situation, Manners, &c. of, iii. 419, & *seq.*

Terentia, Cicero's Wife, Character of, ii. 324. At mortal Enmity with M. Antony's Wife, Fulvia, *ib.*
Terentia, the Wife of Mæcenas, is informed by her Husband of a Conspiracy against Augustus, iii. 318. And procures the Escape of her Brother Muræna, *ib.* Her Character, 386, 453. Her Intrigue with Augustus a known Affair, 387.
Tista (C. Trebatius) an eminent Lawyer, his Adventures and Character, iii. 356.
Tetrinius Gallus, comforted by Augustus, iii. 445.
Theatre (Progress of the Roman) from the greatest Simplicity to the greatest Pomp, iii. 35, & *seq.*
Thebes, Origin of the Name of the City of, ii. 62.
Theopritus compared with Spenser, iii. 344, 345.
Theodore, Antyllus's Preceptor, betrays his Pupil to Octavius, iii. 214. And is himself crucified for a Theft, *ib.*
Theodotus, the Sophist, Author of the Death of Pompey the Great, for which he is punished by M. Brutus, ii. 50.
Thrasyllus, an Astrologer, artfully gains Tiberius's Confidence, iii. 501.
Thyatira relieved by Augustus's Liberality, iii. 326.
Tiber, Origin of the Name of the River, ii. 63.
Tiberius begins to be distinguished by Augustus, iii. 289. Places Tigranes upon the Throne of Armenia, 330. Honours decreed him for it, *ib.* His Expectations raised to a great Height by a pretended Prophecy, *ib.* But sadly disappointed by the Birth of Caius Cæsar, 331. He is decorated with the Ornaments of Pretor, 337. Is sent with Drusus against the Rhæti and Vindelici, 390. Whom they subdue, 391. Is promoted to the Consulship, 401. Married to Augustus's Daughter Julia, 412. Chastises the Pannonians, 413. His Person, Family, and Character, *ib.* Treachery to his Brother Drusus, 418. He was not, at first, esteemed

I N D E X.

by Augustus, *ib.* Hastens into Germany, to see his dying Brother Drusus, 428. Receives the Title of Imperator, a Triumph, and a second Consulship, for his Advantages over the Germans, 432. Is continued in the Tribunician Power, 476. Takes Offence at Caius's Elevation, *ibid.* And stubbornly retires to Rhodes, 477. Pretends to intercede for his Wife Julia, 486. But afterwards starves her to Death, 487. His Manner of Life at Rhodes, 498. Confides in the Predictions of the Astrologer Thrasyllus, 501. Obtains Leave to return to Rome, *ib.* Is adopted by Augustus, 502. Though not liked by him, 503. His exemplary Behaviour in his private Life, 504. He adopts Germanicus, *ib.* Kills Agrippa Posthumus, 505. Performs great Exploits in Germany, 510, & *seq.* Marches against the Marcomanni, 511. But, upon a Revolt of the Dalmatians and Pannonians, concludes a Treaty with them, 512. His great Prudence in the War against the Pannonians and Dalmatians, 513, & *seq.* Whom he totally subdues, 515. His excellent Behaviour in this War, 516. Importance of his Victory, 517. Honours decreed him for it, 518. He returns to Germany, and avenges Varus's Defeat, 532. Gains the Affection of Augustus, 533. By whom he is promoted to the highest Honours, 535. His magnificent Triumph for the Conquest of the Dalmatians and Pannonians, 534. He is treated by Augustus as his intended Heir, 541. Sets out for Illyricum, 545. But is sent for back by Livius, upon the Death of Augustus, 547.

Tibullus, a great Poet, but not sufficient to give us an adequate Idea of the State of Poetry in the Augustan Age, ii. 256. Imitated *Parthenius* and the other Greeks, iii. 274.

Tigranes, King of Armenia, reigns but a short Time, iii. 490. Had his Crown by the Resignation of *Phraates*, 491.

Timagenes, the Behaviour and Character of, iii. 438.

Timoncum, M. Antony's, iii. 188.

Tiridates chosen King of the Parthians, iii. 224. Is conquered and expelled by *Phraates*, *ib.* Ordered by Augustus to apply to the Roman Senate, 300. By whom he is referred back to Augustus, *ib.* Is made King of Armenia by Augustus, 330.

Tiro, Cicero's Freedman, (was probably the Inventor of Short-Hand Writing, iii. 461.

Titus leaves Antony, and goes over to Octavius, iii. 151. His Character, 152. He brings *Philadelphus*, King of Cappadocia, over to Octavius, 167.

Torquatus (M.) escapes the Proscription, and goes over to Cassius, ii. 2. Escapes the Carnage at Philippi, 198.

Tragedies, the best Roman, were written by *Asinius Pollio*, iii. 75.

Tralles (the City of) relieved by Augustus's Liberality, iii. 326.

Treason, what was meant by it among the Romans, i. 251.

Trebatius (C.) Proconsul of Asia, cruelly put to Death by *Dolabella*, i. 295.

Trevians (the), Situation, Manners, &c. of, iii. 419, & *seq.*

Tribuci (the), Situation, Manner, &c. of, iii. 419, & *seq.*

Tribunes (the) of the People, Power of, i. 63, 132, 134. Were despotic Magistrates, 131. Cause of their Creation, *ib.* Their Office alone was not vacated by the Election of a Dictator, 132. Bring about, by their Sedition, the final Dissolution of the Roman Government, 133. Form of their Commission, 134. *Inter.* Their unbounded Power, iii. 295.

Tribunates (the) of Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, agreed upon, i. 370. Conditions of their first Compact, *ibid.*

Tribunates (the) of Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, Study and Transacted, *ib.* Part of, i. 370. Dissolution of their first Compact, *ib.* Study of

I N D E X.

their public Procedure, ii. 79. Instances of the Intenfeness of their Tyranny, *ib.* Levy most exorbitant Taxes, to satisfy their greedy Soldiery, 86. Nature of the Proclamation for that Purpose, *ib.* Even the Ladies not exempted, 87. Are nobly opposed by Hortensia, 89. Begin to be weary of shedding Blood, and want to colour over their Enormities, 95. Apply to this End to A. Casellius, a celebrated Lawyer, who refuses to draw up an Instrument for them, *ib.* Alarmed by the Progress of Brutus and Cassius, they cease their Proscriptions, 97. And concert Measures for the ensuing Campaign, *ib.* & 98. Proceedings of Antony and Octavius down to their gaining the second Battle of Philippi, 99—163. Their horrid Cruelty after the Battle, 192. They divide the Empire between them, 204. Their respective Shares, *ib.*

Tryphon, see *Diodotus*.

Tullus Hostilius, his Character and Actions, i. 35.

Turulus, Rear-Admiral of the Republicans, ii. 199. Surrendered by Antony to Octavius, and put to Death, iii. 198.

Tuscans, see *Ætrurians*.

Tyrians (the) punished by Augustus, and why, iii. 327.

V.

VALERIUS Maximus, his Character as a Writer, i. 317.

Valgius (C.) a great Poet in the Augustan Age, and once reckoned almost another Homer, iii. 77.

Vangions (the), Situation, Manners, &c. of, iii. 419, & *seq.*

Varius (L.) the greatest Poet of the Augustan Age, solicits Horace's Pardon, ii. 315. Appointed to oversee the Execution of Cassius of Parma, with whom he had a literary Quarrel, iii. 218. And from whom he is supposed to have stolen his Tragedy of *Thyestes*, 347, 348.

Varro (Marcus), his Estate seized by M. Antony, i. 236.

Varro (M. Ter.) Account and Character of the Writings of, ii. 61. And of himself, 65. Pardoned by M. Antony, after having been condemned by the Triumvirate, 94. Retires into the Country, where he wrote his Treatise of Husbandry, and lived till past an Hundred, 95.

Varro (P. Ter.) put to Death by M. Antony, ii. 194. Some Account of him and of his Writings, *ib.* Note *.

Varus (Quintilius) dresses himself in his pretorial Robes, and then orders one of his Freedmen to strike off his Head, to avoid falling into the Hands of the Triumvirs, ii. 196. Some Account of him, *ib.* Note *.

Varus (P. Quintilius) his History, Character, and dreadful Defeat in Germany, iii. 519, & *seq.* Kills himself, 523.

Vatia (C. Servilius), one of the Tools of Octavius's first Faction, i. 355.

Ubians (the), Situation, Manners, &c. of, iii. 419, & *seq.*

Vei, the Siege of, i. 14.

Velleius Patereulus, his Character as a Writer, i. 317. iii. 305. Was a mean Flatterer of the Cæsarean Family, i. 183, 510, 511.

Venice, Parallel between the Government of, and that of France, i. 39, & *seq.* How enfeebled, 40. The Council of the *Dieci* a Canker in the Bosom of its Constitution, 43. Pisa, and Genoa, why so insignificant now, 141. Its Government, how far like that of Lacedæmon, 148.

Ventidius joins M. Antony in his Flight over the Appennines, i. 338. When ordered by L. Antony to march to Preneste, he only stands upon the Defensive, ii. 269. Commands, with A. Pollio, the Passage of the Alps, 288. Where they are very near surrounding Salvidienus, 289. Seizes on the Town of Rimini, 293. Is appointed Governor of Syria by M. Antony, and ordered to assist Herod, 396. His Treachery on that

- that Occasion, *ib.* Fleeces the Jews, and defeats the Parthians three Times, 411—414. Picks a Quarrel with Antiochus Prince of Commagene, and besieges him in his Capital, 415. But raises the Siege, 416.
- Venus Anaitis*, the Temple of, plundered by M. Antony, and the golden Statue of that Goddess carried off by a Soldier, iii. 104.
- Verres* (C.) the Impeachment of, prosecuted by Cicero, i. 155. Shews to what Misery Vice had reduced the Romans, *ib.*
- Vertot* (the Abbé) mistaken in regard to Augustus, iii. 262.
- Vetus* (Antistius) joins M. Brutus, i. 300.
- Vindelici* (the) join the Rhæti against Tiberius and Drusus, iii. 391. But are forced to submit, *ib.* Two Roman Colonies established among them, 392.
- Vincius* (M.) quells the Germans, and triumphs, iii. 510.
- Virgil*, the Poet, in Danger of his Life from a Centurion, who forcibly seized upon his small Inheritance, ii. 253. His first puerile Compositions, *ib.* His Gratitude towards his Patrons and Benefactors, 254. Great Applause with which his sixth Pastoral was received, *ib.* To whom this Drama was probably addressed, 255. Is again attacked in the Possession of his Estate, put in Danger of his Life, and righted by his former Patrons, 259. It was after this that he wrote his Eclogues, 260. He studied first at Cremona, and afterwards at Naples, 261. To what the great Sweetness of his Lines may generally be imputed, *ib.* His great Judgment in imitating Theocritus, 262. Three different Purposes answered by his *Bucolics*, 264. By his Interest with *Mæcenas*, he procures Octavius's Pardon, 265. *Wrote* his *Georgics* at the express Desire of *Mæcenas*, 430. Character and Account of those four Books of Agriculture, 431. He must be ranked among the Flatterers of the young
- Cæsar, 434. Some Apology for him, 435, 436.
- The true Occasion of his celebrated Birth-day Ode, intitled *Pollio*, iii. 87. Which is greatly misapplied by several of the Learned, 90, 91. Besides his native flow of Verse, he was extremely learned, and perfectly versed in Antiquity, 88. Not so strictly true as Homer; in the Genealogies of his Heroes, and why, 242. Certainly not consulted by Octavius about his resigning, 250. Occasion of his Episode of the Shepherd Aristæus, 274. Was greatly indebted to the Poet Parthenius, *ib.* Imitated the Grecians, *ib.* His *Æneid* compared with Lucan's *Pharsalia*, 312. His Death, 341. Epitaph, Will, and Character, 342, 346. Reflections on his Writings, 343, & seq. His *Georgics* a finished Work, 345. Strict Friendship between him and Horace, 347.
- Virtue*, a Definition of, ii. 114.
- Ulpian* (Domitius), his Interpretation of a Clause in the Papian Poppæan Statute, iii. 366.
- Volsci* (the) oppose the infant Establishment of Rome, i. 14.
- Volumnius* cruelly put to Death by M. Antony, ii. 193.
- Uspili* (the), Situation, Manners, &c. of iii. 419.
- Utica*, Origin of the Name of the City of, ii. 56. Its Situation described, 68.
- Utrecht*, the Peace of, Reflections on, i. 123.
- Vulgar* (the) Definition of, i. 129.
- W.
- WAZAR*, the Roman Method of de-
termining the Day of the Month, and making, i. 92. Ex-
ceptions, but strengthen-
ed the Romans, and why, 99.
- Women* (the Roman) Praise of, i. 81.
- Writers* (the) of the Augustan Age, cau-
tious Circumspection of, i. 7, 8.

I N D E X.

X.

X*ANTHUS* (the Inhabitants of), when besieged by M. Brutus, burn their City and themselves, ii. 38—44. This Affair greatly misrepresented by Philo, 43. *Note* *. Twice destroyed before, through the same Spirit of Desperation, 44.

Z.

Z*ARMANOCHEGAS*, an Indian Philosopher, burns himself in Augustus's Presence, iii. 332. *Zober*, King of Albany, conquered and taken Prisoner by P. Canidius Crassus, iii. 3.

F I N I S.

